R
942
An78
v.39
5/29/33

Arnold Bennett

DOMINICAN COLLEGE
LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL, CALIF.

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1797.

DOMINICAN COLL
LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL, CA

LONDON:

Printed for F. C. and J. RIVINGTON, N° 62, St. Paul's Church-Yard, and No. 3, Waterloo-Place, Pall-Mall;

By R. Gilbert, St. John's Square, London.

R
942
An78
V.39

20340

PREFACE.

THE circumstances from which the delay in the publication of this volume have arisen, however distressing they may be to the Proprietors, have little, unless in their effects, which can interest the Public. The Conductors of the work have the satisfaction to believe that it is scarcely possible such circumstances should again occur. The three volumes which bring to a close the remainder of the eighteenth Century are already in a state of considerable forwardness; and the arrangements which have been made during the suspension of the work, afford the Proprietors a confident hope, that they will be ready for delivery in such quickness of succession as will be satisfactory to the generality of purchasers.

In compiling the Annals of the year 1797, much pains have been taken to mark the progress of Revolution in Italy: and the history of the changes, both in the Venetian and the Genoese States, has been traced at considerable length. Preparations had been made to continue the narrative of the French Royalist war, which, in the volume for 1796, had been brought down to the death of Stofflet and Charette: but it is doubtful whether the sources from which our information on this subject hitherto has been derived, may be any longer open to us; and we are unwilling to rely upon any docu-

ments, but such for the assured authenticity of which we can unhesitatingly offer the most distinct pledge. The relation which in our former volumes we have had the good fortune, *exclusively*, to present, embraces by far the most interesting portion of the events which occurred in Britanny and Poitou: and in the absence of its continuation it may be satisfactory to state, that the remaining transactions are of much less importance.

The domestic events of 1797 were of unusual magnitude and interest: and they have therefore demanded a more than customary share of our pages. From this cause we have been induced to reserve, till the succeeding volumes, our narrative of the discontents which led to Rebellion in Ireland; and of the various internal changes in the French Government, and its ephemeral Constitutions. One advantage, and that not a slight one, gained by the necessity of these arrangements, is, that our Readers will be put in possession of a connected History, instead of broken and disjointed fragments.

Promises which have, from unavoidable necessity, been repeatedly violated, are not likely to be frequently credited. How far want of punctuality may be the most crying sin of publications of this kind, it does not become us, who must plead guilty to the charge, to take upon ourselves to decide. But there is one assurance, which we have held out from the beginning of our Compilation, for the fulfilment of which we may appeal to our Readers with the most implicit confidence. We have spared neither time nor cost to present them with Facts: and it is this principle which we shall continue to assume as our chief guide for the future.

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

For the YEAR 1797.

THE

HISTORY

OF

EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Situation of Europe at the commencement of 1797. *Advantages reaped by the Republicans from the Campaign of* 1796, *in Italy and in Germany. Situation of Great Britain. This Country left almoſt without Allies. Its internal Situation. Arts of the revolutionary Party. Diſſolution of Parliament. General Election. Reſult of it. Intention of the Miniſtry to negociate for Peace. Opening of the Seſſion of Parliament. Speech from the Throne. It announces that his Majeſty deſigns to ſend an Ambaſſador to Paris, to treat for Peace. Addreſs moved in both Houſes. Aſſertions of Lord Morpeth. Fallacy of them. Speech of Mr. Fox. He cenſures the Miniſters for their paſt Obſtinacy. Proteſts againſt the two Bills of the preceding Seſſion. Recommends extreme Moderation. Threatens an Enquiry into the Cauſes of our Diſaſters. Reply of Mr. Pitt. He draws a favourable Picture of our Reſources. Declares that no Queſtion of Etiquette ſhall ſtand in the Way of Negotiation. Houſe of Lords. Earl Fitzwilliam cenſures the Miniſtry, and moves an Amendment, to exclude that Part of the Meſſage relative to Negotiation. He ſtates the Grounds on which he and his Friends originally ſupported the Miniſtry. Denies that Circumſtances had changed. States the Danger to be dreaded from a Peace. Proteſts againſt the Relinquiſhment of the Netherlands. Speech of the Earl of Guildford. Reply of Lord Grenville to Earl Fitzwilliam. He denies that Miniſters had ever entertained the Sentiments attributed to them. Earl Fitzwilliam replies. The Amendment is negatived. Proteſt entered on the Journals by Earl Fitzwilliam. Rupture of the Negotiation. Meſſage ſent in conſequence to the two Houſes by his Majeſty. Mr. Sheridan's Idea of the Importance of the Negotiation. The Inſtructions to Lord Malmeſbury called for in the Houſe of Peers. Addreſs moved by Lord Grenville. He declares the Reſolution of the Miniſtry to treat, whenever the Enemy are pacifically diſpoſed. Amendment pro-*

poſed by the Earl of Guildford. He ſeverely Cenſures the Miniſtry. Tenor of the Amendment. Speech of the Earl of Derby. The Earls of Liverpool, and Errol, and Lord Auckland, ſpeak in favour of the Addreſs. Lord Auckland owns that he never expected the Negotiation to ſucceed; but conſented to it as an Experiment. Predicts that France will ſoon be incapable of continuing the War. Speeches of the Earl of Abingdon and the Duke of Bedford. The latter endeavours to prove that the Miniſters make Uſe of contradictory Aſſertions. He is anſwered by Lord Spencer and the Lord Chancellor. The latter animadverts ſeverely on the Amendment, and declares the Country to be in a State of Proſperity. The Amendment is negatived. Earl Fitzwilliam cenſures the Miniſters for their Change of Principle, and moves an Amendment. He is replied to by Lords Spencer and Grenville. His Amendment is negatived. Debate in the Houſe of Commons. Eloquent Speech of Mr. Pitt. Mr. Erſkine begins to ſpeak, but is taken ill. Mr. Fox exerts himſelf with his uſual Talent againſt the Addreſs, and moves an Amendment. Reply of Mr. Dundas. He defends ſome of his former Expreſſions. Speech of Mr. Grey. The Amendment is negatived; and the Addreſs carried by a great Majority.

THE year 1797 did not open under any circumſtances of favourable omen to the tranquillity and ſafety of Europe. The aſpect of political affairs was, on the contrary, more gloomy and menacing than it had been at any former period. The direct ſway, or the indirect influence, of republican France was widely extended on the European Continent. Ruſſia was ſtill inactive; Pruſſia was, in reality ſubſervient, in the hope of riſing on the ruin of Auſtria; Spain had contracted with the republic an unnatural and degrading alliance; Portugal was a powerleſs and trembling enemy; Holland a helpleſs ſlave; and Switzerland, perſeveringly neutral, was blind to the danger which impended over it, from that mighty and unprincipled neighbour, whoſe forbearance it ſo anxiouſly courted.

Internally weak and diſtracted as France was, her efforts, like the convulſive efforts of diſeaſe, were yet capable of ſpreading miſery and ruin around her. In the laſt campaign, though foiled in her great object of entirely beating the power of Auſtria to the ground, ſhe had ſucceeded in obtaining many other objects of infinite importance. In Italy, the king of Sardinia humiliated and deſpoiled; the emperor driven from all his poſſeſſions in that quarter, and weakened not leſs in men and money than in territory; the king of Naples reduced to ſue for peace; the ſmaller ſtates obliterated or compelled to ranſom themſelves; and an immenſe plunder, as well in ſpecie as in works of art, tranſmitted to Paris; were the benefits derived from the ſucceſſes of Buonaparte.

With reſpect to Germany, diſaſtrous as the cloſe of the campaign was in ſome things to the republicans, it cannot be denied that their irruption into the empire was productive to them of numerous advantages. By means of that irruption they fed and clothed

clothed their armies, raiſed enormous contributions, and diminiſhed the number of hoſtile powers. Baden, Wirtembergh, and Bavaria, as we have ſhewn in our laſt volume, were either terrified or ſeduced to abandon the cauſe of the empire. Equally important was the reſult of the pertinacious defence of Kehl, and the bridge-head of Huninguen; but eſpecially of the former, by which the imperial army was lamentably weakened, and a diverſion effected, that gave time to rend the Auſtrian ſtandard from the walls of Mantua, and put the final ſeal to the conqueſt of Italy. When ſo much was gained, the republican rulers, never thrifty of the blood of their fellow citizens, were eaſily conſoled for the profuſe waſte of life, and even for the diſgrace which the rout of Jourdan had thrown upon the fame of their arms. The latter, however, already covered in ſome meaſure by the maſterly retreat of Moreau and his forces, they reſolved to wipe off entirely by the moſt vigorous exertions on the renewal of the conteſt.

Such was the ſtate of affairs on the continent at the cloſe of the year 1796, and the beginning of 1797. It is ſufficiently obvious that, at this period, the foreign political proſpects of Great Britain could not but be heavily overcaſt. Nor were her domeſtic proſpects ſuch as to compenſate, by their brilliancy, for the deep gloom which overſhadowed her foreign ones. They were, indeed, but too ſimilar, in their utter want of every thing which could excite pleaſurable ideas.

Abroad, ſome of her former allies had recently become her enemies; and the ſole effective ally which ſhe yet retained, though, by the military genius of one of his generals, he had averted the blow which was aimed at his very exiſtence, was undoubtedly much exhauſted, and could not long be expected to continue an expenſive and dangerous conteſt; eſpecially if, as appeared probable, his antagoniſt ſhould afford him an opportunity of retiring from it, on terms apparently not diſhonourable. From the ſhores of France an invaſion was loudly menaced, and in the French ports preparations were making, which proved that the threat was not merely deſigned to excite alarm, but was ſeriouſly intended to be put in execution.

At home, though an immenſe majority of the people was firmly attached to the conſtitution, and convinced of the neceſſity of a vigorous reſiſtance to French principles and arms, and though the reſources of the nation were, in reality, unbroken, the diſſatisfied majority was ſufficiently numerous and active to juſtify the moſt painful apprehenſions for the ſafety of the ſtate. In England, the ſame arts, which, ever ſince the commencement of the war, had been uſed to irritate and miſlead the populace, were ſtill ſedulouſly employed; and plots were ſilently carried on, in one inſtance, with but too fatal ſucceſs, to ſeduce the ſoldiers and ſailors from their allegiance; while in Ireland the partiſans of republicaniſm were ſpreading, and labouring to give conſiſtency to, that ſyſtem of rebellion which, at a ſhort diſtance of time, as will be ſeen in our

next volume, was openly acted upon, and was productive of such extensive and terrible effects.

In the summer of 1796, the parliament was dissolved; and a general election, in consequence, took place. As soon as the dissolution gave them the power of publishing their sentiments without danger, the friends of French principles, and even many of those whose asserted object was only a moderate reform, did not fail to lavish on the proceedings of the late House of Commons every epithet of reproach and opprobrium, which anger and hatred could suggest. The new elections did not, however, throw any additional weight into the scale of either the revolutionists or the reformers. In the legislature a vast majority, as powerful from talent and property as from numbers, again lent its full and ready approbation to all the leading measures of the government.

Previously to the meeting of parliament, which took place on Oct. 6, 1796. the sixth of October, it was generally understood that the British ministry had determined to make another effort, to bring about the re-establishment of peace. The speech from the throne gave the first official notice of this design. In that speech, which seems to have been studiously worded so as to preclude any acrimony of debate, his majesty declared that he had omitted no endeavours for setting on foot negotiations, to restore repose to Europe, and secure for the future the general tranquillity; that the steps taken by him had at length opened the way to an immediate and direct negotiation, which must either produce the desirable end of a just, honourable, and solid peace, or prove beyond dispute to what cause alone must be ascribed the prolongation of the calamities of war; that he should instantly send a person to Paris, with full powers to treat for this object; and that it was his most anxious wish that this measure might lead to the return of peace throughout the whole of Europe. At the same time, he reminded the two houses that nothing could so much contribute to give effect to his pacific desires, as to manifest that we had the will and the means to oppose, with increased activity and energy, the further efforts with which we might have to contend; and this they would feel to be peculiarly necessary at a moment when the enemy had openly avowed an intention of making a descent on these kingdoms;—an enterprize of which the issue could not admit of a doubt, but against which it befitted the wisdom of parliament to neglect no precautions that might either preclude the attempt, or secure the speediest means of turning it to the confusion and ruin of the invader. His majesty then proceeded to pay the due tribute of praise to the skill, valour, and exertions, of the army and navy, and the consequent successes obtained in the East and the West Indies. From the recent victories of the Austrians he drew a hope that the final result of the campaign would prove still more disastrous to the enemy than, at its commencement, that enemy had expected it would be triumphant. The apparently hostile dispositions and conduct of the court of Spain had, he said, led to discussions, with

with the event of which he could not yet acquaint them; but, whatever that event might be, he was confident that he would be found to have given to Europe a further proof of his moderation and forbearance; and he was convinced of their reſolve to defend, againſt every aggreſſion, the dignity, the rights, and the intereſt of his empire. In concluſion, he gave a favourable picture of our ſituation with reſpect to commerce, manufactures and revenue; and declared that the general attachment of his people to the Britiſh conſtitution had appeared, on every occaſion, and that the endeavours of thoſe who wiſhed to introduce anarchy and diſorder into the country, had been repreſſed by the wiſdom and energy of the laws. "To defeat," ſaid his majeſty, "all the deſigns of our enemies, to reſtore to my people the bleſſings of a ſecure and honourable peace, to maintain inviolate their religion, laws, and liberty, and to deliver down unimpaired to the lateſt poſterity, the glory and happineſs of theſe kingdoms, is the conſtant wiſh of my heart, and the uniform end of all my actions. In every meaſure that can conduce to theſe objects, I am confident of receiving the firm, zealous, and affectionate ſupport of my parliament."

In the Houſe of Peers, the addreſs was moved by earl Bathurſt, and ſeconded by the earl of Upper Oſſory; in the lower houſe it was moved by lord Morpeth, and ſeconded by ſir William Lowther. The ſpeeches of the movers and ſeconders were nothing more than formal introductions of the addreſs, very nearly of the ſame tenor, neat, but not remarkable for eloquence, and of which it would, therefore, be uſeleſs for us to give any detailed account. The principal points on which they touched were, the hope that a peace would be produced by the meaſures now taken; the neceſſity, nevertheleſs, of diſplaying additional vigour, to impreſs the republicans with reſpect, and render them pacifically inclined; and, above all, the propriety of parliament being unanimous in its approbation of the propoſed addreſs. In an appeal to both ſides of the Houſe, but more particularly directed to the members hoſtile to the miniſtry, lord Morpeth, indeed, on this laſt head, went further, perhaps, than was juſtified either by policy, or the real ſtate of the facts. "He truſted," he ſaid, "that the ſentiments avowed in his majeſty's ſpeech, would tend to reconcile that variety and oppoſition of opinions which had hitherto ſubſiſted; for, whatever ſentiments gentlemen might have entertained with reſpect to the origin of the war, and the cauſe of aggreſſion which occaſioned it, it muſt aſſuredly give them ſatisfaction to concur in a motion which had for its object the expediting of an honourable peace. Thoſe gentlemen who thought, that this was a war of unjuſt aggreſſion on the part of the enemy, would be happy to find, that the preſent government of France poſſeſſed a ſtability and permanence, enabling it to enter into and maintain the relations of peace and amity with other powers; as well as that they ſeemed diſpoſed to liſten to negotiation, and that a paſſport from that government had accordingly arrived here." His lordſhip might be excuſed,

cuſed, for being deceived with reſpect to the ſtability and permanence of the French government, but it is difficult to imagine where he diſcovered in that government even the ſemblance of a diſpoſition to liſten with a pacific ſpirit to pacific overtures. It ſurely was not from the numerous inſulting and abuſive articles publiſhed againſt this country, by the French rulers, that his lordſhip ſo ſanguinely drew his favourable omens.

But, notwithſtanding this deprecatory language, "the feſtive day of cordial unanimity ſo happily celebrated by all parties," as Mr. Burke afterwards ſarcaſtically termed it, was not allowed to paſs over without the miniſters being compelled to liſten to the voice of reproof and cenſure from one of their political antagoniſts. It was, indeed, hardly to be expected that thoſe who had inceſſantly made an inſtant peace the theme of their cuckoo ſong, would now fail to triumph over their rivals, and to vaunt the foreſight and accuracy of their own predictions. Not ſufficiently alive to the nobleneſs and juſtice of the cauſe which they maintained, the miniſters had, in reality, left but too fair an opening for their enemies to charge them with an inconſiſtent and wavering conduct.

There was, however, no regular debate. Mr. Fox was, in the Houſe of Commons, the ſole ſpeaker on the ſide of oppoſition. The wiſh to prevent his vote of that day from being miſconſtrued, was the reaſon which he aſſigned for not giving a ſilent vote to the addreſs. As far as the ſpeech leaned towards peace, it met with his cordial applauſe. There was much, he thought, that deſerved praiſe in its conſtruction. He deemed it wiſe in the miniſters to have omitted the words to which they had heretofore been ſo bigoted, namely, that the war was undertaken for the cauſe of religion, humanity, and ſocial order, and that it was a juſt and neceſſary war. Such intemperate expreſſions could only have tended to exaſperate the enemy. Having given to his opponents this grudging and unpalatable praiſe, Mr. Fox turned to his more uſual taſk, that of blaming, and embraced this obvious opportunity to refer, in a tone really exulting, though affectedly moderate, to his former opinions on the ſubject of peace, and to pour forth his lamentations that his counſel had not been taken, before thouſands of lives had been ſacrificed, and a hundred millions ſpent, in a cruel and needleſs conteſt. Proceeding to thoſe parts of the addreſs to which he could not lend his concurrence, he, in the firſt place, ſtrongly denied that every endeavour had been uſed to open a negotiation, unleſs the phraſe merely meant that every endeavour had been uſed ſince the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion; in which caſe he muſt take the aſſertion upon truſt, and hoped that it would ultimately be juſtified by the fact. On the truth of the ſtatement that our trade, manufactures, and commerce, were flouriſhing, and our reſources ample and ſufficient for the criſis, though he waived any diſcuſſion for the preſent, he threw more than doubts; and he vehemently objected to that clauſe which ſeemed to imply that the tranquillity of the country had been ſecured by thoſe two laws, which he and his

colleagues

colleagues ſo ſtrenuouſly oppoſed in the late parliament. Thoſe laws he again deſcribed as objects of the utmoſt terror and abhorrence; and he branded the parliament which ſanctioned them, as having done more to maim and disfigure the ancient conſtitution of England, than had been done by any other parliament which ever ſat within thoſe walls. Nor did he reſtrict his hoſtility to thoſe two obnoxious laws. He paſſed a broad and ſweeping ſentence on every act of the government. "I am," ſaid he, "one of thoſe who think that the whole ſyſtem of foreign politics, on which the war was undertaken, has been faulty: I think alſo, that, ſpringing from the ſame ſource, our whole ſyſtem of domeſtic policy has been equally faulty. They have run on together in a parallel progreſs, and have produced all the varied calamities which the people have been doomed to ſuffer." Peace he conſidered as our chief object, peace at all events, becauſe it muſt be productive of ſome benefit; but, without an entire change of ſyſtem, it would only be a palliative of our evils, not a remedy.

Reverting to the purpoſed negotiation, he ſeized on the avowal of lord Morpeth, reſpecting the ſtability and permanence of the new order of things in France, and, declaring that he had always held the government there to be one with which we ought to treat, he regretted that miniſters had not at once recognized the French republic; a ſtep which he conceived would have been wiſe and prudent, as it would have removed jealouſy, and ſtifled ſuſpicion. He admitted that, if the miniſters acted in a clear, candid, and manly manner, in treating for peace, and if it were fairly proved that a peace was fruſtrated by the perverſeneſs or ambition of France, univerſal ſupport ought to be given to the government, and he did not doubt that ample reſources would be found to carry on the war, and that the war would be proſecuted with ſuch an unanimity of heart as would draw forth all the vigour and energy of the nation. The kind of clearneſs, candour, and manlineſs, which would ſatisfy him, he but too ſufficiently explained. On the terms of peace to which it would be proper to accede, he profeſſed to keep ſilence, but he, nevertheleſs, ſaid enough to ſhow plainly that we ought not to expect ſuch as could be regarded with any feelings of pride. "We ought," ſaid he, "to negotiate in the ſpirit of great moderation. I have no difficulty in ſaying that I ſhould find much leſs fault if the terms of peace erred on the ſide of moderation, than I ſhould be inclined to do if they erred in the contrary extreme. To ignominious terms of peace I know and believe that this country would never be made to ſubmit. But I wiſh it to be clearly underſtood, that, rather than ſupport any miniſter in extravagant pretenſions, ariſing either from the pride of tranſient fortune or from natural arrogance, I would be much more diſpoſed to give my aſſent to terms that, on a due inveſtigation of our claims, might be conſidered as rather below than above our right. I have no difficulty in ſaying, in caſe of ſuch a balance, on which ſide I think the ſcale ought to turn." Moderation and forbearance, indeed,

deed, he more than once recommended, and ſeemed to look upon, in all circumſtances, as political virtues of the very firſt order. He added, that what we muſt expect was a ſolid and permanent peace, not one which was either brilliant or glorious.

Spain he only alluded to, for the purpoſe of reading a lecture on the deſertion of our allies; and, though he praiſed the Auſtrian victories, he ſpoke in a diſheartening tone of their extent and probable effect. In concluſion, he announced his intention of inſtituting, at no diſtant period, an enquiry into the cauſes of our diſaſters, and of moving to adviſe his majeſty to make a fundamental change in our whole ſyſtem of domeſtic and of foreign policy.

Mr. Pitt replied to the ſpeech of Mr. Fox. He ſeemed to have adopted ſome of the doctrines of his political rival; for his anſwer to him diſplayed a remarkable ſpirit of moderation and forbearance. Declaring that he retained all his opinions on the points which had ſo long been in diſpute between him and his opponents, he congratulated himſelf and the Houſe on the concurrence of all parties in the addreſs of that night; a concurrence which he looked on as an omen of future unanimity, with reſpect to the vigorous meaſures neceſſary to be taken, in caſe the republican government ſhould manifeſt a diſpoſition to refuſe a juſt and honourable peace. It did, however, appear, from ſome expreſſions which he uſed, that he was not without his doubts as to the perfect ſincerity of the promiſe of ſupport which the leader of oppoſition had that night given. Nor did he entirely reliſh the manner in which the two laws of the laſt ſeſſion had been treated. Thoſe laws he deſcribed, and perhaps juſtly, as having been of infinite ſervice in ſecuring the tranquillity of the country. On the queſtion whether miniſters had done their beſt to put an end to the war, he pledged himſelf that, whenever an inquiry ſhould be inſtituted, it would be found that they had done every thing which could poſſibly be done. At the ſame time, he fully expoſed the fallacy of the aſſertion, that, becauſe it was now proper to negotiate, it would have been proper to negotiate at the commencement of the conteſt. Then, turning to the ſubject of our reſources, he drew an encouraging picture of the ſtate of our revenue and commerce. Our exports he repreſented as having, for the laſt ſix months, been equal to what they had been in the moſt flouriſhing years of peace, and our imports as having diminiſhed in a very ſmall proportion from what they had been in periods the moſt proſperous. On theſe reſources he built his hopes of either obtaining a durable peace, or being able to continue the conteſt with ſpirit till ſuch a peace could be obtained. He likewiſe dwelt, with a laudable feeling of pleaſure, on the triumphs of our navy, and contended, that they juſtified him in regarding the war as having been glorious to this country. So high, indeed, did he rate our ſucceſſes, that he ſeemed to think they almoſt counterbalanced thoſe of our enemy on the continent. We might, he urged, command even a triumphant peace, were it not that we conſidered the ſituation of Great

Great Britain as linked to that of the continent by the bands of a liberal and comprehenſive policy, and were, therefore, determined not to ſeparate our own greatneſs and our own commerce from the intereſt and the fate of our allies. The reſults of the campaign in Germany he deemed of the utmoſt importance, not merely on account of the territory which had been recovered, but, ſtill more, on account of the ruin of the republican armies, the diſgrace of the republican arms, and the hoſtile ſentiments excited in the boſoms of the German people by republican enormities. In concluſion, while he gave due praiſe to the virtues of moderation and forbearance, which, however, he ſaid belonged rather to the ſchool of proſperity than of adverſity, he reminded his hearers that there were other virtues, of equal rank, and highly requiſite in reverſes of fortune, among which firmneſs and magnanimity, fortitude and perſeverance, were entitled to the foremoſt place.

In one part of his ſpeech, Mr. Pitt made uſe of language which a wiſe policy would, perhaps, diſown. Adverting to Mr. Fox's eagerneſs for a formal recognition of the French republic, he remarked, that the Directory itſelf not having been diſſatisfied with our conduct, it was unneceſſary in Mr. Fox to find an obſtacle where they had found none; and to this he added, that "no queſtion of etiquette, no difficulty of form ſhould be permitted to ſtand in the way of negotiation." It does appear, that the certain conſequence of ſuch unguarded words muſt be to encourage an enemy, already ſufficiently brutal, to throw off the laſt reſtraints of decency, and to indulge at will in all the vulgar and ferocious inſolence of his natural diſpoſition. In public affairs, as in private life, the low-minded and malignant are ſure to trample on thoſe perſons who are either unwilling or unable to repel with promptneſs and vigour any inſult which is offered to them.

The addreſs, after a few words from Mr. Fox, was carried without a diviſion.

In the Houſe of Lords, the miniſtry did not eſcape without cenſure, though of a very different kind from that which was laviſhed on them by the party in oppoſition. Thoſe perſons, ſcanty in number, but highly reſpectable in rank and talent, who had joined the miniſters from a conviction of the danger of republican influence and republican doctrines, believed that danger to be ſo far from being diminiſhed, that it was exceedingly increaſed; and they conſequently ſaw with grief and apprehenſion the preſent eagerneſs, which they deemed undignified and impolitic, for entering into a negotiation with the rulers of France. A peace, they thought, could be nothing more than a hollow truce. It would firmly conſolidate the power of the enemy, and, by means of the deep and extenſive intrigues which it would give an opportunity of carrying on, and by holding forth the example and ſtimulus of ſucceſsful rebellion, would expoſe this country to infinitely greater peril than it could incur from war, while it would deprive us of thoſe favourable chances which war affords. Mr. Windham

Windham was decidedly of this opinion; but he was reſtrained from any active expreſſion of it in the Houſe of Commons, by the circumſtance of his being a member of the cabinet. It appeared to him to be indecorous, and, in a public view, even imprudent, to weaken the government, by open diſſent from his colleagues. His ſentiments on this head were, nevertheleſs, pretty generally known.

The ſame reaſon did not, however, exiſt, to impoſe ſilence on others, who entertained the ſame ideas as Mr. Windham. As ſoon, therefore, as the addreſs had been moved and ſeconded in the Upper Houſe, earl Fitzwilliam roſe, and moved an amendment, to leave out all that part which ſanctioned a negotiation, and to inſert inſtead, that "this Houſe ſtrongly impreſſed with the juſtice and neceſſity of the preſent war, carried on for the maintenance of civil and moral order in the world, and for ſecuring the balance of power in Europe, and the independence of all ſtates, will continue to give his majeſty a vigorous ſupport in aſſerting the general cauſe of his majeſty and his allies, and for preſerving the good faith, dignity, and honour of the crown, in full aſſurance that no ſteps ſhould be taken inconſiſtent with thoſe principles, or with the future ſafety and proſperity of theſe kingdoms: and ſhould the apparently hoſtile diſpoſitions of the court of Madrid, inſtigated by the intrigues and menaces of the common enemy, put his majeſty under the neceſſity of repelling force by force, his majeſty may rely on the determination of this Houſe to give his majeſty the moſt ample ſupport in defending againſt every aggreſſion, the dignity, rights, and intereſts of the Britiſh empire."

At the outſet of his ſpeech, his lordſhip ſtated the grounds on which he and his friends had been induced to give their aid to the miniſtry, in the proſecution of the war. The object of that war was then explicitly and unequivocally avowed to be "the preſervation of civil ſociety itſelf, and of all orderly and well-regulated governments in Europe, againſt that dreadful ſyſtem of anarchy, devaſtation, diſorganization, and bloodſhed, with which the French revolution threatened every civilized ſociety." The beſt, and, indeed, only means of attaining that object had been declared to be, to reſtore hereditary monarchy in France. On that principle, and with that view, he had acted, and would continue to act. The wiſdom of the firſt meaſures which were adopted to avert the danger he had always approved, and experience had confirmed. What was there now in the aſpect of public affairs to require a deviation from a conduct ſanctioned by policy, and juſtified by events? Far from there being any thing to authorize a change, there was, on the contrary, greater reaſon than ever to adhere to the principles originally laid down. France had not changed. Her intention ſtill was to overturn the eſtabliſhed order of things in every country, into which her armies or her emiſſaries could penetrate. There was more to be dreaded from her arts than even from her armies. Were the miniſters aware to what hazard they expoſed England, by a peace concluded even on honourable terms?

Were

Were they prepared to admit the agents of France to ſpread their baleful doctrines through every part of the kingdom and its dependencies? Were they ready to ſubmit, on the menaces of the Directory, to liberate thoſe who were confined, and to recal thoſe who were tranſported, for ſeditious practices. Yet, when we had diſmantled our fleets, and diſbanded our armies, ſuch menaces and demands would certainly be made; and was it to be imagined that we ſhould then be able to cope with the combined ſtrength of France, Spain, and Holland? Theſe were no viſionary fears. Proofs of the juſtice of them might be found in ſeveral ſtates, which had treated with the Directory. Sardinia had been compelled to ſet traitors at liberty, and to allow her internal adminiſtration to be interfered with; Rome had ſuffered the ſame inſult; Pruſſia had been forced to permit a French ſtandard to be hoiſted in her capital; and Spain might fairly be conſidered as a province of France. Our colonies, too, as well as Great Britain, would be placed in jeopardy by a peace, which would give full liberty to the republican emiſſaries to diſſeminate their poiſon.

There was, alſo, his lordſhip ſaid, another point to be attended to, in talking of peace. It was, in truth, only a ſecondary one with him, becauſe his prime objection was to treating with France as ſhe was now conſtituted; but it was, nevertheleſs, of infinite importance. Was it with France according to her ancient limits, or France aggrandized by her recent conqueſts, that we were to conclude a treaty? Was England willing to give up every thing for which ſo much blood and treaſure had formerly been expended, and to ſee the French maſters of the Netherlands, and all the territory on the left bank of the Rhine? In that caſe, what would become of the republic of Holland? Add to this, that French domination was eſtabliſhed throughout nearly the whole of Italy. The reſult of a peace, under ſuch circumſtances, would be the ruin of our commerce, which would be excluded from a great part of Europe, by the threats and intrigues of the Directory, as well as by the impoveriſhment of thoſe ſtates which remained ſubſervient to France. With regard to our allies, the noble lord doubted whether, as had been hinted in the debate, we had a right to negociate for them; and he ſtrongly urged the propriety of adhering to good faith and public honour. In concluſion, he adverted to a paper, which he held in his hand, and which contained the ſcurrility publiſhed by the Directory*, on the rumour that an Engliſh envoy had arrived, to commence a negotiation. This vulgar and inſolent attack ſerved, he ſaid, to quiet the uneaſineſs which had been excited in him by the tendency of the ſpeech from the throne; as it ſhowed that no peace could be entered into with thoſe who had offered ſuch a groſs and wanton inſult to this country, in the perſons of its government and ambaſſadors.

By the earl of Guildford a ſhort

* See Annual Regiſter 1796, Hiſtorical Part, page 239.

ſpeech was made, which, doubtleſs, was not highly gratifying to the miniſters. He, of courſe, approved of the intention to negotiate; pledged himſelf, however, to inſtitute a ſevere enquiry into the conduct of thoſe who had reduced the country to its preſent deplorable condition; conſidered the purpoſed attempt to treat as a full juſtification of the opinions which he and his friends had expreſſed for the laſt three years; termed the conteſt in which we were engaged a miſerable and unavailing ſtruggle; ſpoke, indeed, in praiſe of the recent ſucceſſes of Auſtria, but, at the ſame time, thought that if they retarded a peace they would be one of the worſt of curſes; and, finally, deſcribed the Treaſon and Sedition Bills as being held in abhorrence by the people of England, and as having had no ſhare whatever in ſecuring the public tranquillity.

After having made a few obſervations on this ſpeech, and inſiſted that we had derived many advantages from the conteſt with the republicans, lord Grenville proceeded to contend againſt the amendment propoſed by earl Fitzwilliam. His language was better calculated to pleaſe the party in oppoſition, than that which felt alarm at the probable aſcendency of revolutionary doctrines. The whole argument of the peer who moved the amendment appeared to him, he ſaid, to be entirely founded on a miſtake. The government was not guilty of any dereliction of principle, in treating with the republic; for it had not pledged itſelf to make no peace, unleſs an hereditary monarchy were re-eſtabliſhed in France. Miniſters had never acted in ſo wild and extravagant a manner, as to pledge themſelves to any ſuch principle. On the contrary, they had repeatedly proteſted againſt the calumny that they would not treat with France while it was under a republican conſtitution. They originally thought, indeed, that a monarchical form was the beſt to enſure the happineſs of France; and they thought ſo ſtill; but it was not, therefore, implied, that they could not ſafely enter into treaty with republican France. He was convinced that England was in a ſituation to expect an honourable peace; and he ſeemed to think that there would be nothing to be feared from the emiſſaries of France, as the rulers of that country would not venture to act in the ſame manner towards a powerful ſtate, as they would towards thoſe ſtates which were unable to reſiſt them.

To the queſtion put by earl Fitzwilliam, whether the miniſters were willing to leave the Netherlands, and a part of the empire, in the hands of the enemy, he evaded giving a direct anſwer; and only declared that, if honourable conditions were refuſed, we were prepared to reſiſt any diſgraceful demands, and to repel arrogance and haughty pretenſions, with the ſame ſpirit which we had hitherto ſhewn.

With reſpect to the official paper, to which the noble mover of the amendment had alluded, his lordſhip juſtly characterized it as a falſe and ſenſeleſs libel; but, with a more doubtful propriety, he added, that it was beneath the notice of parliament, and ought not to be allowed to obſtruct the progreſs of a negotiation,

a negotiation, which might, perhaps, terminate in such a way as to be consistent with the dignity and honour of the kingdom.

How, after having read that official document, his lordship could conceive, that terms consistent with our honour and dignity might be obtained, is exceedingly difficult to be imagined. That note gave most ominous warning what terms we were to expect. It avowed, with an impudent sincerity, that no peace would be granted but such an one as would snatch from us our maritime preponderancy, and depress our industry and commerce; that is to say, such an one as would finally prostrate England at the feet of her enemy.

After a few words from the earls of Abingdon and Kinnoul, earl Fitzwilliam made a brief reply to lord Grenville; in which he contended that, by inviting the royalists to take up arms to restore their sovereign, and promising them support, the ministers had, in fact, given a pledge for the restoration of monarchy. If, after such an invitation, they deserted those who had acted in confidence of their good faith, what, he asked, could be urged in excuse for such conduct.

The question being put on the amendment, it was negatived; and the address was then read, and agreed to.

In consequence of his motion being rejected, earl Fitzwilliam entered on the journals a protest consisting of ten articles, which is certainly not surpassed by any other composition of its kind, in closeness of reasoning, or in elegance of style *.

At length, as has been shown in our last volume, after a period of somewhat more than two months, an end was put to the hopes and fears and predictions, to which the negotiation had given rise. Having exhausted all the resources of chicane and bad faith, and displayed an unbounded insolence, which had been too little resented, the Directory drove the British embassy, in the most offensive manner, from the territory of France. It was now to be expected, that the English government would adopt the most vigorous measures to avenge this insult; that it would disclaim all intention of negotiating in future till the enemy was brought to a sense of decorum; and that the party in opposition, to which this attempt to treat was, in reality, a sort of propitiatory sacrifice, would henceforth yield the ministers that support which, through their organ, Mr. Fox, they had, in fact, on the first day of the session, solemnly pledged themselves to give. The ministers themselves, however, by declaring to the world their readiness to incur a repetition of insult, disappointed those who had looked to them for energy; and we shall soon see that the opposition, instead of redeeming their pledge, only made the rupture of the negotiation a pretext for attacking their political antagonists with greater violence than ever.

On the return of lord Malmesbury from his fruitless and humi-

* See State Papers, Ann. Reg. 1796, page 196 *.

liating

liating miſſion, a meſſage was ſent to both houſes by his majeſty, and the neceſſary papers were ordered to be laid before them. The meſſage expreſſed the utmoſt concern that the King's endeavours had been fruſtrated; declared his conviction that the papers would prove his ſincere deſire of peace, and that the failure had been occaſioned ſolely by the enemy, who had advanced the moſt inadmiſſible pretenſions; aſſured the two Houſes that he looked forward with anxiety to the moment when the republicans might be diſpoſed to act on different principles; and called on the country, in the mean time, to carry on the conteſt in a ſtrenuous and effectual manner. This meſſage was brought down on Monday; and Thurſday was the day fixed for its diſcuſſion; not, however, without an attempt being made by ſome of the members in oppoſition, to poſtpone the debate for a week, in order to afford an opportunity for a fuller attendance. If thoſe members were of the ſame opinion as Mr. Sheridan, it is not wonderful that they were anxious to obtain as full a houſe as they poſſibly could. He repreſented the negotiation as a thing on which depended "our hopes, our happineſs, our lives, our laws, our liberties, and our properties."

When the order of the day was moved for taking this meſſage into conſideration, the earls of Guildford, Derby, and Abingdon, required that the inſtructions given to Lord Malmeſbury ſhould be laid before the Houſe. It was, the earl of Derby ſaid, perfectly idle and nugatory to diſcuſs the papers, without having previouſly ſeen the inſtructions. At the ſame time he declared, that great blame was due ſomewhere; but both his lordſhip and the earl of Guildford took care to exculpate the enemy from any ſhare in it, by diſtinctly ſaying that it muſt be attributed either to the ambaſſador or to the Britiſh miniſters. The call for the inſtructions was, however, oppoſed by the other ſide, and was not perſiſted in by the noble lords.

This queſtion being diſpoſed of, lord Grenville roſe to move an addreſs to his Majeſty, which, as is uſual, was an echo to the ſentiments contained in the meſſage. Lamenting, at the outſet of his ſpeech, the failure of the negotiation, and declaring that it was not attributable to the miniſtry, lord Grenville traced the various attempts which had been made to enter on a treaty, and the conduct which had been purſued by the enemy, down to the diſmiſſal of lord Malmeſbury. The Directory, he ſaid, had departed from the principle to which they had originally acceded, that of compenſation; and, without preſenting any project of their own, had imperiouſly called for the delivery, within twenty-four hours, of the Britiſh ultimatum. This demand of an ultimatum, before any diſcuſſion had taken place, he ſhowed to be at once unuſual and palpably abſurd. As to the doctrine which they had advanced, that they would not treat on the baſis of mutual reſtitutions, becauſe to do ſo would be contrary to their laws, conſtitution, and treaties, his lordſhip juſtly obſerved, that it never could be admitted by any independent country; as it, in fact, aſſerted the ſupremacy of the French republic over the whole of Europe.

Europe. But, even this he contended to be, on their part, a miſerable pretence to evade a peace, as their conſtitution, if he at all underſtood it, did not compel them to ſtand upon any ſuch conditions. He wound up his ſtatement and arguments by again proteſting that "his Majeſty and his miniſters had entered into the negotiation with perfect good faith; had ſuffered no impediments to prevent their proſecuting it with earneſtneſs and ſincerity; they had now only to lament its abrupt termination, and to renew in the face of Europe their moſt ſolemn declaration, that whenever the French government ſhould be diſpoſed to enter on the work of general pacification, in a conciliatory and equitable ſpirit, nothing ſhould be wanting on the part of this country to contribute to the accompliſhment of that great object, with a view to which his Majeſty had already offered ſuch conſiderable ſacrifices, and which was now retarded only by the exorbitant pretenſions of France."

The proteſtations of Lord Grenville, earneſtly as they were delivered, were liſtened to with entire diſbelief by the party in oppoſition. They even ſeem to have excited a more than commonly violent eagerneſs of invective. When the queſtion was about to be put, the Earl of Guildford roſe, and commenced a bitter harangue, introductory to an amendment. This day, he ſaid, was the moſt calamitous which this country had ever ſeen, except, perhaps, that on which it entered into this moſt diſaſtrous and unprovoked conteſt. It was alſo the moſt diſgraceful to miniſters, as it demonſtrated their utter incapacity both for negotiation and for war. It was not only a day of expoſure of their weakneſs and incapacity, but of their miſerable, evaſive, and ſiniſter proceedings, of their want of candour, and, he was afraid, of their want of ſincerity. The papers on the table he characterized as a maſs of criminal imbecility, and of diſgraceful abſurdity, ſuch as he had never before witneſſed; and the King's declaration as contemptible, falſe, and glaringly inconſiſtent. Miniſters, he contended, had been guilty of deceiving the parliament by pretexts which they knew to be untrue; they had wantonly thrown away favourable opportunities to negotiate; every principle upon which they had ſet out had been retracted; and every pretenſion which they had held forth they had ſurrendered. Though he deemed the Netherlands an object of importance, he evidently did not think that the conteſt ought to be continued for the purpoſe of recovering them. The conduct of the Directory, during the late conferences, he vindicated, and cenſured that of the Britiſh government, in wiſhing to deſpoil the Dutch of a part of their poſſeſſions. The diſmiſſion of M. Chauvelin he conſidered as no leſs offenſive than that of lord Malmeſbury; and he blamed the miniſters for not having ſought for peace at the moment when the duke of York had become maſter of Valenciennes. The ſituation of England, he affirmed, was ſuch as to render it impoſſible to carry on the war; and he, therefore, called on the Houſe to adopt other meaſures than thoſe, which it had hitherto ſanctioned and conſequently

quently to vote the amendment which he now propoſed.

This amendment was, of courſe, of the ſame tenor as his ſpeech; abundantly violent, but not abounding in either eloquence or argument. It ſtated the inexpreſſible concern of the Houſe that the negotiation had been unhappily fruſtrated; denied the ſincerity of the miniſters; talked of their raſhneſs, injuſtice, and long continued miſconduct; expreſſed deep regret that no treaty had been entered into with the republic ſeveral years before; accuſed his majeſty's adviſers of having then uſed arrogant and inſulting pretences; and, finally, promiſed, "for the ſatisfaction of an exhauſted people, to proceed with unremitting diligence to inveſtigate the cauſes which had produced our preſent calamities, and to offer ſuch advice as the critical and alarming circumſtances of the nation might require.'

In ſupport of the amendment, it was urged by the earl of Derby, that the war was originally unjuſt, and, even if juſt, had been conducted ſo badly as to render its continuance unadviſable; that our offers to the French had not been adequate to what they had a right to expect; that we had provoked their inſult upon our ambaſſador, by our arrogance; that the kingdom was reduced to a melancholy condition; that it would be almoſt impoſſible to raiſe a loan; that bankruptcies were daily on the increaſe; that the manufactures were going to decay; that the penury and depopulation in the great towns was ſo enormous, that in Birmingham alone 4,000 houſes out of 16,000 were untenanted; that it would be exceedingly difficult to find men for the army, and only to be done at all by enormous bounties; and that it was obviouſly impracticable to proceed any longer in this fatal career. On all theſe grounds, therefore, he would vote for the amendment, and he hoped that a committee would be moved for, to enquire into the ſtate of the nation.

The earl of Liverpool, lord Auckland, and the earl of Kinnoul, declared themſelves hoſtile to the amendment. By the earl of Liverpool, it was chiefly inſiſted that the reſtoration of the Weſt India Iſlands, which were the ſource of the French marine, and produced a revenue of ten millions, was a ſufficient price for the ceſſions which France was called on to make; that, however, if ſhe had been of a different opinion, ſhe ought to have ſaid ſo, and to have ſtated her terms; and that the recovery of the Netherlands was an object of great importance to this country, as being our beſt key to the continental market. He deprecated alſo the language which had been held by ſome perſons, as having a tendency, in ſuch a criſis, to lower the ſpirit of the people.

The earl of Kinnoul grounded his approbation of the addreſs on the ſincerity which the miniſters had diſplayed, the arrogance manifeſted by the enemy, and the abſolute neceſſity, which the diſmiſſion of lord Malmeſbury had impoſed on us, of continuing, with all poſſible vigour, a conteſt which we were not allowed at preſent to terminate, without danger and diſgrace.

A wider ſcope in argument was taken by lord Auckland. He owned

owned that, at the opening of the ſeſſion, he had participated in ſome of the ſentiments of Earl Fitzwilliam; but had reſtrained himſelf from ſpeaking, becauſe he was unwilling to throw a prejudice on the attempt to treat, which, under all the circumſtances of the time, he thought an experiment neceſſary to be made, in order to demonſtrate to the world, that the continuance of the calamities of the war ought to be aſcribed to thoſe from whoſe madneſs and wickedneſs the war had originated. Such was the reaſon that induced him, repugnant as it was to his feelings, to acquieſce in the negotiation. He was not, however, diſappointed in the event. The conſtitution of the pretended republic was incompatible with a ſtate of peace. In fact, that conſtitution bore no reſemblance of a republic; but was the moſt odious ariſtocracy that had ever been recorded in the annals of mankind. Its leaders had no ſecurity in the poſſeſſion of unparalleled power, no ſafety in the conſciouſneſs of unparalleled crimes, but in the violent predicament of war. The negotiation, however, would produce the beneficial effect of throwing entirely on them the blame of further bloodſhed; and, therefore, it had his approbation.

In conducting it, the miniſters had gone to the utmoſt verge of conceſſion, without loſing ſight of the intereſt and character of the country; they had, in every ſtep, blended extreme conciliation with unſhaken dignity. In common with the other ſpeakers on the ſame ſide, his lordſhip animadverted on the refuſal of the Directory to reſtore the territories which they had conquered, becauſe they were pretended to be a part of their indiviſible republic. Even had we conſented to admit their pretenſions, he doubted not that others, equally inſulting and extravagant, would have been brought forward. But, in truth, this indiviſibility had no reference whatever to the conquered countries. It merely related to a queſtion, which had formerly been much agitated, whether the French provinces ſhould be federal ſtates, or continue united in one body. The pretext of the Directory was, conſequently, the worſt which they could have choſen.

Since they were reſolved not to ſuffer the ſword to be ſheathed, what, then, ought to be our conduct? We ought to purſue the war, manfully and with redoubled energy, till our implacable and cruel enemy ſhould be brought to the ſituation which alone could give us a ſolid and honourable peace; that ſituation was neither more nor leſs than a decided incapacity to maintain the conteſt. It would not, he was convinced, be long before they found themſelves thus incapacitated. In proof of this he quoted their own confeſſions as to their penury of reſources. With that penury he contraſted the vaſt reſources of Great Britain, which he affirmed to be as flouriſhing and extenſive as thoſe of her antagoniſt were withered and circumſcribed; and this he pledged himſelf to prove, whenever a diſcuſſion ſhould take place on that important ſubject.

The duke of Bedford and the earl of Abingdon were the only other peers who ſpoke in favour of the amendment. The ſpeech of the latter nobleman was extremely

conciſe. He diſbelieved the ſincerity of the miniſtry; declared the conduct of the Directory to have been open and manly; quoted a paſſage from the New Teſtament; and drew a diſadvantageous compariſon between Mr. Pitt and his illuſtrious father.

The duke of Bedford neceſſarily went over much of the ſame ground as his friends. Somewhat out of the beaten tract he, nevertheleſs, did go. The miniſters, he ſaid, had employed aſſertions inſtead of arguments; and, availing himſelf of the language of lord Auckland, he laboured to prove that their aſſertions were contradictory, and of courſe deſtructive of each other. With reſpect to the Netherlands, he gave it as his opinion, that the Directory were not bent on keeping them, but would relinquiſh them for an equivalent. To thoſe articles of accuſation, which had already been directed againſt the miniſters, he added another, which does not appear to have had any foundation. It was, that they had acted on a principle of augmenting the power of great ſtates, at the expenſe of thoſe which were weaker. Had this even been the caſe, it is not eaſy to conceive how they could with any juſtice be arraigned for it, by thoſe who were willing to ſee the coloſſal power of France extended, in almoſt every direction, to ſuch an enormous degree.

Theſe arguments were controverted by lord Spencer and the lord chancellor, who, like the ſpeakers on the other ſide, could not avoid repeating much of what had previouſly been urged. Lord Spencer ſtrongly reaſſerted the ſincerity of himſelf and his colleagues, and their intention to procure a peace, whenever it could poſſibly be accompliſhed. Nor did he yet, he declared, deſpair of bringing our enemies to a better ſenſe of what they owed to themſelves, and to the tranquillity of Europe. That hope is one of the moſt vivacious feelings of the human breaſt has often been remarked; and this declaration of lord Spencer's affords one evidence more that the remark is founded on truth.

By the lord chancellor the amendment was treated with conſiderable ſeverity. It was, he ſaid, ſo ſingular in its nature, and ſo extraordinary in its tendency, that it excited in him the utmoſt ſurpriſe. Its effect, if it were poſſible for it to be adopted, could not fail to be of the moſt prejudicial kind. It tended to humble the nation before the executive Directory, and to invite them to put their feet on our necks.

Having defended the conduct of the miniſters, he took notice of ſome aſſertions which had been made, with reſpect to the pecuniary ſituation of the country. It was not true that bankruptcies were encreaſing. On the contrary, in the preſent year, the number was rather above one fifth leſs than the average of the laſt twelve years. That our wealth was augmenting might be inferred from the ſurplus of monies brought into the treaſury of the Court of Chancery, amounting to 960,000 pounds, of which he computed 800,000 pounds to have been ſaved during the current year. The manufactures, notwithſtanding what had been aſſerted, were never

never more flouriſhing; nor was the quantity of Engliſh goods exported ever greater than it was now. Such, indeed, were the riches of Great Britain, that ſubſcriptions, to a large amount, to the loan of eighteen millions, had been ſent from various towns, after the loan had been filled up. Never was the public proſperity higher than at this moment. But, on the other hand, never, he ſaid, at any period of Engliſh hiſtory, when a negotiation had been broken off, did thoſe who oppoſed the miniſtry, never till this period, think of bringing forward a motion like "that thing" which he then held in his hand.

After a brief reply from the earl of Derby, who vindicated the truth of his aſſertions, reſpecting the declining ſtate of manufactures, and affirmed that our boaſted exports either remained unſold, or had been ſold at a loſs of 25 per cent, the queſtion was put on the amendment, which was rejected by a large majority; there being only eight contents againſt eighty-ſix non-contents.

As ſoon as the numbers had been declared, earl Fitzwilliam brought forward an amendment, which breathed a very different ſpirit from that of the earl of Guildford, but was equally unſucceſsful. He contended that the miniſters had abandoned the principles on which the war was commenced; that many enterprizes againſt the enemy had been badly planned and executed; that nothing had occurred to juſtify our treating with the republicans; and, reminding the Houſe of the inſulting official note of the Directory, to which he had alluded on the firſt day of the ſeſſion, he aſked if any man in poſſeſſion of his ſenſes, could, after ſuch an attack as that, have imagined that the Directory was inclined to liſten to any terms which our ambaſſador could propoſe.

The amendment, after returning thanks for the communication of the papers, ſtated that, not doubting of his majeſty's ardent deſire for an honourable peace, the Houſe was convinced, by what had recently paſſed, that no future attempt to treat could be wiſe, decorous, and ſafe, till the common enemy ſhould have abandoned his hoſtile diſpoſition to all other ſtates, by ceaſing to place his own internal regulations above the public law of Europe; that it was induced by its preſent experience only to adhere more ſteadily to the royal declaration of October, 1793; that it would never conſider the preſent holders of the power in France, under whatever name or external form of government that power might be exerciſed, as capable of maintaining the ordinary relations of peace and amity, until they ſhould have diſclaimed in conduct, no leſs than in words, that ſyſtem which, having emanated from the original principle of the French revolution, ſtill continued to operate in a more dangerous, becauſe a more ſpecious form; and that the Houſe entreated his majeſty to be perſuaded that in all its deliberations it would bear in mind the true grounds and origin of the war, would ever remember with juſt indignation the attack made on his majeſty and his allies, and the deſtructive principle on which that attack was founded, and would

perſevere with union and vigour in its exertions, being ſtill more than ever ſenſible that, by diſcontinuing or relaxing our efforts, we could hardly procure even a ſhort interval of deluſive repoſe, and could certainly never obtain either ſecurity or peace.

This amendment, into which were incorporated ſeveral paſſages from former reſolutions of the Houſe, did not give riſe to any debate. Earl Fitzwilliam was concifely replied to by earl Spencer, and lord Grenville, who contented themſelves with aſſerting their conſiſtency, and diſavowing the idea of having ever entertained the extravagant project of waging againſt France an internecine war.

On the queſtion being put on this amendment, it was negatived without a diviſion. The original addreſs was then put and carried.

At the cloſe of the debate, the duke of Bedford expreſſed his conviction that the country could neither enjoy peace nor proſperity without a change of men and meaſures. He, therefore, he ſaid, intended to make a motion to that effect, but would previouſly move for an enquiry into the ſtate of the nation. For that purpoſe he moved that the Lords ſhould be ſummoned for that day fortnight. This motion was, however, negatived; and the Houſe adjourned for the Chriſtmas receſs.

In the Houſe of Commons there were fewer ſpeakers, but the ſubject produced a greater flow of eloquence there than it had done in the Houſe of Peers. The two leading political rivals, took, as was to be expected, a prominent part in the diſcuſſion. The addreſs to his majeſty, in anſwer to the meſſage, was moved by Mr. Pitt. In his exordium, he declared his "deep and poignant regret" at the abrupt cloſing of a negotiation, of the favourable iſſue of which ſanguine hopes might, he thought, have been well entertained. In his feelings of regret he was doubtleſs joined by the members in oppoſition, but, in uttering thoſe feelings, he uſed language which, though ſanctioned by truth, could not fail to excite anger in his opponents. He reaſſerted the juſtice and neceſſity of the war; and ſpoke of revolutionary inſolence and aggreſſion in ſuitable terms of cenſure. Thoſe exertions which the Britiſh government had made to reſtore peace, he did not, however, conceive to be wholly thrown away. They muſt, he ſaid, prove to which party the prolongation of the war was to be imputed; they would tend at once to unite England and to divide France; they would animate our endeavours with new energy and confidence, while they muſt have the certain effect to enfeeble and to embarraſs the operations of the enemy. At the ſame time, with an obvious miſgiving of the manner in which his antagoniſts would conduct themſelves, he added, it remains to be ſeen whether there are any gentlemen in this houſe, who, as friends to peace, as friends to their country, who, conſiſtent with the principles of ſtateſmen, or the feelings of patriots, can diſcover any alternative in the ultimate line of conduct to be purſued.

Having touched on theſe points, he proceeded to give a ſketch of the various attempts that had been made, to induce the republicans to

abate

abate ſomewhat of their pride, and liſten to the ſolicitations of the allies. He commenced with the offers which had been made through the channel of Mr. Wickham, and commented on the repulſive mode in which they had been received. In anſwer to our overtures, a principle was advanced, ſo manifeſtly unjuſt, ſo undeniably abſurd, that, whatever difference of opinion ſubſiſted on other points, there was no man living who had the temerity to ſupport it. It aſſerted a right, ariſing out of a law of the French conſtitution, to cancel the obligations of treaties, and to annul the public law of Europe. So palpably iniquitous was this, that ſome were almoſt inclined to doubt whether it was fair and candid to attribute ſuch a pretenſion to the Directory. It was thought that their ideas on the ſubject muſt have been miſconceived. But the Directory ſpeedily took care to convince us that their ſentiments had not been miſunderſtood. Previouſly to the rupture of the armiſtice, the emperor having deſired to negotiate together with his allies, he was treated with the ſame haughtineſs as we ourſelves had experienced, and was told that he might ſend a plenipotentiary, to ſettle a peace conformably to the laws and conſtitution of the republic. Nevertheleſs, all this, it appears, did not teach the Britiſh miniſters how little was to be gained by ſupplication. Hoping, Mr. Pitt ſaid, that the ſubſequent diſtreſſes and embarraſſments of France would induce her to liſten with rather more complacency to pacific language, his majeſty, "without having witneſſed any indication on their part of ſentiments more peaceful, or more conciliatory, without their having diſcovered any retraction of the principles ſet up in reply to his firſt propoſal," determined to try the ſucceſs of a new attempt to put an end to the conteſt.

It is plain that, in endeavouring to open a negotiation, Mr. Pitt yielded to the clamour of the members in oppoſition; and he alſo indirectly confeſſed that he had adopted their idea, that negotiation had in it ſomething capable of neutralizing any inſult or diſgrace which it might bring down on the party deſirous to negotiate. He drew an elaborate and ſtriking picture of the ſtubborn perſeverance which the miniſters had diſplayed, in ſuing to the rulers of France to liſten to their entreaties. The envoy of a neutral power having, he ſaid, been recommended, as the fitteſt perſon through whom to make an application to the Directory, the Britiſh government pitched upon the repreſentative of Denmark. After long delay, the anſwer was, that the Directory would not attend to any indirect overture through the medium of neutral powers, but that the Engliſh plenipotentiary might proceed to the frontier and wait for paſſports. If the miniſters had wiſhed to avail themſelves of plauſible grounds for going no further, he ſubmitted to the Houſe whether this treatment would not have ſupplied them. But, even to this they ſubmitted; and ſent a flag of truce to Calais. The Directory, ſeeing the odium to which their refuſal would expoſe them, were now compelled to grant leave for our ambaſſador to proceed to Paris.

This he ſeemed to conſider as, on our part, a kind of triumph.

As it had, he owned, been foreſeen that all the burthen of the buſineſs would be thrown upon this country, which would, conſequently, be called on to encounter the additional difficulty of propoſing ſpecific terms, the firſt thing which had been done was to endeavour to eſtabliſh ſome baſis, on which the negotiation might be founded. Without that, nothing could be accompliſhed. The baſis fixed on was a baſis of compenſation, not of ambition or aggrandizement, but of that compenſation which was due for the conqueſts achieved by the valour and perſeverance of our forces. A baſis more equitable, better calculated to ſecure the intereſts of our allies, to maintain the independence of Europe, or more honourable to this country, he was confident was never propoſed. It had, indeed, been objected to in England, but it was admitted by the enemy.

Nothing was, however, gained by this admiſſion. After the baſis had been reluctantly agreed to, the Directory continued to throw freſh obſtacles in the way. They inſiſted upon a ſpecific ſtatement of the objects of compenſation. It was, Mr. Pitt obſerved, a point well underſtood, that the final terms, to be conſidered as binding on the parties, never formed a part of the original propoſition. It had been, as far as poſſible, the uſual practice to render the ſtatement of terms mutual, to give reciprocally, and at the ſame time, the explanations, the conceſſions, and the demands upon which each ſide was diſpoſed to inſiſt. The propriety of this was obvious. Without ſuch a mode of proceeding, it was impracticable to know the value which was ſet upon a particular conceſſion, or a particular acquiſition, and upon what conditions this was to be compenſated, and that abandoned. This difficulty exiſted in all negotiations; more eſpecially, when doubts were entertained of the ſincerity of thoſe with whom the buſineſs was carrying on; but moſt of all, when no advance, no reciprocal offer, had been made. Such, in this inſtance, was the caſe. The Directory had inceſſantly ſtarted new cavils, and their demands had been accompanied with no diſcloſure of the terms to which they would accede. Under theſe hoſtile circumſtances, how difficult muſt it have been to bring forward ſpecific offers with any proſpect of ſucceſs. Yet the ſame motives which, on former occaſions, had induced his Majeſty to ſurmount the obſtacles ſedulouſly raiſed by the enemy, had induced him here to remove every pretext which they might have uſed for eluding a negotiation. Plans were given in, ſtating alſo conditions for the allies of Great Britain.

Previouſly to his entering on the detail of the terms, Mr. Pitt digreſſed awhile, though, indeed, from its bearing on the ſubject, it could ſcarcely be called a digreſſion, to contraſt the relative ſituation of England and France. Our arms, he ſaid, every where triumphant, had added to our diſtant poſſeſſions, and extended, by thoſe colonial acquiſitions, the ſources of our commerce, our wealth, and our proſperity, to a degree unparalleled even in the annals of this country,

country. No ſymptom of radical decay, no proof of conſuming ſtrength, was to be diſcovered when we looked around us. On the contrary, he was convinced that never was Great Britain in a more flouriſhing ſtate. The temporary embarraſſments which we had experienced, and which had excited ſo much alarm, and ſo many ſiniſter predictions, were leſs the effect of real diſtreſs than of accidental derangement, ariſing from encreaſing capital and ſpreading commerce. They were not evidences of decline, but of the magnitude and reality of our reſources. But what was the caſe with France? Severely and laſtingly had ſhe ſuffered from the conteſt. The republicans were at length arrived at a criſis, which muſt preclude them from the poſſibility of continuing in the ſyſtem on which they had acted. From their own confeſſion it appeared that there was an almoſt total failure of their means. Every branch of their military ſervice was in diſtreſs. Their finances were incompetent even to diſcharge the intereſt of their debt, to ſupport their charitable inſtitutions, to maintain their police, and, in ſhort, to uſe the words of a meſſage from the Directory to the Councils, to do any thing more than organize aſſaſſination. Was France, then, able to effect her ambitious purpoſes, and to trample Europe under her feet? Or ought we to deſert our allies, to be falſe to ourſelves, and reſign, without a ſtruggle, that which, in other times, all her power and all her riches could never extort from us?

What were the terms which we propoſed? What were we to attain by the conqueſts which we had achieved? For ourſelves, we had nothing to aſk. All that was our own, our dominions, our independence, our conſtitution, we could hold without the permiſſion of the enemy. They depended upon the valour and the patriotiſm of the Britiſh people, who would maintain them without condition, and enjoy them without dependence. It was for others that we were to make ſacrifices. The faith of treaties to which we were pledged, called on us to agree to ſuch terms of peace alone as the intereſt of our allies and of Europe required. What leſs could we do than to claim that the poſſeſſions of the emperor ſhould be reſtored? This, however, might have been modified. The ceſſion of the territory between the Rhine and the Moſelle was likewiſe to be demanded from France; but this article, too, was ſubject to modification. When the reſtoring of the conqueſts in Italy was inſiſted on, it was not thence to be inferred that Savoy and Nice were to be included; for in no geographical view could they be component parts of that country. But though all the demands of conceſſion were advanced under the principle of future modification and arrangement, the demand of the reſtitution of the Netherlands was conſidered as the point on which no relaxation could be admitted. Yet, even thoſe provinces were to be ſubject to its action, provided no portion of them was to be allotted to France. In return for this, our offer was ſo liberal that, were it not that we were acting on ideas of good faith to our ally, and for the general intereſts of Europe, it would

be more natural to ſuſpect the wiſdom of the ſurrender than to doubt of the ſincerity of the object. But for thoſe important conſiderations, it would have been a bold ſtep to propoſe ſuch a ſacrifice, as that of reſtoring all the colonies on which the proſperity of France ſo mainly depended. With reſpect to the Spaniſh diviſion of St. Domingo, the French pretended to keep it on the footing of poſſeſſion; though, in reality, they were not maſters of it; nay, at this moment probably held not a ſingle inch of its ſoil. By title they had no right whatever; for Spain could convey none, as her doing it was a contravention of the treaty of Utrecht. We were, therefore, juſtified in looking on St. Domingo as an article of compenſation. With reſpect to Holland, were it poſſible to give back to that ſtate her independence, her importance, her ſecurity, her real rank in the European commonwealth, we ſhould not be very rigid in the ſettlement of thoſe acquiſitions which we had made at her expence. But, unfortunately, we could not now regard her in this deſirable point of view. The continental ceſſions which France had obtained from Holland might afford ſubject for diſcuſſion, as to the manner in which they could beſt be arranged for the good of Holland and the allies: but, viewing them in the light of reſtitution, thoſe ceſſions, and the conqueſts given up by England, could be conſidered merely as an addition to the ſtrength of France. Thoſe which we refuſed to yield up, we retained only becauſe we would not put into the hands of the enemy the means of executing his long cheriſhed plan, for undermining our Indian empire, and deſtroying our Indian commerce.

On this evidence he appealed to the Houſe whether the miniſters had not acted with fairneſs, candour, and really pacific intentions; never, at the ſame time, loſing ſight of a peace advantageous for our allies, ſafe for Europe, and honourable for this country. With reſpect to any ſpecific terms of peace, which it might be proper to adopt or refuſe, he did not think it wiſe for the Houſe to pronounce an opinion. This might ſtill be conſidered as a dormant negociation, capable of being renewed, and it would be impolitic to give a pledge to any ſpecific terms, which, in fact, had never been adhered to by parliament, and had never been given without raſhneſs. Terms muſt be governed by circumſtances. All that he aſked of parliament was, to add its teſtimony to the ſincerity with which his majeſty had endeavoured to reſtore peace, and its approbation of the ſteps which had been taken, to accompliſh that object, by his majeſty's miniſters.

On the ſtrange demand of an ultimatum, Mr. Pitt commented with conſiderable force. The utter impoſſibility of complying with ſuch a demand could not but be obvious. Was it practicable to reconcile diſcordancies, to ſmooth oppoſition, or promote good underſtanding, in this manner? Was an ultimatum, which meant the propoſal intended to come neareſt to the views of all parties, and to ſtate the loweſt terms, was it thus to be made out at random, without knowing what the enemy on their part would concede, or what

what on ours they would prefer? A propoſition drawn up in ſuch a mode, without explanation, without information, could not ſucceed. Becauſe, however, lord Malmeſbury could not comply with this abſurd demand, he was ordered to quit Paris within eight and forty hours. He alſo animadverted on the captious objection made by the Directory to the frequent couriers diſpatched to his court by our ambaſſador; and he placed in a ſtrong light the perverſeneſs or inſolence of propoſing to continue the negociation through the medium of couriers. Mr. Pitt juſtly deſcribed this conduct as a ſtudied inſult offered to the Britiſh Sovereign by the French Directory. It is, however, wonderful, that, after ſuch an inſult, added to the numbers which had before been heaped us, he ſhould perſiſt in believing that the negociation ought not to be conſidered as dead, but only as dormant.

Nor, he urged, was this all. At the moment when they diſmiſſed our plenipotentiary, they rejected the baſis which they had before admitted, and declared that they would liſten to no propoſals contrary to the conſtitution, laws, and treaties which bound the republic. That is to ſay, they required, not as an ultimatum, but as a preliminary, that they ſhould be permitted to retain all thoſe territories of which the chance of war had put them into momentary poſſeſſion, and reſpecting which they had thought proper, in contempt of every principle of equity, and of the received law of nations, to paſs a conſtitutional act, which, as they choſe to interpret it, ordered that they ſhould not be alienated from the republic. If, however, their mode of interpreting the law was correct, how came they ever to admit the principle of compenſation? It would, indeed, have been a ſtrange principle of compenſation which enabled them to retain all their conqueſts, and compelled us to reſtore all thoſe which we had made. But what law of nations was there that, in the remoteſt degree, countenanced ſuch a monſtrous claim, as that we ſhould make no propoſals inconſiſtent with the laws and conſtitution of France? During the war in which the territory was conquered, no annexation of conquered territory could be valid. No ſeparate act of a ſeparate government could diſſolve the ties ſubſiſting between other governments. In his opinion, there was no principle of the law of nations more clear than that, when, in the courſe of a war, any nation acquired new dominions by the ſword, ſuch nation had only an inchoate right to them, and that they did not become property till the concluſion of the conteſt. Were a pretenſion like that which was ſet up by France to be tolerated, it would be a ſource of eternal hoſtility: it would for ever bar the door againſt all treaty between the contending parties.

Having fully argued this point, Mr. Pitt affirmed, that the republicans had been flagrantly inconſiſtent in their manner of applying their own maxims on this ſubject; and of this he produced examples. With regard to the Netherlands, he maintained that, even by the letter of their own conſtitution, they ought to be exempted from its operation; and by reference to that code he proved that the Directory

rectory had the power to alienate, if they pleased, any of the territories of the republic. But, supposing them not to be so authorized, was there no remedy? Yes, there was a remedy. The primary assemblies might be convoked, and they could sanction any cession which was requisite. This, it was said, would be inconvenient. And were we to disgrace our character, relinquish our conquests, deceive our allies, and deliver up Europe bound hand and foot, because, forsooth, it would be an inconvenience to our enemies to convoke the primary assemblies!

Even were we disposed to yield obedience to their new-fangled constitution, this would not suffice. Something more remained to be yielded. We must propose nothing contrary to their treaties. This claim was, if possible, worse than the former. In that instance we had a text upon which to comment; but here we were in the state of those diviners who were left to guess at the dreams which they were called upon to interpret. How could we know what the Dutch might have ceded to France; or whether France might not have an oath in heaven never to give up the cessions made by Holland? Who could tell whether her treaty with Spain did not contain some secret articles, guaranteeing to the latter the restitution of Gibraltar, the island of Jamaica, or some other valuable British possession? And how was it to be known, whether the performance of these engagements was not included under the pretension which the Directory had now advanced? Who could sound where no line could fathom? And, when even all this disgrace had been submitted to, in what situation should we stand? After accepting of terms of which we were entirely ignorant, and resigning all that was important for us to keep, we might at last arrive at a discussion of the government which France might chuse to establish in Italy, and of the fate which it might please her to assign to Germany.

"In fact," said Mr. Pitt, "the question is not how much you will give for peace, but how much disgrace you will suffer at the outset, how much degradation you will submit to as a preliminary. In these circumstances, then, are we to persevere in the war with a spirit and energy worthy of the British name and the British character; or are we, by sending couriers to Paris, to prostrate ourselves at the feet of a stubborn and supercilious government, to do whatever they may require, and to yield to whatever they may impose? I hope that there is not a hand belonging to those who are in his Majesty's councils which would sign the proposals; that there is not in the breast of any man in this house a heart which would sanction the measure; and that there is not, in the British dominions, a single person who, on such an occasion, would allow himself to be degraded by acting as the courier."

The first who rose in opposition to the address was Mr. Erskine. He began by expressing his disappointment that it was not of a different kind. As far, he said, as he understood the address, it would, if adopted, pledge the House to support a war without end, or at least till France was brought to a disposition

diſpoſition unlike that which ſhe manifeſted at preſent. If this were the caſe, there would be no limit to the duration of the conteſt, till we were overtaken by calamities, the preſſure of which would compel us to give way, and till we became victims of a neceſſity which had no law. Having given vent to theſe melancholy forebodings, and ſaid ſomething reſpecting his attachment to his country, and his wiſh to think in its favour, he undertook the Herculean taſk of diſproving that France was the aggreſſor in the war, and that the prolongation of the conteſt was owing to the pride and obſtinacy of her rulers.

On the firſt of theſe heads, he referred back to the time when M. Chauvelin was, as he choſe to call it, ſupplicating for peace, and France had diſavowed all the grounds of quarrel with this country. Separate and ſatisfactory anſwers* were, he boldly aſſerted, given by the French envoy to all the complaints of this court. He repreſented him as having called for the puniſhment of thoſe who diſſeminated ſedition in England, and as having announced the determination of France to keep within her own limits, and reſpect the rights of other nations. In what part of M. Chauvelin's letter to Lord Grenville theſe wonderful diſcoveries were made by Mr. Erſkine, it would not be eaſy to ſay. Nor would it be more eaſy to imagine how, when all the world knew that France was the firſt to declare war, he could have ſubſtantiated his aſſertion, that "war was declared upon France." In what manner Mr. Erſkine would have proceeded, to give a colour to his aſſertions, the Houſe had not an opportunity of knowing; for, at this moment, he was ſuddenly taken ill, and compelled to bring his intended ſpeech to an abrupt termination.

Mr. Fox roſe to ſupply his place. Whatever loſs of eloquence, in conſequence of Mr. Erſkine's illneſs, the Houſe might have ſuſtained, was amply compenſated for by the ſuperior oratorical talents of Mr. Fox. Never were thoſe talents exerted with more vigour, nor ever to worſe purpoſe, than at this moment, when he ſtood forth in the lamentable character of the ſtrenuous vindicator of his country's moſt inveterate and inſulting foe. That he introduced much that was new into his ſpeech, cannot be pretended; but as far as rhetorical art could render his old arguments palatable, they were ſo rendered. He began with a highly coloured picture of the vaſt loſs of treaſure and blood which had been incurred, and the boundleſs miſery which had been occaſioned, by the preſent war. In his opinion, the ſum of miſery cauſed by it was more than had been cauſed by any conqueror or tyrant, from the days of Alexander to our own. And what had we gained by our ſufferings and toils? Even from the confeſſion of the miniſter, it appeared that, ſo far were we from having humiliated our adverſary, that he was become more untractable than ever. It would have been ſome conſolation, had the Chan-

* For the ſupplications and ſatisfactory anſwers of M. Chauvelin, ſee the Annual Regiſter, 1793; Hiſtorical Part, p. 176, and State Papers, p. 248*.

cellor

cellor of the Exchequer ſuggeſted the probable means of reducing the republicans to reaſon; had he held out a well-grounded hope that ſuch a reduction might be effected. That, however, he had not done. We were left in the ſame hopeleſs ſtate as before, with regard to our attaining the object of the conteſt. We had nothing to comfort us but a revival of opinions, by which we had found ourſelves conſtantly deluded. We were again told the ſtale and ſickening ſtory, that the French finances were in the moſt deplorable ſtate; that, in ſhort, the reſources of France were entirely exhauſted; and, as indubitable proof of this, a meſſage of the Directory was now adduced. He wondered that the frank admiſſion of M. Delacroix to Lord Malmeſbury, with reſpect to the magnitude of our pecuniary means, had not been brought forward in aid of this argument. But what was the real worth of this argument, which had ſo long been relied on? What did we find from the evidence of facts? Why, while the French were candidly acknowledging to all Europe their extreme penury, and acknowledging alſo the riches of this country, they were proceeding rapidly from triumph to triumph, from conqueſt to conqueſt; while we, on the contrary, in conjunction with our allies, were foiled in all our efforts againſt our bankrupt enemy, and were loſing town after town, city after city, and province after province. The beggared republic ſtood at this hour in the character of conqueror of the moſt extenſive and important territories. Belgium ſhe had annexed to her empire, of part of Germany ſhe held firm poſſeſſion, a large portion of Italy had yielded to the force of her arms, and Holland was linked to her fate by the ties of the ſtricteſt alliance. If, indeed, theſe acquiſitions could be regained to Great Britain and her allies by a lofty tone of reaſoning; if the tide of victory could be turned by dexterity of debate; or if the efficacy of our exertions bore any proportion to the inſolence of our boaſting, we yet need not be afraid of claiming a decided ſuperiority. We were no wiſe deficient on the ſcore of confident aſſertion, or preſumptuous menace. By other means, however, by other criterions, by other trials, muſt the queſtion be decided.

From this reproach and ſarcaſm on his own country, he turned to the darling theme of thoſe efforts which he had made to induce his hearers to ſecond him in procuring a peace with France. He ſaid, and truly, that, previous to the commencement of the conteſt, he did his utmoſt to perſuade the government to ſend an ambaſſador to Paris; and he added, but this reſts on the authority of his bare aſſertion, that our ambaſſador would not then have received ſuch inſults as Lord Malmeſbury was now alleged to have received. The diſmiſſion of M. Chauvelin, he ſeemed, however, to conſider as at leaſt a full ſet off againſt that of his lordſhip. He proceeded to urge that he had again and again made motions for peace, which had as often been rejected; and he animadverted on the language which the miniſters had held in oppoſition to him, and the doctrines which they had advanced, and conſidered them as deciſive proofs of their want of wiſdom and foreſight,

foreſight. Thoſe miniſters, he ſaid, had pledged on the war not merely an iſland or a colony; they had pledged Great Britain itſelf, and the fate of it might, in ſome meaſure, be conſidered as dependent on this night's debate. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had formerly declared, that we ought not to deſiſt from the conteſt till we had made every poſſible exertion, till we had ſtrained every nerve; and, if he had acted up to his declaration, he had no reaſon to be ſurprized at the treatment which he had met with.

Arriving at length at the circumſtances of the late attempt to treat, he aſſerted that the right honourable mover of the addreſs, in ſtating the obſtacles which exiſted in the way of negotiation, had forgotten to ſtate that which was the weightieſt and moſt inſuperable of all. It was the diſtruſt which the Directory muſt naturally feel of the Britiſh miniſters. After every epithet of reproach had been exhauſted by miniſters to vilify their characters, was it to be expected that they would readily liſten to terms of peace dictated by thoſe miniſters, except they were brought into that ſtate of neceſſity and ſubmiſſion, which precluded them from any alternative, and compelled them to an unconditional compliance with any pacific propoſition that might be preſented to their acceptance?

Having thus, on the ground of repriſals, vindicated the haughtineſs of the enemy, he took a wide excurſion, in the courſe of which he found an opportunity to attack Lord Auckland, for the language which, early in the conteſt, that peer had uſed in ſpeaking of the republicans. His peerage, he ſuppoſed, to have been earned by that language; for he profeſſed that he was ignorant of any other deſert by which it was acquired. Returning back to his ſubject, he aſked, how the French had become more capable, than they then were, of maintaining the relations of peace and amity, and he challenged his opponents to ſhow what change of that kind had taken place. In this it muſt be owned, that he had the advantage of thoſe againſt whom he preſſed his argument. His next ſtep was to make another vehement attack on the miniſters, whom he repreſented as having plunged the nation into an unprovoked war, carried on that war with the moſt flagrant incapacity, ſhown themſelves, on all occaſions, as ill calculated to treat as to combat, entailed innumerable miſchiefs on their country, and, conſequently, as being unfit to retain their ſtations. The preſent ſyſtem of policy muſt, he ſaid, be entirely changed, and the principles on which the war was undertaken be totally diſavowed, before there could be any hope of peace or ſafety for England.

The negotiation, he was convinced, was undertaken only becauſe it was of uſe to the miniſters to pretend a diſpoſition to treat. It was a mere trick, to facilitate financial arrangements, and forward the ſupplies of the year. Lord Malmeſbury, it was obvious, was diſpatched to Paris ſolely to diſplay his diplomatic dexterity; to thruſt and parry with M. de la Croix, in order to manifeſt his ſuperior ſkill and adroitneſs in the management of argument, and the arts of political addreſs; to confound

found the ſhallow capacity and ſuperficial reaſoning of the French miniſter, and thus to make the cauſe of England ſeem the better cauſe. As to the declaration iſſued by his Majeſty, Mr. Fox treated it with little ceremony; deſcribing it as intended for the purpoſes of deception. Then, going back to Lord Malmeſbury, he held him up in the ludicrous light of a perſon who had power to conclude but not to treat for this country, and to treat but not to conclude for its allies. Could there poſſibly, ſaid he, be a more ridiculous farce, a more palpable mockery of the forms of negotiation?

The baſis laid down, that of compenſation, he ſpoke of as futile, illuſory, and unmeaning, intended to diſguſt and be rejected by the French, which they felt to be ſo, and would, therefore, have been entitled to reſent. Unfortunately, however, for the miniſters, the French recognized the baſis, and the miniſters, in conſequence of this, were driven to find ſuch terms of inſult and humiliation as their enemy muſt be compelled to refuſe. Care was indeed taken that they ſhould be of a nature which could not fail to accompliſh their end.

In oppoſition to the doctrine of Mr. Pitt, he laid it down as a principle, that, in making propoſals, inſtead of carrying our pretenſions higher than we might be diſpoſed to accept, we ought to have gone to the other extreme, we ought to have ſtated them at the loweſt point of what we deemed to be fair and equitable; and, if any thing, to have been rather below the mark than above it. This, he thought, would have demonſtrated the equity and moderation of our ſentiments, and the injuſtice and ambition of the enemy.

Reaſoning on this aſſumed principle, he was of opinion that France had not been liberally dealt with. Pruſſia, Auſtria, and Ruſſia, had all made great acquiſitions, at the expence of Poland, and, therefore, he did not deem it enough that France ſhould retain only Savoy, Nice, Avignon, and a part of Germany on the left bank of the Rhine. If we wiſhed them to give up the Netherlands, we ought not to have offered braſs for gold; we ought to have offered, in addition to the other colonies, the Cape of Good Hope, which Mr. Dundas, on a former night, had unwiſely propoſed to keep. This would have induced them to deſiſt from their claims on the Netherlands, Luxemburgh, and Italy. On what authority he aſſerted this, he did not make known. The French had, he urged, to the full as much right to refuſe to ſurrender the Netherlands as we had to refuſe to yield the Cape. In fact, they evidently had, in his opinion, more right; as he beſtowed on our conduct that cenſure which he withheld from theirs. As to the Emperor, he did not ſeem to think that he, who had been ſo unfortunate, was juſtified in expecting any reſtitutions. With reſpect to the ultimatum, which the French had demanded, it meant, he ſaid, no more than that our ambaſſador ſhould ſign a formal declaration of what he had uttered relating to the Low Countries, and this demand was not an unreaſonable one. That France had declared that ſhe would not reſign thoſe countries, was a circumſtance which, he thought, afforded no room for cenſure. When we acted ſo unreaſonably as we

we had done, it was quite natural that ſhe ſhould take a ſtep calculated to give confidence to the people of thoſe provinces which ſhe had united to the republic.

With regard to the great importance of the Netherlands, he ſpoke in terms which plainly proved that his ſentiments were not quite in uniſon with thoſe of former eminent ſtateſmen. He did, indeed, ſay, that he ſhould regret to ſee thoſe provinces form a part of the French republic; but this conceſſion was weakened by many qualifications. He even inſinuated that, becauſe the miniſters, ſome years ſince, had not been averſe from ſeeing the Netherlanders become independent, they could not now feel the anxiety which they pretended, to bring the Netherlands again under the dominion of the Emperor. As if there was no difference between being willing to ſee a people independent and friendly to us, and being willing to ſee them completely enſlaved by France, and arrayed in arms againſt us. But, whatever might be the value of the Low Countries, he evidently did not think them worth a further ſtruggle; and he accordingly deprecated a continuance of the conteſt. At the end of twelve months we ſhould, he thought, only be worſe off than we now were. In connection with this point, he touched upon that of the French bringing forward their treaties and their conſtitution as a rule of proceeding; and appeared to think, that they had not done more than they were juſtified in doing.

The remainder of his ſpeech, though occaſionally bearing on the ſubject under debate, was blended with a large portion of really extraneous matter. He again and again attacked the character and conduct of the miniſters; even ſpoke of the Houſe with diſreſpect, as not being entitled to credit from the country, (for which he was called to order;) once more ſtrenuouſly recommended relinquiſhing the Netherlands immediately, on pain of being compelled to it a year hence; predicted that the country, if for four years longer it went on as it had done, would be in a ſtate of irretrievable ruin; urged the neceſſity of a change of men, and a thorough reform; quoted the language uſed by Mr. Pitt at the cloſe of the American war, and turned it againſt him; and, finally, called on the Houſe of Commons to perform its duty, and to vote for an amendment, which he then moved, and which was the ſame as that brought forward in the Houſe of Peers, by the Earl of Guildford.

To this ſpeech, a vigorous reply was made by Mr. Dundas, who, with his accuſtomed plainneſs, characterized it as one of the moſt miſchievous that had ever been made within the walls of the Houſe; it containing throughout ſcarcely a ſingle word which did not go to the protection and encouragement of the enemy. So induſtrious, he ſaid, had Mr. Fox been in behalf of the French republicans, that he had ſuggeſted to them ſeveral ingenious arguments, which they themſelves had failed to diſcover. This conduct might probably, by him who followed it, be denominated frank and plain dealing; but he himſelf could not help thinking that, according to the ſentiments of our anceſtors, who were at leaſt as virtuous as Mr. Fox, it deſerved a far leſs honourable name. It had,

had, he believed, never occurred before, to the moſt inflamed patriot, to the moſt envenomed of all oppoſitioniſts, to make uſe of his ſtation, as a member of parliament, to plead the cauſe of the enemy.

It would, he ſaid, be impoſſible to follow Mr. Fox through every part of the diſcuſſion into which he had choſen to enter; nor, indeed, were it poſſible, would it be neceſſary; as moſt of the topics which he had brought forward were ſuch as he had been in the conſtant habit of deſcanting on for the laſt three years. Accordingly he paſſed over all the extraneous matter, excepting ſolely that which related to his opponent's exhortation to a change of men and meaſures; but on that he ſpoke with a cauſtic ſeverity. He ſarcaſtically obſerved, that the right honourable gentleman had, for not leſs than twelve years, been telling the public that no perſon was ſo proper to manage the affairs of the country as himſelf: he had, in fact, been day after day advertiſing himſelf as the fitteſt man to fill up the places in a new miniſtry, and yet the country ſtill remained deaf to all his appeals, ſtill unperſuaded of the truth of his aſſertions. It was ſingular that, notwithſtanding all his continued and ſtrenuous efforts, the public had raiſed no cry for a change of miniſters, had ſhown no ſigns of believing that he and his friends were the beſt qualified to fill thoſe ſtations to which they aſpired with ſuch an eager longing. Granting that the war had been unſucceſsful, and that the preſent miniſters were as incapable as they were aſſerted to be, it was the more extraordinary that he who oppoſed them ſhould have been able to obtain ſo ſmall a portion of the reſpect and confidence of the people.

As a preliminary to his argument, Mr. Dundas deſired that the communication from the throne, at the opening of the ſeſſion, might be read by the clerk. This having been done, he proceeded to ſtate, that on the ſincerity of the miniſters, during the negotiation at that time alluded to, reſted the whole of the queſtion before the Houſe. On that point he would ſtake the iſſue, and he now boldly called for the judgment of parliament. If, exclaimed he, there are any among you who think that miniſters were not ſincere in their wiſhes for peace—I ſay, if there is one member of this Houſe who thinks with the right honourable gentleman who moved the amendment, that we were inſincere in our wiſhes for peace in the negotiation, let him expreſs that opinion by voting for the propoſed amendment. I therefore call on you, as men of candour and integrity, to lay your hands upon your breaſts and give your ſentiments on the queſtion as I have ſtated it, and as the right honourable mover has ſtated it, for I admit he has ſtated it fairly. We are now at iſſue with him upon it; and the Houſe is to decide between us.

After having ſlightly alluded to the various diſcouragements which the French had thrown in the way of our attempts to treat, Mr. Dundas vindicated the terms propoſed by the confidential memorial of Lord Malmeſbury, which Mr. Fox had ſo ſtrongly cenſured. We, he ſaid, deſired nothing from France for ourſelves; but, in order to obtain for our allies that which we had

had not the choice of omitting to ask, we offered to give up all that we had gained from the republicans. The mover of the amendment had pathetically regretted the vast expenditure of treasure and effusion of blood, which were occasioned by the war. He, too, regretted them as much as that gentleman, but he would not admit, in common with him, that the war had been either unjustly entered into, or unsuccessfully waged. From the earliest period of the existence of England as a state, down to the present moment, never had there been an epoch which had displayed greater glory to the country than this war had done; never had we stood in a situation so glorious as, in the fourth year of this abominated and decried war, we now did. Yet, all that we had taken from France, we had offered, to obtain a compensation for our ally. He, therefore, contended, that our offers, instead of being inadequate and niggardly, had been highly generous. It had been asked, what right the Emperor had to require from the French that which they had conquered from him, while from them he had conquered nothing. To this he would answer, that if, indeed, the Emperor stood alone, that monarch would, perhaps, have no pretence to make extensive claims. It should, however, be recollected, that the Emperor was the ally of England, from whom France had not wrested any thing, but who, on the contrary, had wrested much from France; that England and the Emperor put their power, as it were, into a common stock; and that it was not merely as he was emperor, it was also as he was the ally of England, that we called for the restitution of his territories.

His former opinion, on the subject of the Cape of Good Hope, which had been commented on by Mr. Fox, was the next head on which Mr. Dundas touched. That opinion he re-asserted in the most decided manner; declaring that he had always entertained it, even when we were at peace with Holland, and that he had no doubt that the people of that country thought as he did on this score. It would, he affirmed, be the greatest public calamity that could befal Holland itself, should the Cape be taken out of our hands; and he expressed his readiness to prove, that the expence of the establishment to retain it could not be borne by the Dutch as it could by us; and that, in fact, it was impossible for them conveniently to keep up a sufficient establishment for its protection. While it was under our safe-guard, we should not take away any of the trade or commerce of Holland; and we might ultimately, by our possession of it, protect that very trade and commerce; but neither France nor any other power would try to deprive us of it, unless they had hostile views on our East Indian traffic and dominions.

To the doctrine that we ought to have come forward at once, and candidly stated all that we were willing to concede, he briefly replied, that he did not think it sound policy to do so at any time in a negotiation, and, least of all, at this time, and under all the circumstances of the present contest.

As to the Netherlands, he reminded the House that, with respect to their importance, there was higher authority than that of any

individual member, however great his talents might be. There was the concurring teſtimony of the beſt European politicians, for centuries, that the Auſtrian low countries ought not to be held by France. To prevent their being ſo held we had, at different periods, and, in reality, uniformly, except in part of the reign of the Stuarts, been engaged in conteſts; and, when one of thoſe Stuarts adopted an oppoſite line of conduct, the parliament ſtepped forward, and came to a ſolemn reſolution on the ſubject. Such, too, was the opinion of king William, and was, in truth, one great cauſe of his coming over, and being received as the ſovereign of theſe realms. In France it was a maxim of their ableſt political men, that one acre of the Netherlands was worth a province in any other quarter. To obtain this coveted acquiſition was not a recently adopted policy of France, it had been her conſtant policy for ages; and ought the Houſe now, raſhly, and againſt all precedent, to adopt a ſyſtem which tended to favour her ambition. How far did the right honourable mover of the amendment mean to carry that frankneſs and candour of his, which, in contradiction to all the wiſdom of our anceſtors, led him to think that, without ceaſing to be good citizen and a good ſubject, he might tell the enemies of his country that they ought to be obſtinate in their plan of remaining maſters of the Auſtrian Netherlands! He had declared his wiſh that we ſhould abandon the low countries, and, as a juſtification of that wiſh, he had urged that twelve months hence we ſhould, in all probability, be more unable to regain them then we now were. I am not ſo preſumptuous, ſaid Mr. Dundas, as to ſay what will be the fate of the war; that is in the womb of time; but I am far from thinking that the recovery of thoſe provinces is ſo hopeleſs a project as he has repreſented it to be. At all events, ſuch language as had juſt been uſed could only tend to depreſs our friends, and to animate our foes.

Mr. Dundas cloſed his ſpeech by declaring that the miniſters had acted with ſincerity, and to the beſt of their judgments. The cauſe of the rupture of the negotiation was not to be looked for in their acts; it was to be looked for in the conduct of the French, who had refuſed to do any thing that was inconſiſtent with their own ſiniſter objects, and the meaning, as they choſe to conſtrue it, of their conſtitution and their treaties. They had reduced the queſtion to this point, whether England ſhould agree to ſurrender to France every thing that ſhe had taken, and then begin to treat, having left in her own power nothing whereupon ſhe could treat. If, however, it appeared that miniſters had been inſincere, that they deſerved cenſure, that they ought to be diſmiſſed; let it be ſo declared, let them be puniſhed, let them be deprived of all power; but let not the diſapprobation of the Houſe be mixed up with other matter, to weaken the hands of the executive government of the kingdom. If any one, ſaid Mr. Dundas, has a motion to make againſt miniſters, let him bring it forward in the ſhape of a ſpecific propoſition, and put us upon our defence; but do not reſort to meaſures

ſures which can only be proper to weaken the reſources of your own country, and to give ſtrength and energy to thoſe of your enemies.

The ſarcaſms of Mr. Dundas, on the pretenſions and hopes of Mr. Fox, called up Mr. Grey in behalf of his friend, on whoſe genius, wiſdom, and virtue, he made an animated panegyric. To this he, of courſe, added much ſevere cenſure of the miniſters. The war, he affirmed, was commenced by them from their hatred to the principles of liberty, and had been carried on with the ſame feeling of hatred. Nor could it be ended while they were in office, as they had uſed ſuch irritating language towards the French as could not be forgiven. He then entered into a diſcuſſion of the conduct of the Britiſh miniſtry, and maintained that the whole of it demonſtrated their inſincerity in the late attempt to negotiate. On theſe grounds he called on the Houſe to vote for the amendment, and, by ſo doing, to ſave the treaſures which muſt be ſquandered, and the oceans of blood which muſt inevitably be cauſed to flow, if any further confidence were repoſed in thoſe men who had ſhewn themſelves to be unworthy of it.

The queſtion being put on the amendment, it was negatived, by two hundred and twelve voices againſt thirty-ſeven. The original addreſs was then agreed to.

As ſoon as this had been decided, Mr. Grey moved that the Houſe ſhould be called over on the 16th of January. The motion was ſeconded by Mr. Fox, and oppoſed by Mr. Pitt; and was finally rejected by a hundred and ſixty-four noes againſt thirty-one ayes.

CHAP. II.

Continuation of motions made by the oppoſition to procure peace, and the removal of the miniſters. The earl of Oxford moves an addreſs to his Majeſty to negotiate with the republicans. Character of his ſpeech. He is willing to give up every point to the enemy. Lord Grenville replies by moving that the addreſs of the 30th of December ſhould be read. Lord Oxford is ſupported by the dukes of Norfolk and Bedford, the marquis of Lanſdown, and the earl of Guildford; and oppoſed by earl Spencer, the earls of Coventry, Carliſle, Warwick, and Darnley, and lords Douglas and Boringdon. Arguments of the peers on each ſide. Remark of Lord Grenville. Reply of the earl of Oxford. The motion is negatived. Debate in conſequence of the earl of Oxford moving a cenſure on lord Kenyon. Speech of the biſhop of Rocheſter. Lord Oxford ſtands alone on a diviſion. Public meetings held to petition for peace. The earl of Suffolk moves an addreſs to his Majeſty to diſmiſs Mr. Pitt from his councils. His charges againſt the miniſtry. He cenſures them on account of the treaty of Pilnitz. Reply of Lord Grenville. He denies the participation of the Britiſh cabinet in the treaty of Pilnitz. Debate on the motion. Offer of Lord Romney. The motion is negatived by a large majority. Formation of a ſort of neutral party. Motion to ſmooth the way to a negotiation, made in the

House of Commons by Mr. Pollen. Arguments used by him in support of his motion. Reply of Mr. Pitt. Speech of Mr. Addington. Of Mr. Fox. Rejoinder of Mr. Pitt. Suggestion of colonel Fullarton. Mr. Pollen's motion is negatived. Alderman Combe moves an address to his Majesty to dismiss his ministers. His sentiments on instructions from constituents to members of parliament. The motion opposed by Mr. Hawkins Browne, and others. Debate on the subject. The motion is negatived by a large majority. The duke of Bedford moves an address to his Majesty to change his ministers. Speech of the Duke. Severe language of the address. It is supported by the duke of Grafton, the marquis of Lansdown, and other peers. The conduct of the ministers is vindicated by lords Grenville, Auckland, and others. After a long debate, the motion is rejected by a majority of ninety-one. Protest of the Duke of Bedford, in which he is joined by lord Chedworth. Peace having been made by the Emperor, the ministers resolve to make another effort to conclude a peace with the Directory. Lord Malmesbury is sent over to Lisle, as the British plenipotentiary. Captious objection of the Directory to lord Malmesbury being appointed the negotiator. Opening of the negotiation. Project of a treaty. The Directory demand the restoration of the vessels taken at Toulon. They follow up this, by the monstrous and absurd demand, that Great Britain, as a preliminary, should surrender all her conquests. The negotiation is continued without any progress being made. Various conferences. The French plenipotentiaries are removed, and others substituted in their stead. Repetition of the demand that Great Britain should surrender her conquests. Lord Malmesbury is ordered by the Directory to quit the French territory. Spirited language of lord Malmesbury. Declaration of his Majesty, on the rupture of the negotiation.

NOTWITHSTANDING their repeated defeats, and the little prospect of any success in either house of parliament, the members in opposition did not the less persist in their system of harassing the ministers by motions, which were intended to increase in some, and to excite in others, a disgust of the continuance of the war. After the Christmas recess, they recommenced their operations. In the upper house, a motion for peace was made by the earl of Oxford. It appears that his lordship must have relied entirely on some charm, which he supposed to be contained in the monosyllable, peace; for he did not think it necessary to support his assertions by the shadow of any thing like proof, or even to render them palatable by a seductive eloquence. He, however, called upon every independent man to come forward, and adopt those means which his lordship deemed indispensable to save the country. Thus decorously insinuating, according to the laudable custom of his party, that the persons, composing the large majorities of both houses, were bribed to act in violation of their duty. This insinuation he subsequently brought forward again, in a paper designed as his protest.

March 23.

In order to delude the country, and to induce their lordships to go on with this wicked and ruinous contest,

conteſt, the miniſters, he ſaid, contended that the enemy was not pacifically diſpoſed, and that, therefore, there was no other alternative than to continue the war. This he undertook to diſprove; and he attempted it in a manner which, if not very effective, was at leaſt not very troubleſome to himſelf. He had, he affirmed, peruſed attentively the papers on the table, and he declared, on his honour, that he drew from them a concluſion quite different from that which was drawn by the miniſters. With infinite candour he read to the houſe three ſhort paſſages, which had induced him to draw his concluſion. The paſſages contained about a dozen of thoſe words of courſe, which one power could not avoid uſing to another, in reply to an offer of opening a negotiation. The Directory ſpoke of their "ardent deſire for peace," of their "wiſhes to give a proof of that deſire," and of "the pain" with which they ſaw their hopes fruſtrated; and theſe few and merely idle and deluſive words his lordſhip, in ſpite of all the weight of evidence to the contrary, choſe to conſider as having been dictated by ſincerity and good faith, and, conſequently, as ſufficient to load the Britiſh government with all the burthen of guilt ariſing from the wantonly carrying on a deſtructive and ſanguinary conflict. So prepoſſeſſed was his lordſhip in favour of thoſe for whom he pleaded, that, in the laſt and crowning inſult which they offered to us, he found a further evidence of their mild and pacific temper. He regarded it as a merit that, after Lord Malmeſbury had done ſo much to irritate them, and eſpecially by inſiſting on thoſe terms which they had before declared they would never agree to, the Directory had, nevertheleſs, proteſted their willingneſs to continue to treat through the channel of couriers.

The winding up of his lordſhip's ſpeech was quite in harmony with all the reſt of it. My lords, exclaimed he, after having made his laſt quotation from the papers, my concluſion from all this is, that the Directory are diſpoſed to peace, but that they are determined to keep the Rhine for the boundary of France; and, my lords, they have power to do it, and you have not the power to prevent it. You muſt, therefore, either make peace upon thoſe terms, or perſiſt in the war, which is certain ruin.

Nothing could be more felicitous than this in argument or expreſſion, and it doubtleſs juſtified the noble earl in moving an addreſs to his majeſty, repreſenting the king and his people as on the verge of ruin; throwing on the miniſters all the blame of the rupture of the negotiation; and calling for peace, on ſuch terms as it might pleaſe the republicans in their kindneſs to grant us. That his lordſhip was willing to concede every thing to the enemy is abundantly proved by his addreſs. "This houſe," it ſaid, "humbly and moſt earneſtly entreats his majeſty to enter into an immediate negotiation, upon ſuch terms as France is likely to liſten and accede to, and in ſuch manner, and through the medium of ſuch men, as ſhall leave no room to doubt the pacific intentions of his Majeſty. And this houſe begs leave humbly to aſſure his majeſty, that

it entertains no doubt of the ſucceſs of ſuch a negotiation."

Along with theſe topics, his lordſhip contrived to hitch in that favourite topic of his party, a parliamentary reform. The addreſs concluded by expreſſing a reliance that, after a peace, "ſuch retrenchments and wiſe regulations would be adopted by the legiſlature, as would relieve the people from their burthens, remove every cauſe of complaint of their being unequally repreſented, reſtore to them their ancient, venerable, and free conſtitution, and thereby re-eſtabliſh public ſpirit and public confidence, and enſure to his majeſty the affections of his ſubjects, the glory, proſperity, and happineſs of his future reign."

The only reply which Lord Grenville thought it neceſſary to give to this harangue and motion was, to deſire the clerk to read the addreſs voted by the houſe on the 30th of December; and, this being done, he declared that he could not imagine that thoſe noble lords who had then concurred in the addreſs had already altered their ſentiments on the ſubject before them.

The motion of Lord Oxford was ſupported by the dukes of Norfolk and Bedford, the marquis of Lanſdown, and the earl of Guildford. Theſe peers were exceedingly diſſatisfied with that which they deemed the haughty and contemptuous ſilence of their opponents on the preſent occaſion. They reiterated the uſual charge of incapacity againſt the miniſters, to which they coupled that of having been inſincere in their late attempt to treat; they conſidered the enemy as having acted with good faith, and as being clearly entitled to retain the Netherlands; they deſcribed the war as diſgraceful and diſaſtrous, and they deprecated the further continuance of it as fraught with the direſt evils; they doubted whether even peace, followed up by the ſtricteſt economy, would ſave the country; and they were certain that no peace could poſſibly be made by the perſons who now held the reins of power. With reſpect to the addreſs of the 30th of December, they contended that it had been indecently hurried through the houſe, in ſpite of calls for a ſhort delay, at a period when many peers of hoſtile ſentiments were abſent from town; and that, conſequently, as far as regarded them, it ought not to be looked on as of any weight. But, even had that addreſs ſpoken the general voice of the houſe, they were of opinion that circumſtances at this moment called for an addreſs of an oppoſite tenor. The duke of Bedford was the ſpeaker who, on this occaſion, diſplayed the moſt ſeverity againſt the miniſters, and called the moſt loudly for their removal from office, on the ground of their being unable to obtain ſuch terms as would be granted to men "of more ſincerity and more capacity;" that is to ſay, to the members of that party to which he himſelf belonged.

The motion was oppoſed by earl Spencer, the earls of Coventry, Carliſle, Warwick, and Darnley, and by lords Douglas and Boringdon, the latter of whom ſeverely, but not erroneouſly, characterized the ſtyle of it as being "more like extracts from the minutes of the executive Directory than correſponding with the language of the Britiſh houſe of peers." They aſſerted

aſſerted the perfect ſincerity of the miniſters in the recent negotiation; pointed out that the Daniſh envoy, who was an impartial judge, had borne teſtimony to the hoſtile feelings of the Directory; and deſcribed the motion, brought forward by Lord Oxford, as being only calculated to hold out to France and to Europe, that England was reduced to ſuch a ſituation as to have no other alternative than to conclude a treaty on any terms. As to the charge of the debate of the 30th of December having been hurried on, while ſome peers were abſent, and in ſpite of calls for delay, it was truly remarked, that a more extraordinary doctrine had never been broached in parliament, than that the conſideration of a meſſage from his majeſty was to be put off, becauſe ſome noble lords choſe to go out of town, and abſent themſelves from their duty. It was the duty of every peer to attend in his place, except in caſes of indiſpoſition or ſtrong neceſſity.

In reply to the duke of Bedford's aſſertion, that the miniſters were incapable of governing and of making peace, Lord Grenville obſerved, that the Houſe, with the exception of four or five lords, had thought otherwiſe; that he was confident that not only the Houſe but the kingdom alſo could not think that the perſons fit to make peace were thoſe who were agreeable to the enemy; but that, if it was meant that his majeſty's preſent miniſters were not the men whom the enemy wiſhed to treat with, he would readily admit the concluſion, and he ſincerely hoped they would continue to act ſo as to preſerve their claim to a compliment ſo honourable to themſelves.

In defence of his motion, lord Oxford made a ſhort reply, the greateſt part of which conſiſted of the ſpeech of his majeſty to both houſes, on his acknowledging the independence of America. His majeſty having then conſented to relinquiſh America, his lordſhip inferred that the relinquiſhment of the Netherlands to France ought not, at this moment, to be conſidered as an obſtacle to the concluſion of a treaty. As a make weight to his arguments, his lordſhip alluded to India, for the fate of which part of our empire he declared that he trembled, as he feared that, through the want of wiſdom, prudence, and foreſight in the miniſters, it would, ere long, be loſt to this country.

On a diviſion, the motion was rejected by a majority of thirty-ſix; the contents being ſixteen, and the non-contents fifty-two.

A proteſt, which, in conſequence of his motion being rejected, lord Oxford intended to enter on the journals, gave riſe, on a ſubſequent day, to a complaint from his lordſhip, and to ſome ſharp obſervations from the biſhop of Rocheſter. When, on the morning after the debate, he went down with his proteſt to the office of the clerk of the Houſe, he found that lord Kenyon, who, during the lord chancellor's indiſpoſition, acted as pro-chancellor, had taken away the motion in his pocket. In reſentment of this inſult, as he deemed it, he publiſhed the proteſt, with an addreſs to the nation, in one of the daily papers: and likewiſe moved, in the Peers, that lord Kenyon ſhould be cenſured for a breach of privilege. This motion called up the biſhop of Rocheſter, who pointedly animadverted on the conduct of the

noble mover, termed his proteſt a flimſy production, unworthy of an anſwer, affirmed that the language of it was neither legal nor conſtitutional, and characterized as a petulant motion, that which was now brought forward. The cenſure of the Houſe, he ſaid, ought rather to be directed againſt the printer of ſo aggravated and audacious a libel than againſt the peer on whom it was now invoked.

Lord Kenyon roſe to explain what he had done; but the Houſe, probably convinced that he had carried away the paper merely from forgetfulneſs, did not deem it neceſſary for him to proceed. The queſtion was loudly called for, and, on a diviſion, Lord Oxford ſtood alone againſt fifty peers who voted in the negative.

The proteſt, perhaps, but too well merited the character which was given to it by the biſhop of Rocheſter. From the third article, nevertheleſs, it appeared that his lordſhip entertained no mean opinion of his own argumentative powers. "I believe," ſaid he, "that the arguments advanced by me have never before been touched upon, even in debates, and no attempts having been made to anſwer thoſe arguments, the concluſion which the public muſt draw from it is, that they are perfectly unanſwerable."

The ſpeeches and exertions of the members in oppoſition, both within and without the walls of parliament, were not wholly unproductive of their intended effect. In the courſe of the ſpring, popular meetings were held in various places, and petitions were framed, many of them abundantly violent, attributing the melancholy ſtate of the country to the wickedneſs and incapacity of the miniſters, and calling for an inſtant change of men and meaſures, as the ſole means of ſaving the kingdom from impending ruin. Theſe petitions, though from a ſmall minority of the nation, both in wealth and talents, the party in oppoſition conſidered as affording them ground enough on which to bring forward motions for the removal of the miniſters. Not, indeed, that they expected that ſuch an object would be immediately, or even quickly, attained. They were well aware that the preſent adminiſtration was too firmly rooted to be overthrown without numerous efforts; but they undoubtedly hoped that by continual accuſations and debates the public mind would be kept in a ſtate of irritation; that freſh partizans would be gained by inceſſant exertions; and that thus they ſhould, at length, be enabled to accompliſh their purpoſe. It was of little conſequence to them whether the weapon which they uſed was a motion for peace, or for the diſmiſſion of the miniſtry. The purpoſe and effect were the ſame. They had, too, on their ſide, the financial difficulties to which the nation was at this moment expoſed, and which were indiſputably of a magnitude ſufficient to diſguſt the gloomy, the timid, and the ſelfiſh, with the continuance of the conteſt. It is probable, alſo, that the victorious reſult of the reſiſtance made to the American war, by an originally ſmall party in the two Houſes, was a powerful encouragement to them to perſevere in their attacks. If it were ſo, it happened to them, as it has happened to many, that their eager wiſhes led them entirely to overlook

look all the circumſtances, and they were not a few, in which the one caſe differed widely from the other.

On the 27th of March, the earl of Suffolk moved an addreſs to his majeſty, praying him to diſmiſs from his councils the firſt lord of the Treaſury. He was not, he owned, ſanguine enough to hope that he ſhould carry his point, but he was deſirous that it ſhould be recorded on the journals of the Houſe that he had done his duty at this alarming criſis. In addition to this ſtep, he would, he ſaid, ſolicit an audience of his majeſty, and humbly tender his advice, and he ſhould then enjoy the ſatisfaction of having performed every thing that lay within his power as an individual. With party he profeſſed to be wholly unconnected; he had nothing to aſk, nor to expect; and he proteſted againſt the calumny, which had been thrown upon him, of entertaining French principles. What motive could he poſſibly, he aſked, have for holding the opinions erroneouſly attributed to him? He had a large eſtate, and a title which had been conveyed to him through a long line of anceſtry, and which he wiſhed to tranſmit to his poſterity. This reaſoning he ſeemed to conſider as ſufficient to exculpate not only himſelf, but likewiſe all his rich and titled friends who were ſuſpected of a leaning towards revolutionary doctrines. Though it may readily be conceded that they were guiltleſs of the fault aſcribed to them, it is obvious that the argument uſed by his lordſhip was unſound, as, otherwiſe, it would have been impoſſible for the duke of Orleans, and others of high rank in France, to have lent their aid to the ſubverſion of the throne.

After having blamed the miniſters, for not having adopted ſome military plans which he had ſuggeſted during a former ſeſſion, he contended that proper rewards were not given to ſuch of our officers and ſeamen as greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their gallant exploits. Lord Rodney had been left in poverty, and, after his death, his body had even been in danger of being denied the rites of burial; lord Howe had not only received no remuneration whatever, except the thanks of parliament, but had likewiſe been diſappointed of the honours which had been promiſed to him; and another veteran, who had been in the Weſt Indies, but whom he did not name, had undergone ſuch treatment that, on being requeſted to ſail again, he refuſed to do ſo, unleſs the King ſhould poſitively lay his commands upon him. He complained, too, that brave and virtuous officers were diſplaced, to make room for men of more pliant characters. All this he placed, he ſaid, to the account of the miniſter, whoſe whole life, ſince his entrance into office, had been one continued ſyſtem of cunning and duplicity. Having diſpatched this branch of his ſubject, he adverted to the recall of lord Fitzwilliam from Ireland, which he believed, and not without ſome reaſon, to be the cauſe of all the calamities by which that country was now afflicted. But it was not, he maintained, alone in domeſtic concerns that the miſconduct of the miniſters was manifeſt. Their deceit and imbecility were equally notorious in every part of Europe.

On

On this head he would only mention the treaty of Pilnitz, which would redound to their everlasting shame. The last point which he urged was the impropriety of their having formed connections with foreign courts, by which so much of our wealth was drained away, that we were reduced to bankruptcy. The treachery of those courts, and particularly that which they displayed towards each other, ought, in his opinion, to have been a warning to ministers to avoid all those connections which were the object of his censure. On these grounds, and in order to restore the country to its former state of envied greatness, which could never be done while the minister remained in power, he now moved an address to obtain his removal.

The motion was opposed by lord Grenville, who pleaded that it was not established on facts strong enough to bear it. The noble lord, he said, had entered at large into a multifarious series of measures, the complex circumstances of which he had totally mistaken and condemned, without endeavouring to warrant his assertions by any proof or evidence whatever. To the charge of officers having been removed, to make room for others of a more complying temper, lord Grenville replied by a denial of its justice. With respect to lord Rodney, he reminded the House that the present ministers had had nothing to do with the remuneration awarded to him. The pension settled on that gallant admiral was given to him before they came into power, and consequently they had no share in advising or fixing the quantum. They had, indeed, on his death, recommended that it should be continued to his family; which, with the sanction of parliament, had accordingly been done. As to the two other instances, which lord Suffolk had adduced, he had never heard of them before, and he was disposed to believe that the noble lord laboured under some mistake, arising from misinformation.

On the subject of the treaty of Pilnitz, which had so often been the pretext for reproach and invective upon the ministers, for their presumed share in it, lord Grenville once more gave an explanation, calculated to satisfy every honest and impartial hearer. That treaty, he said, had long been a matter of misapprehension and abuse, and, like many other transactions, had been invidiously misrepresented to calumniate the administration, though the fatal consequences of that calumny involved the happiness and tranquillity of the country. He hoped, from what he was going to relate, that those misrepresentations would cease, and that all further declamation against the ministers for the part which they were supposed to have played in the fabrication of that treaty, would be renounced. The treaty of Pilnitz originated with the courts of Vienna and Berlin, and was signed, sealed, and ratified, without the participation, and even without the knowledge of the British cabinet.

On the alleged duplicity of foreign powers his lordship touched very lightly. In fact, he indirectly admitted that the allegation was partly true; as he would only venture to say that, were it necessary for him to enter into the subject, he should be likely, in some degree

gree at leaſt, to diſpute the juſtice of the charge. But, whatever might have been the conduct of thoſe powers, he truſted that there could be no doubt, not even the ſhadow of one, concerning the integrity and candour of Great Britain. Never, he affirmed, were her faith and honour more conſpicuous, never was ſhe more reverenced and relied on, than at the preſent moment. As to the idea that our foreign connections had reduced us to bankruptcy, he conſidered it, notwithſtanding the temporary check and embarraſſment in public credit, as proved to be erroneous, by the flouriſhing ſtate of our finances and reſources, and the wide extent of our commerce, which was clearly manifeſted by the increaſed receipt of our cuſtoms.

Looking at the reſult of the war, he maintained that, although the allies had not been as fortunate as might rationally have been expected, the exertions and the ſucceſs of this country had been alike unparalleled. In particular, our naval victories had been more brilliant than ever before diſtinguiſhed any age or any nation. Such being incontrovertibly the caſe, it was, he thought, peculiarly hard that all the praiſe and all the glory ſhould be reaped by individuals; while on the miniſters ſhould ungenerouſly be thrown all the reſponſibility, all the cenſure, and all the ſhame. But, let the ſucceſs of the war be what it might, he was, he ſaid, convinced, and he relied on the conviction of their lordſhips, and of the Britiſh people alſo, that, if the war had not been undertaken, the religion of the country would by this time have been overthrown; the laws, our pride and protection, would have been trampled on; the ſacred inſtitutions of our anceſtors been deſtroyed; all rank, property, and diſtinction laid waſte; and our glorious Conſtitution entirely and irrevocably extinct.

That part of lord Grenville's ſpeech which related to lord Rodney, was corroborated by the marquis of Lanſdown, and the Earl of Kinnoul. The Marquis ſtated that thoſe who fixed the amount of the reward were anxious at the time to do every thing for him that was handſome and liberal; and the earl declared that the family of the admiral were perfectly ſatisfied with the proviſion which had been made for them ſince his deceaſe. This evidence induced lord Suffolk to retract a part of his aſſertions; but he ſtill maintained that the miniſters had refuſed to let lord Rodney have ſome papers, which were neceſſary for his vindication. In reply to this, however, the marquis of Lanſdown affirmed, that, though he had often heard of ſuch papers, he had never been able to diſcover what they were.

The earl of Kinnoul, marquis Townſhend, the earl of Warwick, earl Spencer, and lord Romney oppoſed the motion. The firſt of theſe peers expreſſed his extreme ſurprize to ſee propoſed a motion of ſuch importance, as that of removing a prime miniſter, without a ſingle charge or proof being brought againſt him. All of them agreed that the country was by no means in ſuch a gloomy ſituation as it had been repreſented to be; and they thought that to make ſuch melancholy repreſentations

could

could have no other tendency than to diſpirit the people, and to give confidence to our enemies. Lord Romney was the peer who ſpoke moſt at length on this point. He likewiſe ſtated his belief that the miniſters had not carried the loyalty loan far enough; there being no doubt that an infinitely larger ſum might have been ſubſcribed, which would have prevented the preſent difficulties, and been of the utmoſt importance in inclining the republicans to pacific meaſures. As this had not been done, he would, he ſaid, ſuggeſt a plan which might be productive of ſolid advantage. He thought that, in ſuch an exigency as this, every man ought to come forward, and, by a voluntary gift, according to the extent of his means, contribute to the public relief; the money to be ſubject, of courſe, to the controul of parliament. He himſelf would ſubſcribe five thouſand pounds, to be paid by ten monthly inſtalments; and he imagined that there might eaſily be found a hundred thouſand perſons, each of whom would ſubſcribe a hundred pounds; and thus, upon a moderate computation, ten millions might be obtained.

The motion was ſupported by the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Derby, earl Moira, the Marquis of Lanſdown, and the duke of Bedford.

By the duke of Norfolk it was contended that, far from having preſerved the laws and conſtitution, the miniſters had deeply injured them; and he greatly feared that, if a blind confidence was continued to be placed in them, our laws and conſtitution would ultimately be loſt. There was no neceſſity to ſtate any grounds for the preſent motion. The diſaſtrous ſituation of the country was a ſufficient ground. It was quite enough to ſay, in the words of the inſcription over the celebrated architect of St. Paul's, "do you enquire for his monument; look around you." Our allies become enemies, our exertions baffled, our finances ſhattered, and our public credit ſhaken to the centre, furniſhed abundant grounds for the motion.

In this ſentiment the earl of Derby fully concurred. The notoriety of the circumſtances ſuperſeded, he ſaid, the neceſſity of detail. In addition to the arguments of the ſpeakers before him, he adduced the diſturbed condition of the ſiſter kingdom. The conduct of the miniſters had, he affirmed, fomented the diſcontents of the people of Ireland, and, by the provocations which they had given, they had irritated their minds to the preſent alarming degree.

Earl Moira entered into the debate at ſome length, and with conſiderable eloquence. His arguments, however, were, in great part, the ſame as had been uſed by the peers who preceded him. He added, that the miniſter had deluded the nation by his ſchemes of finance, and had given ſtatements of the expences of the war, which were calculated to impoſe on the country, and conceal our ſituation; and that the credit of the Bank of England could never be reſtored to the ſtate in which it once ſtood. On the mode in which the war had been carried on he ſpoke with great judgment and effect, and beſtowed on it a cenſure which, unfortunately, was but too well deſerved. The miniſters, he ſaid,

ſaid, had ſpent the ſtrength of the kingdom on diſtant expeditions, in attacking the ſkirts of the French power, in making conqueſts in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies; while, if they were really combating French principles, they muſt have been aware that they had no chance of ſucceeding, but in a different ſort of conteſt. If a wild beaſt were abroad, would it he aſked, be of any utility, or at all conduce to our reputation, to get behind it, and cut off a piece of its tail? Yet, in this kind of manner had the war been conducted. This, and their other faults, would amply juſtify him in the vote which he meant to give, for the removal of the miniſters.

The ſeverity with which the lords in oppoſition had cenſured the conduct of the war, drew from lord Spencer a vindication of the miniſters, as far as regarded naval operations. Military affairs he declined arguing on; but the naval power of England had never, he ſaid, been more conſpicuouſly ſignalized than during the ſtruggle in which we were now engaged. Lord Carliſle, however, declared, in anſwer to this, that he would never patiently hear an aſſertion which implied that on every occaſion the Board of Admiralty had done its duty. He would, on the contrary, inſiſt that, by neglecting to give orders to admiral Colpoys, in caſe of his miſſing the French fleet, to proceed to the coaſt of Ireland, they had loſt the moſt favourable opportunity of putting an end to the war. Had they given thoſe orders, and had the republican armament been deſtroyed, as it probably would, he doubted not that the conſequence would have been an immediate peace.

On this head the marquis of Lanſdown declared his entire agreement with the earl of Carliſle. He thought the Admiralty had been, in that inſtance, extremely negligent of their duty, and highly to blame. With reſpect to the general queſtion before the Houſe, though he thought a change needful, he owned that he had no confidence in a mere change of men. He conſidered one puniſhment of a miniſter where it was merited, to be of infinitely more public advantage than any change that could take place. This opinion he had formed both from principle and practice. In illuſtration of it he referred to the ſucceſſive changes which had occurred, from the time of Sir Robert Walpole to the entrance of Mr. Pitt into office. He was, he ſaid, for a fundamental change of ſyſtem; for a complete acknowledgement of error. He was for a government conducted without influence, and, whoever were the miniſters, if they were men of integrity and honour, he had no doubt of the reſult. He deſired to ſee a ſtrong executive, and a vigilant independent legiſlature, mutually checking each other, and in this balance he conceived liberty to conſiſt. It cannot be denied that, on this point, his ideas were ſound and conſtitutional.

Adverting to Ireland, he reprobated the language of thoſe perſons who, in the Iriſh parliament, had expreſſed a wiſh to ſee the north of Ireland in open rebellion; a wiſh ſimilar to one expreſſed by the brutal duke of Alva, when ſent to the Netherlands, by the tyrant, Philip

Philip the Second. Then, referring to the account on the table, of army extraordinaries, he aſked what their lordſhip's property would long remain worth, when millions on millions were ſquandered with ſuch flagrant improvidence. As to the phraſe ſo often uſed, of a good peace, he wiſhed it to be defined. He wiſhed it to be explained for what object we were fighting. If that were done it would be poſſible to proceed. He could never, he declared, conſent to any peace that would infer public ignominy, and, were the enemy to inſiſt on any ſuch conditions, it would unite every man in the country, in reſiſtance againſt their pretenſions. What terms he ſhould think ignominious he did not, however explain; but from his language it might reaſonably be concluded, that he did not conceive there would be any diſgrace in conſenting to leave the Netherlands, and perhaps her other conqueſts, in the hands of France.

In a ſecond ſpeech, lord Grenville entered into a refutation of ſome of the arguments urged by the opponents of the miniſtry. The chief part of his reply was, however, directed to lord Moira, whoſe attack he ſeems to have felt more than that of any other peer. By the ludicrous ſimile, which, in ſpeaking of our achievements, that nobleman had uſed, he was evidently annoyed. Were, he aſked, our victories at ſea, and our conqueſts in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, no more than the end of the monſter's tail, and were they to be ſo degraded, by that moſt humiliating compariſon. The conduct of the miniſters, in this caſe, he defended on the ground of their having acted in deference to the national voice. But it is no part of the duty of a miniſter to adopt a meaſure, merely becauſe there appears to be a popular clamour in its favour. Nor can the fact be admitted, that he and his colleagues had been called on by the Britiſh people to give a particular and confined direction to their military efforts. Beſides, it is notorious, that very many enlightened politicians, and even ſome in the cabinet, entertained more than doubts of the propriety of waſting our ſtrength in diſtant and comparatively unprofitable exploits. They were of opinion that to enſure blows being mortal, they ſhould be aimed at the vital parts. It was, in truth, to the ſyſtem of their parliamentary opponents that the miniſters had conformed, under the miſtaken idea that they were manifeſting their obedience to the will of the people. The miſtake was, however, made, and on that miſtake lord Grenville built his argument. He reminded thoſe around him, that the members of the adminiſtration had often been blamed for having ſent troops to the Netherlands; that they had as often been told that the navy and the colonies were the proper objects of Great Britain in a war; and he added that, in compliance with the public voice, they had of late turned all their attention to the navy and the colonies, and had declined ſending troops to the continent. As a naval and colonial war, he maintained, as he had before done, that this war had been crowned with unexampled ſucceſs.

The remainder of lord Grenville's ſpeech was devoted to comments on that of the marquis of Lanſdown.

Lanſdown. The complete change of ſyſtem, which the marquis recommended, would, he ſaid, produce the certain effect of throwing the country into immediate and total confuſion. From ſuch a change he was convinced that the whole nation would recoil with diſguſt and terror. At the ſame time he again claimed for the miniſters the praiſe of having preſerved the country from the danger of jacobinical principles. To the queſtion put by the noble marquis, for what was the war carried on? he anſwered that it was now carried on not for this or that province, but to prevent the French from holding poſſeſſion of the whole of the maritime territory which lay oppoſite to our own. There was alſo another cauſe for its continuance. It was the haughty manner in which they had repulſed our overtures for peace. They had called for our terms, and had rejected them, without deigning to offer any on their part. No ambaſſador, he affirmed, had ever been treated with more indignity than ours had been. In concluſion, his lordſhip reprobated the deſponding language and predictions in which ſome perſons indulged; aſſerted the ampleneſs of our reſources to ſuſtain the conteſt; and with perfect juſtice, and a proper ſpirit, paſſed cenſure on the oppoſition, by declaring that, although he had often heard profeſſions of unanimity, in caſe of the country being inſulted, the miniſtry had in no inſtance received the ſupport of the individuals by whom thoſe profeſſions were made.

Some paſſages in this ſpeech called up the marquis of Lanſdown, who replied with conſiderable acrimony. The haughtineſs which the French had diſplayed, in our late attempt to treat, he conſidered as not at all wonderful in their ſituation. They were men with natural feelings, and they could not help remembering and reſenting the abuſe which, on all occaſions, the miniſters had ſo laviſhly thrown upon them. When not only the former behaviour of thoſe miniſters, but alſo every circumſtance connected with the negotiation, gave them cauſe to ſuſpect our inſincerity, was it ſtrange that they met our approaches with coldneſs and diſguſt. Having thus vindicated the directory, he proceeded to his own vindication. He deemed himſelf highly aggrieved, that his recommendation to change the preſent ſyſtem had been groſsly miſconſtrued, as being prompted by a fondneſs for jacobin principles. Of thoſe principles he now ſtrenuouſly declared his diſlike, as being at once abſurd and pernicious. That there were in Great Britain many theoretical jacobins he did not believe; and with reſpect to practical jacobins he knew of none who were ſo much ſo as his Majeſty's miniſters. Baniſhment of ſpecie, compulſory paper currency, forced loans, military force, and every other jacobin project, they adopted as France rejected it. He cloſed his ſpeech by expreſſing his gratitude to the juries of 1794, to whom, he ſaid, their lordſhips were indebted for being ſtill maſters of their lives and fortunes; for it was thoſe juries who happily defeated the daring attempt to introduce into this country the ſyſtem of Robeſpierre.

The debate was terminated by the duke of Bedford, who deſcribed it

it as his object to chace corruption from senates, and despotic maxims from the councils of kings. He contended that the state of our finances was alarming in the highest degree. Even were a peace to take place at this moment, he would, he said, undertake to prove that taxes to the amount of two millions and a half would be necessary to cover the expences which had been incurred.

On the house dividing, the motion was negatived by a majority of eighty seven, there being a hundred and four non-contents against seventeen contents.

The next attempt in parliament to bring about a renewal of the negotiation was not made by one of the members of what may be denominated the regular opposition. It came from a new quarter. About this time there was formed a small party, which professed not to be perfectly satisfied with either the ministers or their political rivals. Those who composed this neutral party expressed their conviction that both sides were too anxious for the possession of power, and in their struggles too forgetful of the real interests of the state. In their candour they also conceived that the dislike to treat with this country, which was manifested by the rulers of France, might arise, not from pride or hatred, but, from misapprehension, or even from well grounded suspicions; and that, if proper measures were employed to enlighten and win them over, those personages might be induced to lay aside their present prejudices, and meet us with a benevolent and conciliatory spirit. By what process of reasoning they arrived at this legitimate and liberal conclusion it would be idle to enquire. Whatever might be the wisdom of their opinions, they were not a little industrous in disseminating them, through the medium of the press. Their success, however, was not commensurate with their zeal, their proselytes being few in number and without influence.

As the organ of this party in the House of Commons, a motion on the subject of peace was brought forward, on the tenth of April, by Mr. Pollen, a young member of respectable character. He moved "that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, stating, that it appears to this House, upon mature consideration of the abrupt failure of the late negotiation for peace with France, that the gracious and benign intentions of his Majesty had either been misconceived by the French directory and the French nation, or that they had been ill explained to the French people; and humbly praying that his Majesty would, without delay, be graciously pleased to adopt such measures as may, to his wisdom and judgment seem likely to be efficacious to remove every misconception or misrepresentation which may have been entertained by the directory or the French nation, relative to the goodness and sincerity of the intentions by which his Majesty was actuated to procure a fair and honourable peace."

To this address, however its necessity or policy might be disputed, no objection could with justice be urged on the ground of its being wanting in decorum. The language of it was at least temperate and respectful. It was seconded by sir John Macpherson.

Having

Having apologized for taking up ſuch an important queſtion, when there were ſo many other members of more knowledge and experience than himſelf, Mr. Pollen proceeded to lay before the Houſe the grounds of his motion. He ſeemed to derive the neceſſity of his ſtepping forward from the circumſtance of the want of candour which was diſplayed by the contending parties in parliament. He deſcribed, though certainly in delicate language, thoſe parties as ſacrificing the public good to their own animoſities, and as mixing up every debate with ſo much that was foreign to the ſubject, that it became exceedingly difficult to diſentangle the uſeful from the uſeleſs, and to obtain a preciſe and ſatisfactory reſult. His object, on the contrary, was, he ſaid, to make his ſtatements clear, explicit, and brief, and the propoſition which he meant to build on thoſe ſtatements, ſo fair and reaſonable that it might gain the approbation and ſupport of every one.

He reminded the Houſe that the war againſt France was begun in concert with all the powerful ſtates of Europe, ſome of whom were now our enemies, and others afforded us but a feeble aid, while our former threats of invaſion were ſilenced and retorted upon ourſelves. To conſole and encourage us, we were, however, told that the enemy ſuffered under an accumulation of miſeries. But, if the French people were really ſuffering in the manner which was aſſerted, muſt they not be as anxious for peace as the people of England. Why, then, did they not, with one voice, imperatively call on the Directory to put an end to the war? The reaſon why they did not, he conceived to be, that, either they of themſelves thought, or had by wilful miſrepreſentations been induced to think, that all their calamities originated in the tyranny and ambition of Great Britain. It was, therefore, indiſpenſably neceſſary to remove their deluſion on this point. It was neceſſary, even for our own ſake; our public credit, without which we could not exiſt, being ſhaken to its very baſis, ſo that nothing but a peace could reſtore it. On this head, indeed, the fears of Mr. Pollen ſeemed to be extreme. Had, in truth, the ſituation of the country been ſuch as he evidently imagined it to be, there would have been no other choice than immediate ruin from the continuance of the conteſt, or the ſlower but not leſs certain ruin ariſing from a treaty, the conditions of which were dictated by France. Yet, with this idea of our hopeleſs ſtate, he, nevertheleſs, cheriſhed a belief that the French would not be averſe from liſtening to pacific overtures, provided they were undeceived as to our feelings of determined enmity; and in proof of this he mentioned the applauſe which the council of five hundred had beſtowed on the ſpeeches which Dumolard, and others, had made in favour of peace. He was conſequently of opinion, that it was incumbent on us to do ſomething to prove that we were not the cauſe of ſo much bloodſhed and miſery. Aware that, having voted for the addreſs to his majeſty on the rupture of the negotiation, he might be charged with inconſiſtency, he endeavoured to prevent the charge, by urging

that he then placed an unreſerved confidence in the miniſters, and that, ſince that period, the bank had ſtopped payment. The change of affairs had, he ſaid, produced a change in the minds of many perſons, and he truſted that he might be excuſed for being one of the number. Leſt, however, this ſhould not ſuffice for his apology, he appealed to the feelings of his auditors, and aſked whether, when he looked into the diſmal catalogue of calamities incidental to the war, when he ſaw his brothers dying in the putrid urns of weſtern peſtilence, and beheld the mangled body of his friend, it was not common to humanity to mourn their ſufferings, and blame thoſe who occaſioned them. Reverting to the ſuppoſed opinion of the French people, that on England lay the guilt of the continuance of the conteſt, he read as evidence the libellous paper, unofficially iſſued by the French Directory, three days ſubſequent to the departure of Lord Malmeſbury from Paris. He did not, he declared, mean to inſinuate that the aſſertions of the enemy were true, or even that the paper was authentic; but he was, nevertheleſs, of opinion that it became his majeſty, and the Houſe, to put forth a counter declaration, that the diſtreſs of millions might not any longer be attributed to a miſtaken or miſrepreſented cauſe. This paper, unauthenticated as he confeſſed it to be, and full of inſult as it was, but ſo far, indeed, bearing the ſeal of authenticity, he choſe to conſider as ſpeaking the deliberate ſentiments of the French people. It was, in fact, the only baſis on which he reſted his motion. Had he not, in the courſe of his ſpeech, alluded to the debate and addreſs of the 30th of December, he might well have been imagined to have entirely forgotten that the documents relative to the laſt attempt to negotiate had been given to the world, and that, by a public declaration, his majeſty had already vindicated ſo fully the conduct of this country as to render wholly unneceſſary any further defence of it.

Of this motion the chancellor of the exchequer deemed it proper himſelf to take notice. It would, he ſaid, require but few words to ſhew that neither from the motion itſelf, nor from any of the arguments by which it was ſupported, could any practical benefit whatever ariſe. The firſt point which he noticed was Mr. Pollen's lamentation on the evils which originated from war. Thoſe evils, he ſaid, were an eaſy and trite theme of declamation and diſcuſſion, but, though they were undoubtedly to be deplored, and never to be wantonly incurred, he imagined that war and its terrible concomitants always had exiſted, and would continue to exiſt till the end of time, unleſs the honourable member could new model human nature, or ſuggeſt ſome other more practicable means of preventing them. They might, indeed, have been dwelt on with greater propriety, had we engaged in a conteſt from motives of ambition; but, as that was not our caſe, as we were fighting ſtrictly in ſelf-defence, it was idle, and worſe than uſeleſs, to deſcant on the calamities of war. Such lamentations only tended to weaken the energy, which might otherwiſe avert or ſurmount the evils lamented. Referring, then, to the laſt

laſt negotiation, Mr. Pitt declared that his feelings and hopes on that ſubject had been no leſs ardent and ſanguine than thoſe of the honourable gentleman. A peace, however, did not depend on the earneſtneſs of the deſire felt for it, nor on any previous declarations of parliament. The latter, on the contrary, were more likely to fruſtrate than to forward their object. Mr. Pitt next animadverted very fully on the ground which Mr. Pollen had choſen for his motion. He demonſtrated that it would be highly improper to adopt the propoſed addreſs, merely on the ſlender and gratuitous ſuppoſitions that the French people muſt wiſh for peace, and that the unacknowledged paper iſſued by the directory furniſhed reaſon to imagine that the Britiſh miniſters had not acted ſincerely in their attempt to negotiate. That the directory had groſsly miſrepreſented the intentions and offers of this country was evident; but ſurely it would be a ſingular thing to make this inſult the baſis of a parliamentary proceeding, and thereby expoſe the nation to an additional inſult. Beſides, it would be abſurd as well as impolitic to publiſh an official declaration, for the purpoſe of refuting a manifeſto which was not confeſſedly official. That the miniſters had acted with ſincerity he again ſtrongly affirmed; and he declared that their wiſhes and deſigns remained unchanged. They had even gone beyond what was called for by this addreſs, and it ought, therefore, to be rejected as ſuperfluous, even were it not certain, as it was, to produce a prejudicial effect. There might, he reminded his hearers, be a chance for making pacific overtures, which the government alone could come at, and could not conveniently divulge. By a haſty and imprudent interference, parliament, without adding to its dignity, might deſtroy that chance, and bring down freſh contumely on the country. Such, if the motion were adopted, would now be the caſe. Though, ſaid Mr. Pitt, I do not chooſe to enter into any detail, I have no difficulty to ſatisfy the honourable gentleman, by declaring that the plan concerted by the miniſters ſecures more than his motion points at. In conſequence of a communication from the court of Vienna of an overture received from France for a ſeparate negotiation, to which I have before alluded in this Houſe, and of a determination expreſſed by our faithful ally the emperor, not to negotiate without the concurrence of his Britannic majeſty, ſteps have ſince been taken here, in order, if poſſible, to make uſe of that opportunity to renew a joint negotiation. His majeſty has in conſequence reſolved to ſend to Vienna a perſon of confidence, with ſuch inſtructions as appear moſt likely to promote the object of pacification, in concert with his majeſty's allies. Further than this I cannot ſtate.

Mr. Pollen having declined to withdraw his addreſs, the order of the day was moved by Mr. Addington, who expreſſed his firm conviction of the dangerous tendency of the various motions which the members in oppoſition had made to compel the miniſters to negotiate. He then entered into an examination of the two charges which had been urged againſt the chancellor of the exchequer;

namely, that he was the author of the war, and that he had been insincere in his efforts to obtain peace. On the first point, he called to the recollection of his auditory the flourishing state of the country in 1792, and argued that no man was then more interested than Mr. Pitt in preserving peace, because hostilities could not but frustrate the financial arrangements in which he was so anxiously and successfully employed. The unwillingness of himself and his colleagues to interfere in the contest was incontrovertibly manifested, in the May of that year, by their materially reducing the naval and military establishments. Even the failure of the Prussian invasion, and the events of the 10th of August, did not induce them to depart from their system. Not till after the battle of Jemappe, and the famous decree relative to the Scheldt, did they begin to adopt some precautionary measures. It was the convention itself which declared war, and he believed that its leaders were led to take this step by the confidence which they placed in the declarations transmitted to them from the British jacobin societies. In his opinion every individual who signed those declarations acted the part of a traitor to his country.

Taking up in the next place the question of peace, he prefaced his arguments by asking those who triumphed because we were now willing to negotiate after having so long declined to do it, whether there was no difference between the actual government of France, and the governments which existed when many of the motions to enter into a treaty were brought forward. One of those motions was urged at the time when the faction of Robespierre had the ascendancy. Had we then made peace, and repealed the alien act, what would have been the consequence? In less than six weeks subsequent to the debate that faction ceased to exist, and its leader was consigned to the scaffold. The succeeding faction repealed all the acts of its predecessor, and we should consequently have been again forced into a war with France, and, in all probability, have likewise been involved in a civil war. The moment chosen for another motion of the same kind was when the convention had avowed the horrid principle that treaties might be, and sometimes ought to be, violated. Had the republicans ever displayed that ardent desire for peace, which we were recommended to display? Certainly not. By no one of the parties which had successively swayed in France had any signs of a disposition to be at peace with England ever been shown. Even during that which was called the moderate period, after the fall of Robespierre, the same system of resentment was unremittingly acted upon towards this country. The invariable object of each faction was to deprive us of our allies, that they might be enabled to bend their whole strength against us. Yet, notwithstanding this implacable hatred on their part, no sooner was a government established which appeared capable of maintaining the accustomed relations between states, than the ministers declared their readiness to negotiate; they did negotiate in spite of numerous obstacles; and if they had not succeeded in their attempts to put an

end

end to the conteſt the blame muſt wholly be laid at the door of the republicans. Were we now to renew our ſolicitations, it would appear as if we were compelled to do ſo by the failure of our reſources.

What then was to be done? To this he would anſwer that we muſt continue the war with unanimity and vigour, till we could bring it to an honourable termination. Notwithſtanding our temporary embarraſſments, we poſſeſſed abundant wealth, and if we acted with ſpirit we ſhould find ourſelves rich and ſtrong. If, on the other hand, we manifeſted an untimely and unworthy parſimony and puſillanimity, we ſhould find ourſelves both weak and poor. A crouching ſhallow policy would degrade our dignity and our character; and, as intereſt, in nations as well as in individuals, was inſeparably connected with honour, our meanneſs and cowardice would prove fatal to our deareſt intereſts.

What, it was aſked by ſome perſons, had we gained by the war? It might, he ſaid, be juſtly replied, that, as the war was defenſive, the queſtion was an improper one. But he would not avail himſelf of this reply. We had made important conqueſts, we had raiſed the glory of our navy to the higheſt pitch, we had nearly deſtroyed the marine of France, we had given a ſevere blow to that of Spain, we had ſecured our internal tranquillity, we had, in a great degree, ſtopped the dangerous principles which were once ſpreading, ſo that even the men who broached them ſeemed now to be aſhamed of them, we had, in ſhort, preſerved our liberty and our conſtitution, and had augmented our glory. He, therefore, held himſelf juſtified in giving his negative to Mr. Pollen's addreſs, and moving the order of the day.

That a motion ſo cautiouſly worded would not thoroughly ſatisfy Mr. Fox was obvious. He owned that, had he penned it, he ſhould probably have choſen other words, as he thought that it did not go quite far enough. He would not, however, object to it, for he was ſure that, by adopting it, the Houſe would do more good than it could hope to do by confiding in the miniſters. However ſhort it might fall of his wiſhes, it at leaſt furniſhed him with an opportunity, of which he availed himſelf to the fulleſt extent, to vent his eloquent indignation on the war, and on thoſe whom he thought proper to repreſent as its authors. On this occaſion he traverſed his old ground, but it muſt be confeſſed that he frequently ſtrewed the path with flowers. He repeated all his regular aſſertions reſpecting the origin of the conteſt, and the inſincerity of the chancellor of the exchequer; he accuſed him of not having conſented to a ſemblance of willingneſs to negotiate till he had been compelled to it by multiplied diſaſters; and he ſolemnly warned the Houſe not to riſk the ruin of the empire, by perſiſting to repoſe its confidence in a man who had perpetually deceived it, and had been the ſource of all the public misfortune and diſgrace. At the time of the laſt embaſſy there was, he ſaid, a loan to be raiſed, and the ambaſſador continued at Paris till that loan was obtained. Another loan was now wanted, and the ſame

ſtratagem was to be tried. It was thus that the miniſter ſtrove to gloſs over the duplicity of his conduct. If parliament wiſhed the enemy to believe that England was really deſirous of peace, let it not liſten to the miniſter's declaration againſt interfering with the operations of the government, but let it pledge itſelf by its vote.

In one inſtance his eagerneſs to find matter for cenſure led him to miſconſtrue the language of his rival. Alluding to the cloſing ſentences of Mr. Pitt's ſpeech of the 30th of December, he applied to peace in general the words which Mr. Pitt had uſed in ſpeaking of a diſgraceful peace; and he then exclaimed that, whatever the right honourable gentleman might hope, the hand muſt and would be found that would ſign a treaty with France. It was in a ſimilar ſpirit that he broadly inſinuated that the conteſt had been entered into to afford an opportunity, under the protection of a large ſtanding army, to deprive the nation of ſome of its moſt valuable rights.

To give weight to his arguments in favour of the addreſs, he repreſented the credit of the country as in a more deplorable ſtate than at any former period, and the national debt as ſo enormous that it was become the moſt formidable ally of France. He did not believe that by a ten years' war we could wreſt any of her conqueſts from the French republic; but could we, he ſaid, wreſt them all from her, and array all Europe in alliance againſt her, ſtill our national debt would throw infinitely more weight into her ſcale than would be thrown into ours by our alliances and ſucceſſes. Another campaign would add forty millions to that debt. Peace, therefore, muſt now be made, as it was in vain to hope that we ſhould ever procure better terms than at this moment. Thoſe who did not vote for it would neither merit nor obtain the approbation of their conſtituents. If they left this momentous queſtion to the mercy of the miniſters, they might proteſt their good intentions, but no one would give credit to them. That the whole people of England had long ſighed for peace, Mr. Fox choſe repeatedly to aſſume as an indiſputable fact; and it was clear, from his manner and tone throughout his ſpeech, that he conſidered himſelf and his friends as the only perſons who were the legitimate organs of the people. In truth, he did not ſcruple to give the name of a faction to thoſe who were now in office. Speaking ſtill in his character of mouth piece to the people, and profeſſing not to intend to diſcuſs what terms of treaty would be proper, he ſaid enough to ſhew that, in his mind, the Netherlands, Holland and Italy were not objects for which the country would chuſe to contend any further.

As he began ſo he concluded, with ſarcaſm and irony on the miniſters. Nor, though he did not openly name them, were the majority of his hearers ſpared. Availing himſelf of Mr. Pollen's ſuppoſition, that the French had miſunderſtood us, he exclaimed, "the miniſter is always explicit in this Houſe no doubt, ſince he convinces the majority of it; but, with all his command of words, it muſt be confeſſed, that, out of this Houſe, no man is more unfortunate in

in his explanations. The French Directory misunderstand him, the contractors for the loan misunderstand him, the bankers misunderstand him, the lord lieutenant of Ireland misunderstands him, and even the directors of the bank of England, who take notes of his conversation, for the purpose of being accurate, misunderstand him. I wish, therefore, in future, that in all public affairs he would condescend to employ some other person, whose knowledge of words is more upon a level with that of the rest of mankind than his own, in order that men of ordinary capacity may stand a chance of comprehending his meaning."

The chancellor of the exchequer replied to Mr. Fox. He readily admitted that a peace was generally desired, but he refused to believe that the people were willing to purchase it by any sacrifice of safety or honour. On Mr. Fox's assumption, that he and his party were the sole organs of the public, he commented, though without any asperity, as he likewise did on the charge of his using an unintelligible style; and he corrected the misrepresentation of the sentiments uttered by him in the debate of the 30th of December. He shewed that the expressions which he then used applied only to a peace which deprived us of all our conquests, and made us truckle to the enemy. That the motion before the House could not be productive of any beneficial effects, and that it would be as unwise as it was unusual and unnecessary for the House to interpose on this occasion, he again maintained; and he closed by reasserting the sincerity of his efforts to accomplish the restoration of peace.

The motion was opposed by Sir William Pulteney, as being an uncalled-for and impolitic interference of parliament. A vote of that House had, he said, formerly produced peace with America; but our relative situation with regard to France was widely different. Peace with America did not afterwards endanger this country. Now we were contending with a great neighbouring and rival nation, with a power stretching its conquests on every side, and animated by a bitter spirit of animosity against us. Without security what would be the utility of peace, and what security could we enjoy if France retained the Netherlands, and her influence over Holland. In his opinion we could not be assured of safety if France possessed any capacious harbour on the opposite coast, in addition to Brest. So convinced of this were the French themselves, that they had expended immense sums, in an endeavour to render the single harbour of Cherburgh fit for the reception of men of war. The ministers were doubtless anxious for peace, but an over earnestness to attain that object would tend to retard or defeat it. Instead of tying them down to make peace on any terms, it would be more wise to enable them to offer a loan to the emperor; for, should he be compelled to submit to bad conditions for himself, the consequences would be equally bad to this country.

A different mode of proceeding from that proposed by Mr. Pollen was suggested by colonel Fullarton, in a speech which was remarkable only for its pompous and pedantic style. He was convinced that to attempt to negotiate at this mo-

ment, while our public credit was labouring under the ſhock which it had received, would not only be premature but pernicious. We muſt obtain the means of rendering the country impervious in defence, invincible in finance, before we could treat with propriety. So far he threw his weight into the miniſterial ſcale. Leſt, however, he ſhould appear to look with too favourable an eye on the miniſters, he paſſed a heavy cenſure on the mode in which our diplomatic intercourſe had, on various occaſions, been conducted with the continent. He talked of unconciliatory temper, and of offenſive manners, and of plenipotentiaries entrenching themſelves behind the ramparts of etiquette, ſtalking on the ſtilts of ambaſſadorial mightineſs, and being bandaged and ſwaddled in the formalities of diplomatiſm: but he did not openly deſignate the perſons at whom he aimed, though it was diſcernible, from ſome of his alluſions, that lord Malmeſbury was one of the number. It could not be objected to him that he was one of thoſe who pointed out faults, without ſhewing how they were to be avoided. The conduct purſued by our Indian government towards the Mahrattas, in the year 1781, he held up as a perfect model to all rulers who were deſirous of conciliating hoſtile ſtates. He ended by reading two reſolutions, which he thought would meet the object in view, but which, he ſaid, he did not mean to preſs at preſent on the Houſe. Theſe reſolutions recommended, as the moſt eligible way of eſtabliſhing the tranquillity of Europe, that a congreſs ſimilar to that which preceded the peace of Munſter, ſhould be aſſembled, the buſineſs of which ſhould be "to ſpecify and declare to all mankind the principles of right and wrong, which ought to govern the relations between independent ſtates, to ſpecify and declare to all mankind the principles of ſecurity, property, and public credit, which it is neceſſary to recognize and render effectual, before any pacification can be negotiated with ſafety and honour. In the event," ſaid the ſecond article, "of the belligerent powers not acceding to this opinion, it will become the Houſe to make known the grounds on which the war is continued, to aſcertain the form in which it is to be conducted, and to declare the principles on which a ceſſation of hoſtilities ought to be concluded on the part of his Britannic majeſty." When he framed this ſcheme, in itſelf impracticable, colonel Fullarton had certainly forgotten that, as France had already given a poſitive refuſal to liſten to the project of a congreſs, the renewal of it could have no tendency whatever to accelerate a peace.

Mr. Johnes, Mr. Greene, Sir John Macpherſon, and one or two other members briefly gave their opinions. In their ſpeeches, however, there was nothing new or uncommon, except in that of Sir John Macpherſon, who, if he did not ſhine in eloquence or argument, had at leaſt the merit of enlivening the dulneſs of debate, and calling forth burſts of laughter from his hearers, by his ſingular declaration that "he hoped if the Houſe was not quite unanimous on a queſtion of ſo much importance, they would at leaſt ſhew ſome ſmall degree of unanimity."

The order of the day was carried

ried by a majority of two hundred and ſix; the ayes being two hundred and ninety-one, the noes only eighty-five.

The next effort which was made in the Houſe of Commons againſt the miniſtry was made by one of the members of Mr. Fox's party. On the 19th of May, Mr. Alderman Combe moved that "an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, praying that he will diſmiſs from his councils his preſent miniſters, as the beſt means of obtaining a ſpeedy and honourable peace."

The ſpeech, by which Mr. Combe prefaced his motion, had little to recommend it, either of acute reaſoning, or brilliant eloquence. He firſt ſlightly narrated the meaſures of the adminiſtration, from the time when Mr. Pitt came into office, and beſtowed his cenſure on them all. The manner in which the miniſters obtained their power was the firſt theme of his animadverſion. The next was the two armaments againſt Spain and Ruſſia, which he choſe to conſider as notoriouſly in oppoſition to the voice of the people. Yet, with a ludicrous inconſiſtency, he appeared to blame the miniſters, for having ultimately abandoned their hoſtile intentions, and thereby degraded their own parliamentary majority. The preſent unfortunate war, however, he ſtated to be the cauſe of his motion; and, while he candidly owned that, at the commencement of the war, popular opinion was with the chancellor of the exchequer as to its juſtice and neceſſity, he aſſumed that the public at large now thought, as he had always done, that it was neither neceſſary nor juſt. He then accuſed Mr. Pitt, and his colleagues, of having repeatedly changed the ground upon which they defended the continuance of hoſtilities with France, and, conſequently, of having deceived and miſled the legiſlature and the country. From all this he inferred that their inſincerity in the attempt to negotiate was viſible to every man in the kingdom who looked impartially at their conduct, and that their incapacity to manage the affairs of the ſtate was equally manifeſt. It was no leſs manifeſt to him that they never could conclude a peace on advantageous and honourable terms. In turn they had all uſed the moſt irritating and abuſive language againſt the French, a circumſtance which was a great hindrance to the carrying on of a negotiation with confidence. It is ſtrange that, often as this objection was urged, by others of his party as well as by Mr. Combe, it ſhould never have occurred to any of them, that it might be urged with equal or greater force by their opponents; as it was notorious that the republicans had conſtantly indulged in the moſt indecent and furious invectives againſt the Britiſh government. From all that he had detailed, however, it ſeemed to him that nothing could be more evident than the propriety of his motion. He lamented that the ſubject had not fallen into abler hands, but he had done his duty to the beſt of his ability; and he had one conſolation, which was, that, in this inſtance, he did not only follow the dictates of his own mind; he followed alſo the general wiſh of his conſtituents, whoſe inſtructions alone would, he ſaid, be enough

to

to ſanction him, and whoſe judgment ſhould always be ſufficient for his guidance.

The motion was ſeconded by Sir William Milner, who participated in the ſentiments of Mr. Combe, with reſpect to inſtructions from members of parliament, and not leſs in that gentleman's hoſtile feelings towards the miniſtry. The nation would, in his opinion, be undone, if the management of its affairs was not ſpeedily removed into other hands.

None of the principal ſpeakers on either ſide bore a part in this diſcuſſion. Mr. Hawkins Browne took the lead in defence of the miniſters, and was ſupported by Alderman Curtis, Anderſon, and Luſhington, Mr. Bootle, Mr. Brandling, Mr. Miles Peter Andrews, Mr. Dent, Sir Gilbert Heatheote, Mr. Elliſon, and Mr. Burdon. The ſpeakers in oppoſition were Mr. Curwen, Mr. M. A. Taylor, Mr. Hobhouſe, and Mr. Sturt.

It was contended, by Mr. Hawkins Browne, that, far from the preſent miniſters having acted in ſuch a manner as to deſerve to be diſmiſſed, they had, ſince their acceſſion to office, done more for the welfare and intereſts of the country than any others of whom he had ever heard or read. The three greateſt bleſſings which a ſtate could enjoy were liberty, internal tranquillity, and general proſperity. For the preſervation of all theſe no miniſters had ever done ſo much as thoſe who were now in power. On the firſt of theſe heads, he enumerated various meaſures which had been adopted during their adminiſtration. Juries had been made judges of the law as well as of the fact; the continuance of an impeachment had been carried, mainly by the exertions and eloquence of the chancellor of the exchequer, and againſt high and powerful authority in the Houſe; laws obnoxious to the Canadians had been repealed, and a ſyſtem of freedom ſubſtituted in their place; and when ſedition threatened the exiſtence of the ſtate, the perſons in authority, inſtead of availing themſelves of the opportunity to narrow the bounds of liberty, had choſen the moſt lenient mode of proceeding which could poſſibly be deviſed. With reſpect to our internal tranquillity, it was, he ſaid, ſo obvious that it required no proof: it ſpoke plainly for itſelf. As to the third point, our general proſperity, Mr. Browne argued at ſome length; contending that it gave the preſent miniſters an indiſputable claim to the public gratitude. From 1784, when the chancellor of the exchequer came into office, and when our ſituation was truly melancholy, down to the year 1792, the commerce, manufactures, and agriculture of Great Britain had daily and rapidly increaſed. It was true, that, ſince the year 1792, we had had to encounter the labours and difficulties of a war. That war, however, it was not practicable for the miniſters to avoid. Nor ought we to regret that we had entered into it; for it had undoubtedly ſaved us from the diſgrace and ruin which had fallen on many of the continental ſtates. On the expeditions againſt the French colonies in the Weſt Indies, much blame had been thrown, but in his mind without any juſt cauſe, he being convinced that the want

want of ſucceſs had been occaſioned ſolely by the yellow fever, and not by any deficiency of wiſdom in the plans adopted, or of vigour in their execution. Taking the war altogether, it was the moſt glorious in which we had ever been engaged. Neither had it been injurious to our proſperity. Our trade had grown in an unuſual proportion; and that our internal traffic and agriculture had done the ſame was proved by the circumſtance of the number of encloſure and canal bills having been much larger during the laſt four years than during the four years preceding. In concluſion, he maintained that it was impoſſible to replace the miniſters by others more honeſt or more capable, and that to remove them would, in all probability, put to imminent hazard the tranquillity of the kingdom.

The ſentiments of Mr. Browne were fully coincided in by alderman Curtis and Anderſon, each of whom made a few obſervations on the motion. The former alſo aſſerted his right to vote according to his own judgment, and the latter denied that, even ſuppoſing them to be binding, the inſtructions which had been given to Mr. Combe did, in reality, ſpeak the language of a majority of the livery of London.

Mr. Curwen, on the contrary, contended that members were bound to obey the inſtructions of their conſtituents. If they refuſed to do ſo, the Houſe did not ſpeak the ſentiments of the people. He then entered on the queſtion before them, and, like Mr. Combe, paſſed a ſweeping cenſure on all the conduct of the miniſters. That the proſperous ſituation of the country previous to the war was at all attributable to their talents and plans he refuſed to allow; but he did not think it neceſſary to go back to that period. Their having embarked in the war, and having neglected to negotiate at proper ſeaſons, he held to be ſufficient to criminate them. On the treaſon and ſedition bills he likewiſe laviſhed his reprobation. To their charge he laid the diſorganization of the navy, and the increaſe of diſaffection, and he propheſied that, if they were continued, diſcontent would ſtill increaſe, and would at length burſt forth with ſuch irreſiſtible fury as to bear down all before it. A change of miniſters, however, was not all that he deſired. The change, he ſaid, muſt be total; it muſt not only be of men, but of ſyſtem. He did not leave his hearers quite in the dark as to the nature of that entire change which was the object of his wiſhes. In the firſt place, he laid it down as a principle, that the immenſe influence of government muſt ceaſe; for by that influence the chancellor of the exchequer had created about one half of the preſent Houſe of Peers. He did not, indeed, directly ſay that the prerogative of making peers ought to be taken away or modified; but the concluſion, that he wiſhed it to be ſo, could not fail to be drawn from his argument. In the next place he adverted to Ireland, and affirmed that nothing leſs than the complete emancipation of the catholics, and a thorough reform in the repreſentation of the people, could prevent that kingdom from being ſeparated from this; and he added that perhaps it would be more for

our

our intereſt that Ireland ſhould be declared perfectly independant than that, by the impolitic and oppreſſive meaſures of the government, the Iriſh people ſhould be driven to extremes, which might prove far more injurious to Great Britain. Laſtly, he declared it to be his conviction that a ſpeedy peace was requiſite, that the miniſters could not obtain it, and that, therefore, they ought to be diſmiſſed.

Of theſe arguments ſeveral were repeated, with a ſmall variation of words, by Mr. M. A. Taylor, Mr. Hobhouſe, and Mr. Sturt, each of whom, however, contributed ſomething of his own in reprobation of the miniſters. In alluſion to words uſed in the inſtructions from the livery of London, on which alderman Curtis had commented, Mr. M. A. Taylor maintained that the miniſters juſtly deſerved the epithets of weak and wicked; weak, not becauſe they were deſtitute of talent, but becauſe their meaſures were weak and inefficient, and wicked, not with reference to their private characters, but becauſe they had eſtabliſhed a ſyſtem of corruption. Nothing but their removal could ſecure a peace, and ſave the conſtitution. Mr. Hobhouſe contended that the war originated on the part of England, not on that of France; that the miniſters had gained no object of the war; and that they had thrown away every favourable opportunity of concluding a peace. Their domeſtic policy was no leſs reprehenſible than their foreign. They had extended the exciſe laws, ſhackled the preſs, tongue tied the people, diſorganized the navy, and riſked the diſmembering of the empire. Mr. Sturt, with a violence not unuſual in him, preſſed the ſame charges, and, in addition, attacked the Quiberon expedition, and the fatal attempts on St. Domingo. He likewiſe undertook to prove that to the miſconduct of the miniſters were owing the diſturbances in the fleet, and he announced his determination to bring forward a motion on the ſubject, if ſome other perſon did not perform that duty. He ended with the decorous aſſertions that the Houſe was a laughing ſtock to Europe, and its proceedings were deſpiſed, and that if the preſent miniſters were allowed to go on he believed they would be turned out of their places by the people themſelves.

By thoſe who ſpoke in vindication of the miniſters it was urged that for the change which was recommended not even a ſhadow of neceſſity had been ſhewn; and that, for many reaſons, it could not be made without deſtructive conſequences. There was no ground whatever to believe that the miniſters could be replaced by men of more talent and virtue; but it was too certain that thoſe who wiſhed to ſucceed them were pledged to meaſures which would inevitably throw the country into confuſion. The favourite plan of parliamentary reform was a meaſure of this kind. That the purpoſed change would conciliate the republicans they denied, as their animoſity and exertions were not directed againſt individuals, but againſt the navy, the credit, and the conſtitution of England. The war, they contended, was forced upon us, and, though it had certainly ſubjected us to much hardſhip, it had been, on the whole, both

ſucceſsful and glorious. We had completely deſtroyed the commerce, and had crippled the navy of France, and we had accompliſhed the far more important object of preventing French principles from ſubverting good order, morality, and religion, throughout the whole of Europe. That the miniſters were ſincerely anxious for peace they had no doubt; and they thought peace more likely to be attained by unanimity and vigour, than by inceſſantly haraſſing and impeding thoſe who held the reins of government. Admitting that at this moment we laboured under ſome embarraſſments, they inſiſted that they were merely temporary, had been exceedingly exaggerated, and had, in fact, been partly occaſioned by the unguarded harangues which were made in parliament. The people at large were not inclined to deſpond, and it was impolitic, and even criminal, to excite their anger and their fears by inflammatory ſpeeches. That the treaſon and ſedition bills were contrary to the ſpirit of the conſtitution Mr. Luſhington admitted; but he maintained that their enactment was rendered imperiouſly neceſſary by the circumſtances of the time: it was wiſe to give up one of the rights of the people, in order to preſerve all the others entire and inviolate. Mr. Bootle conſidered them as having ſaved our conſtitutional ſyſtem, and he ſarcaſtically obſerved, that they had ſucceeded in confining ſeditious language within the walls of the Houſe. Union and ſpirit were ſtrongly recommended by all the ſpeakers on this ſide; and they held it to be quite a ſufficient objection, even were there no other, to ſuch motions as the preſent, that their inevitable tendency was to diſpirit and to diſunite.

The queſtion being loudly called for, the Houſe divided, and Mr. Combe's motion was rejected by a large majority; there being two hundred and forty-two voices in the negative, againſt fifty-nine in the affirmative.

The final motion of this kind was made in the Houſe of Peers, by the duke of Bedford, on the thirtieth of May. He prefaced it by a ſpeech of much ability, but full of gloomy pictures of the paſt, and as gloomy anticipations of the future. The ſubject which he had to diſcuſs, he acknowledged to be one which could not be expected to gratify his hearers, either by its novelty, or its intrinſic pleaſantneſs. "It is," ſaid he, "a beaten track, my lords, which, as we travel over it, affords no cheering proſpect to encourage you to proceed, and indeed preſents little variety to the view, except ſome new calamity, and ſome freſh misfortune." The whole of his ſpeech was ſtrictly in uniſon with this melancholy exordium.

The points to which he called the attention of the Peers, were five in number. They related to the war, the negotiation, the finances, the internal ſituation of the country, and the ſyſtem of government.

On the origin of the war, his opinions being ſufficiently known, he did not enter. That the war was the great ſource of our calamities, he held to be an indiſputable fact. As to its real purpoſe, he inſinuated that the miniſters had never fairly ſtated it to parliament. Without theſe walls, ſaid his grace, their

their ſupporters avowed that the object was to deſtroy the French republic, and to re-eſtabliſh the monarchical government. I do not ſay that within theſe walls this object was ſo explicitly held forth; but the arguments and the reaſonings of the miniſters pointed out that inference to their adherents. If that was the principle on which the war was begun, why was it not continued on the ſame ground? Had the cauſe been abandoned, becauſe it was no longer attainable?

It had been affirmed, that this was a war for the preſervation of law, religion, morality; a war in defence of all that was dear to us, of our property, our conſtitution, our liberty. Had it anſwered its end? What was the ſtate of property? Had that been ameliorated by the conteſt which was commenced for its ſecurity? What had the war effected for the ſafety of the laws? Inſtead of its placing them in a better ſituation, had it not occaſioned their beſt and deareſt privileges to be ſuſpended? Had not laws been enacted againſt that very liberty, which we went to war to defend? What examples favourable to morality had the war produced? Were ſuch examples to be found in the conduct of the king of Pruſſia, in that of the maſter of the dungeons of Olmutz, or in the proceedings of thoſe petty tyrants who buzzed about us when there was any hope of ſucceſs, and deſerted us when our cauſe became deſperate? But, it was ſaid, we combated for the preſervation of religion. Did we, then, expect to defend the altar, by ſurrounding it with ſeas of blood, or to ſecure it from violation, by piling about it the carcaſes of the dead? Was religion to be defended by the ſlaughter of millions? Here he terminated his interrogatories; declaring, at the ſame time, that if we looked to the paſt, we had much to regret; if we looked to the future, we had much to dread.

The ſecond head he did not diſcuſs at any length, but his cenſure was not the leſs ſevere. In all the attempts to negotiate, and in all the effects of thoſe attempts, he ſaw nothing but preſumption, miſmanagement, and diſgrace. It was, however, to the circumſtances of the laſt negotiation, that he chiefly directed his remarks; and here the ſole argument which he uſed was, that, as the miniſters muſt have been well aware of the danger which impended over our public credit, they ought not to have inſiſted on the relinquiſhment of the Netherlands by the French republic.

The picture which he drew of our financial proſpects, was of the moſt melancholy kind. Even were the war to be now brought to a cloſe, we ſhould, he declared, have a peace eſtabliſhment of nearly twenty-ſeven millions; and the people, who were already groaning under their burthens, muſt be loaded with an additional yearly taxation of ſeven millions and a half. The conduct of the miniſter, in his tranſactions with the bank, he minutely ſcrutinized; and, as he had once before done, affirmed it to be a tiſſue of fraud, treachery, and deceit. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had, on the falſeſt pretences, deluded the bank into repeated advances of money, had violated every promiſe, had diſregarded every remonſtrance, and obſti-

obſtinately perſiſted in a courſe which had expoſed public credit to ruin; and all this was done to ſupply an expenditure which parliament had not ſanctioned, and to ſupport his miſchievous ſchemes and boundleſs prodigality. Had the real purpoſe of the war been fairly avowed, or its expence fairly ſtated, there could be no doubt that peace would have been long ago concluded.

In arguing on his fourth point, the internal ſtate of the country, he contended that the whole proceedings of the adminiſtration had been diſgraceful to the conſtitution, inconſiſtent with the principles eſtabliſhed in 1688, and no leſs incompatible with good government, than with the real intereſts of the crown, which they affected ſo much anxiety to maintain. The two acts of the preceding ſeſſion occupied the firſt place in his catalogue of crimes. His next ſubject of cenſure, was the diſmiſſion of earl Fitzwilliam, and the manner in which Ireland had been miſgoverned. What has, ſaid he, been the conſequence of that ſyſtem, which the miniſters have choſen to employ? Each attempt to coerce, has only ſpread more widely the ſpirit of diſcontent. This blind perſeverance in a coercive plan, has heightened diſcontent into diſaffection, and endangered the connection of the two countries. Laſtly, he reprobated the proceedings of the miniſtry with reſpect to the mutiny in the navy; contending that, by enlarging their conceſſions after the firſt offer, they had excited an idea that they had granted more than was reaſonable, and that, therefore, they were highly culpable.

From all this he deduced, as an inevitable concluſion, the neceſſity of acting henceforth on an entirely new ſyſtem. Among the moſt ſalutary of the changes which would be requiſite, he placed a change in the repreſentation of the people. He likewiſe recommended retrenchment and economy in every department, the correction of all abuſes, and the fairly looking our ſituation in the face; without which the co-operation of the people would in vain be expected.

The cloſe of his ſpeech he devoted to a defence of his own conduct, and a lamentation on the fruitleſſneſs of his numerous efforts. That his motion would be carried he did not flatter himſelf, but he intreated the Peers to turn it in their minds, to reflect ſeriouſly on the circumſtances of the country, and to deviſe ſome means to avert the impending ruin. Hopeleſs, however, of himſelf effecting any thing beneficial, he now announced, as Mr. Fox had already done in the other houſe, his reſolution to withdraw for a while from the performance of his parliamentary duties. Notwithſtanding, ſaid he, all the arguments which I have employed, and all the illuſtrations which experience has afforded, I have not gained a ſingle inch for the country. There is, therefore, nothing left for me, but to retire. In thus retiring, I truſt that I ſhall not be accuſed of inconſiſtency, if, in the courſe of a week or a month, I ſhould return. Whenever I can indulge the hope of being uſeful, I ſhall return.

The addreſs which he moved was a ſort of abridgment of his ſpeech. It deſcribed the kingdom as labouring under a ſeries of calamities

mities unparalleled in its hiſtory, and as expoſed to calamities ſtill greater; it attributed them all to a ſyſtem of government hoſtile to the conſtitution; and it implored his majeſty to diſmiſs from his councils thoſe miniſters who had inſulted the enemy by their diſcourſe, and encouraged them by their incapacity; who had impaired public credit by their extravagance and want of good faith; and who, with ſyſtematical treachery, had foſtered the diſcontents of Ireland, till the connection between the two kingdoms was on the point of being broken. Their diſmiſſion, it ſaid, would be a proof that his majeſty was inclined to peace; that he deſired to reſtore public credit; that he diſapproved of the wrongs done to Ireland, and wiſhed, if it were yet poſſible, to ſecure the connection with that oppreſſed kingdom, by extending to men of all deſcriptions the bleſſings of the conſtitution; and that he intended to co-operate in reſtoring the ſpirit of the Britiſh conſtitution, and to adopt ſuch a ſyſtem of economy and retrenchment as was alone conſiſtent with the proſperity of his exhauſted people.

The Duke of Grafton and the Earl of Guildford ſtrenuouſly ſupported the motion, in ſpeeches of ſome length, the ſtyle and ſentiments of which bore a cloſe reſemblance to thoſe of the noble mover. In the gloomineſs of the pictures which they drew, they, perhaps, even went beyond him. A perſon, ignorant of the real ſituation of affairs, could not have liſtened to them without ſuppoſing that nothing ſhort of a miracle could ſave the country from immediate ruin. Without an inſtant peace, they did not think that there was the ſlighteſt chance of political ſalvation; and, in addition to this, the duke of Grafton loudly called for a parliamentary reform. His grace alſo declared, that Ireland was on the eve of undergoing a revolution; and that, if a revolution took place there, it would ſoon be followed by a ſimilar event in Great Britain.

The earl of Guildford, though he did not agree with his grace on the queſtion of reform, to which, however, he appeared to be half a convert, was of the ſame opinion on all the remaining points. Revolutionary opinions and revolutionary meaſures, were, he ſaid, gaining upon us every hour, and ſome great change was evidently near at hand. The critical ſituation of the ſiſter kingdom was the ſubject on which they both deſcanted with the moſt energy; and this, like all the reſt of the miſeries which they deſcribed, they, of courſe, attributed to miniſterial wickedneſs and imbecility.

The duke of Athol and lord Romney both ſpoke briefly in vindication of the miniſters. The former aſſerted the neceſſity of the war, and maintained that, if it had not been engaged in, parliament would not at that moment have been in exiſtence; diſſented from the noble mover's financial ſtatements, as being exaggerated; and affirmed, that as, in former wars, when our reſources were inferior, and our exports one third leſs, the bank had made larger advances to government than they had done in this war, the difficulties of the bank did not originate in its connection with the Chancellor of the

Exche-

Exchequer. The latter peer cenſured the deſponding tone of the ſpeakers in oppoſition, and dwelt particularly on the impropriety and danger of terming Ireland an "oppreſſed country;" language which he conſidered as at once an inſult on the independent legiſlature of Ireland, and an aſſumption of a fact, of which their lordſhips had not an iota of proof before them. Looking to our continental relations, he was of opinion that Auſtria, even though ſhe was no longer in arms, might prove herſelf a valuable ally to Great Britain. This having, by the marquis of Lanſdowne, been miſtaken for the expreſſion of a hope that Auſtria might be induced to renew the conteſt, lord Romney explained his meaning to extend no further than to a ſuppoſition that Auſtria might aſſiſt us by laying the ground for a general peace. As to the mutiny, the cauſe of which had been lain to the charge of the miniſters, he firmly believed that it had its origin in French gold and French intrigue. If it were once put an end to, as he truſted it ere long would be, we ſhould have nothing to fear, and might ſucceſsfully face the combined navies of France and Holland and Spain.

Having firſt entered a ſtrong proteſt againſt all ſchemes of parliamentary reform, as being likely to produce only the moſt pernicious effects, lord Auckland confined himſelf to a refutation of the duke of Bedford's arguments reſpecting the deficiency which was to be expected in the revenue, and the heavy burthens which muſt be borne, after the concluſion of a peace. He ſhewed that there was no reaſon whatever to believe that a deficiency would occur, and that, ſuppoſing the war to terminate with the year, an additional annual ſum of leſs than a million was all that would be required to equalize the national income and expenditure. Of thoſe who repreſented our ſituation in ſuch dark colours he ſpoke with ſomewhat of aſperity. To what poſſible uſe, he aſked, were ſuch ſtatements brought forward in the preſent conjuncture? At a moment when accumulated calamities naturally agitated the public mind, it was an eaſy taſk to make declamatory invectives againſt the folly and incapacity of miniſters, and to impute blame where blame was not juſtly imputable. It would be a taſk ſtill more eaſy, but ſuited only to weak or malignant minds, to depreciate the national reſources; to weaken the national energy, (our beſt reſource and poſſeſſion;) and to hold us out to ourſelves and to our enemy, as neceſſarily ſinking under the difficulties to which we were expoſed. He was concerned to add, that ſuch repreſentations had tended to ſhake the public confidence, the public courage, and the public credit. They had done ſtill more; co-operating, as they had done, with the revolutionary opinions, which a noble earl had deſcribed as gaining ground from hour to hour, they had given pretexts and power to that principle of inſubordination, to that ſpirit of anarchy, to that peril, to that calamity, which all parties concurred in deploring, and which he conſidered as the real and eſſential evil in our actual ſituation. And thus it was, that a brave and enlightened nation,

enjoying an unexampled proſperity, and the power and the means to maintain that proſperity, was abandoning itſelf to deſtruction. It was, indeed, he ſaid, a ſtrange and ſhameful paradox which we now exhibited to the world and to poſterity. We ſpoke of a war of the moſt glorious and ſucceſsful kind, as if it was a ſeries of diſaſter and diſgrace; when two loans of eighteen millions each had been eaſily raiſed within a few months, when our revenue was undiminiſhed, and our commerce was ſwelled to an extent never paralleled in peace, we lamented over our reſources, as if the country was ſinking into the loweſt poverty; and while we were maſters of the ocean, while we held our enemies blockaded in their ports, and our internal means of defence were greater than they were ever known to be, we talked of the perils to which we were expoſed from invaſion. That the mutiny was a juſt ſubject of alarm he confeſſed, but he confidently hoped that the ſailors would ſhortly return to their duty; and, criminal as their conduct undoubtedly was, he could not believe that they had incurred the guilt of having been ſeduced from their allegiance by the gold of France. That we ſtood alone in the conteſt was certain, yet, if we were true to ourſelves, even inſulated as we now were, we ſhould attain an honourable peace; while, on the contrary, if we allowed an unmanly impatience to hurry us into an inglorious termination of the war, the century would, in theſe kingdoms, cloſe upon ſcenes of deſolation infinitely more terrible than any which had hitherto appeared in the calamitous annals of the French revolution.

None of the peers in office manifeſting an intention to ſpeak, and ſeveral lords being deſirous that the queſtion ſhould be put, the debate would probably have ended here had not the earl of Suffolk prolonged it by an act which was at leaſt indiſcreet. He roſe, he ſaid, to aſk his Majeſty's ſervants whether any new ſyſtem was meant to be adopted with reſpect to Ireland, or whether the ſyſtem of coercion that had fatally been purſued was obſtinately to be perſevered in? His queſtion remaining unanſwered, he proceeded to read a letter which he had received from brigadier general Cooke, who was then ſerving in the ſiſter kingdom. That part of it which he was allowed to communicate contained a melancholy account of the ſituation of Ireland. It aſſerted that the country was not in a better ſtate of defence than at Chriſtmas, ſpecified the number of troops under his command in the North, and predicted that if a rebellion broke out all would be loſt. One paſſage the earl did not think proper to diſcloſe, becauſe he could himſelf ſee the impropriety of making it public. Several peers now gave it as their opinion that far too much had already been diſcloſed; and the earl of Weſtmoreland expreſſed his determination to move that the Houſe ſhould be cleared, if the noble lord was reſolved to perſiſt. The reading of the letter was at length diſcontinued.

Enough had, however, been read to call from the marquis of Lanſdowne one of thoſe erratic ſpeeches in which he ſo often indulged. It excited his aſtoniſhment that the miniſters not only

refuſed

refuſed to give information themſelves, but alſo put a negative on it when offered from another quarter. Ireland was, he affirmed an oppreſſed nation, and was at that moment in the moſt perilous ſtate. In proof of this he referred to ſome reſolutions, recently paſſed, by the members of the bar, in Dublin. He earneſtly deprecated the meaſures of ſeverity which he ſuppoſed to be in contemplation, and the conſequences of which would undoubtedly be fatal. Among the moſt prominent of the topics which he introduced were the deſertion of our alliance by Auſtria, the ſubſidy paid in 1794 to Pruſſia, and the mutiny of the ſailors, on which laſt ſubject he warmly expatiated, cenſuring the conduct of the miniſters, and repreſenting the ſeamen as in a certain degree juſtified by the dilatorineſs of government in giving them ſatisfaction. Peace, however, was the chief burthen of his ſong. He had, he ſaid, the ſin upon his head of believing that the French rulers were always inclined to pacification. It was his opinion that we ought to tell the French that peace was important to us. To know whether they were diſpoſed to end the conteſt on moderate terms was of conſequence; in order that, if they were not, we might arm with determined vigour, and oppoſe them with enthuſiaſm. He came down to the Houſe with the hope that the miniſters meant to announce that they had begun to negotiate; and, as the original cauſes of the war no longer exiſted, as the Scheldt, and the Low Countries, and Savoy, could no longer afford a ground of diſpute, he was utterly at a loſs to divine why a negotiation was not yet commenced.

The duke of Grafton having declared that his gloom was occaſioned by the miniſters remaining in power, and that it would ceaſe on their retiring, lord Grenville roſe and made a vehement ſpeech. In that confeſſion, he ſaid, the real object of the motion had come out. It was a perſonal attack on the king's adviſers, by a ſet of men who fancied that they were better qualified to fill their ſtations, and who wiſhed to introduce their new-fangled ſyſtem on the ruin of the Britiſh conſtitution. It was this alone that now, contrary to his original purpoſe, induced him to riſe. Boldly claiming for himſelf and his colleagues the merit of having ſucceeded in averting that anarchy to the eſtabliſhment of which the language of thoſe who oppoſed them ſtrongly tended, he candidly owned that the ſucceſs of the preſent motion would give him the moſt ſerious and heartfelt concern. That concern, however, would not ariſe from any perſonal or intereſted motives: it would ſpring from a higher ſource. He ſhould indeed deem it the heavieſt misfortune which he could poſſibly experience, to be deprived of the power of rendering every ſervice within the ſcope of his abilities both to his country and to his moſt gracious maſter, who, in a moment of great and unexampled difficulty, was amply entitled to his beſt exertions. Adverting to the ſpeech of the marquis of Lanſdowne, he reprobated the manner in which that peer had ſpoken reſpecting Ireland, and he added, with ſome acrimony, that, while the noble

marquis profeſſed to talk of conciliation, and ſeemed deſirous to have it conſidered as his favourite theme, he in reality ſought out every principle of latent evil, and ſhewed his rooted deſire to fruſtrate the great end of conciliation. With equal ſtrength of expreſſion, lord Grenville declared his hoſtility to all ſchemes of parliamentary reform. No two perſons, he ſaid, agreed as to the plan; nor could any plan of the kind be carried into effect, without opening the door to a revolution, and all its concomitant horrors. He would to the utmoſt, therefore, reſiſt ſuch deſtructive attempts; and he intreated their lordſhips, as they valued the happineſs of the country, to diſcountenance the viſionary and hazardous projects which were daily recommended. If once the flood gate was uncloſed to innovation, the torrent of anarchy would ſpread ſo impetuouſly and ſo widely, that they would in vain ſtrive by their feeble efforts to prevent the Conſtitution from being overwhelmed in general ruin.

The debate was continued for a while longer, but little was urged on either part that could claim the merit of novelty. On ſuch a bearing, it not much that was new could in fact be expected. Earl Spencer, the duke of Leeds, lord Darnley, and the lord Chancellor, were the ſpeakers on the miniſterial ſide. The duke of Leeds and Lord Darnley were indeed but lukewarm auxiliaries; as, though they declared againſt the motion, they owned that the miniſters had been exceedingly unfortunate. Lord Darnley even thought that they retained the public confidence only in conſequence of the ſuperior demerit of their opponents.

Earl Moira ſpoke briefly, yet forcibly, on the ſide of oppoſition. His cenſure was particularly directed againſt the manner in which the Iriſh catholics had been treated, and againſt the flagrant blunder which had been committed in ſending a formidable army, under ſir Charles Grey, to the Weſt Indies, inſtead of ſending it to aid the royaliſts of France. Had the royaliſts been ſuccoured by ſuch an armament the fate of the war might, he ſaid, have been very different, and we might long ſince have been in poſſeſſion of the bleſſings of peace.

To this it was replied by earl Spencer, that, had this plan been adopted, no ſupport or protection could have been afforded to the Weſt Indies. It muſt, however, be manifeſt, that the enormous force which was thrown away in the Weſt Indies had for its object not merely protection but conqueſt, and conqueſt, too, on an extenſive ſcale; and that, had we contented ourſelves with preſerving our own colonies, we might have amply accompliſhed that end, and likewiſe have landed on the coaſt of France, an army fully adequate to the purpoſe of enabling the Bretons and Poitevins to overcome the republicans, or at leaſt to maintain full and firm poſſeſſion of the Weſtern provinces. In 1795, three Britiſh regiments would probably have been ſufficient to ſecure Brittany, and would certainly have prevented the diſaſter at Quiberon.

After a reply from the duke of Bedford, in which he complained that his arguments had been miſtated by lord Auckland, the queſtion

queſtion was put, and the motion was rejected by ninety one non-contents againſt fourteen contents. In conſequence of this rejection, his grace entered on the journals a long and bitter proteſt, in which he was joined by lord Chedworth.

Inceſſantly clamorous as the leaders of oppoſition were for peace, the miniſters were, in reality, not leſs anxious than they were, for the ſpeedy attainment of that object. With the exception of Mr. Windham, who ſtill deprecated the meaſure, there was not, perhaps, one of the cabinet, who was not willing to make conſiderable ſacrifices to put an end to the conteſt. Mr. Pitt, in particular, whoſe talents were certainly more fitted to ſhine in a peaceable than in a warlike period, was, as we have ſtated in our laſt volume, extremely deſirous to get rid of his preſent difficulties, and to reſume thoſe financial and commercial ſchemes on which he built his hopes of popularity, and which the hoſtility of the republicans had cruelly and unexpectedly interrupted. Though, in conſequence of the diſguſt which the political ſentiments and conduct of his opponents had widely excited, he had little or nothing to fear for his power from a prolongation of the war; yet it was not probable that he could gain any thing by that prolongation; while, from the daily increaſing burthens of the people, he was ſure to meet with perpetual and inveterate oppoſition, and to incur no trifling ſhare of odium, as the chief author of the national calamities. Indeed, looking at the war merely as a war in which the chance of making conqueſts was to be weighed againſt the expence of making them, there can be no doubt of the validity of the reaſoning by which the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſucceeded in perſuading himſelf that we ought to diſcontinue our efforts. An additional ſugar or ſpice iſland would have formed but a miſerable compenſation for the ſacrifice of numerous lives and millions of treaſure. But the fallacy lay in conſidering this as a common war. The queſtion, in fact, was not whether, as in former times, we could at pleaſure deſiſt from the ſtruggle, and enter into a ſtate of amity with our late enemies; but whether in the firſt place, it was ſafe to conclude a peace, and, if it were ſo, whether our enemy was as willing as ourſelves to conclude one. Whatever doubt might exiſt as to the firſt of theſe points, the ſecond, as we ſhall now ſee, was very ſoon decided, and ſo effectually as to leave no room for the exerciſe of ſcepticiſm.

At the very moment when, in the courſe of the laſt narrated debate, the peers in oppoſition were declaiming on the unpacific ſpirit of the miniſtry, the miniſters were preparing to make overtures to the republican government. By Mr. Pitt it was conceived that ſome circumſtances now exiſted, which gave promiſe that an attempt to negotiate would have a favourable reſult. One great obſtacle was doubtleſs removed, by the ſeparate treaty into which the emperor had found it neceſſary to enter. Great Britain had not, as before, to ſupport her character as a faithful ally, by providing compenſations for his loſt territories; the Netherlands being irrevocably ceded, there was no longer,

it was thought, an opportunity of pleading the new-fangled laws of France in bar to our propoſals; and, though it was certain that we muſt make large ſacrifices from our conqueſts, there appeared a hope that we might be ſuffered to retain ſufficient of them to render the terms of peace not apparently diſhonourable to us. Beſides, both in the councils, and by a great majority of the French nation, a wiſh had been manifeſted to put an end to a conteſt which, however ſucceſsful in one of its branches, was not the leſs exhauſting; and from which there was no reaſon to expect any further acceſſion of territory or glory. It is true, alſo, that there was no ground whatever for believing that the Directory, or at leaſt the major part of it, participated in theſe pacific feelings; but Mr. Pitt flattered himſelf that, much as the French rulers might hate peace, they would not dare to indulge their own malignant paſſions, in direct oppoſition to the loudly declared wiſhes, and obvious intereſts, of the people of France.

On this occaſion lord Malmeſbury was again choſen as the repreſentative of his Majeſty; nor would it have been eaſy to find a perſon more capable of maintaining the honour of his country. In the letter * of lord Grenville, by which he demanded paſſports for the Britiſh plenipotentiary, he made known to the Directory the pacific diſpoſitions of the cabinet, and expreſſed a hope that, as many obſtacles were now removed, ſuch preliminaries might be agreed on as would lead to definitive arrangements at the future congreſs.

11ſt June.

By the preliminaries ſigned at Leoben, between the emperor and the French republic, it was ſtipulated that each of the contracting parties ſhould invite its allies to join in a general congreſs, for the concluſion of peace. It was to this article that lord Grenville alluded, when he ſpoke of the definitive arrangements. Regardleſs, however, of the ſtipulations into which they had entered, and already manifeſting their ſpirit of chicane and bad faith, the Directory, in their anſwer, while they affected an eagerneſs to receive our overtures, objected to a congreſs, and deſired that the negotiations might at once be ſet on foot for a treaty which ſhould be final. They cloaked their oppoſition to a congreſs under the pretext that the reſult of ſuch a meaſure muſt be remote, and did not correſpond with their ardent deſire to reeſtabliſh peace between the two powers as ſpeedily as poſſible.

In his reply lord Grenville deſired to know the place at which the Directory wiſhed the negotiation to be carried on; and he remarked that the queſtion of ſigning preliminary or definitive articles would neceſſarily depend on the progreſs and turn of the negotiations. Without noticing this remark, the Directory tranſmitted a paſſport of an unuſual and offenſive form; which, independently of other objectionable paſſages, tied down the Britiſh envoy to the "ſigning a definitive and ſeparate treaty of peace." Liſle was the town aſſigned for the

* For the Papers, See State Papers p. 306 * to p. * 361.

reſidence

reſidence of the plenipotentiaries; the majority of the Directory being well aware that to allow the negotiations to be conducted, as before, at Paris, would, perhaps, be to fruſtrate the plans over which they were at this moment brooding.

To the choice of Liſle no objection was made by the Britiſh Cabinet. But other circumſtances of the note which accompanied the paſſport required ſome comment. Conceding in reality the point with reſpect to a definitive treaty, lord Grenville declared that his Majeſty could not conſent to abandon the intereſts of his ally, the Queen of Portugal; but that, on his part, he was willing to enter into ſuch explanations as might be neceſſary with regard to the intereſts of Spain and Holland. The form of the paſſport was animadverted on, as being unuſual, and likely to create inconvenience; and the Directory were requeſted to tranſmit another, drawn up in the uſual manner. A free paſſage by the way of Calais, was alſo required for the couriers which might be diſpatched to England. In concluſion, lord Malmeſbury was announced as his Majeſty's repreſentative.

The reply of the Directory was laconic; but ſufficiently indicative of a cavilling and irritating ſpirit. The French rulers affected to conſider, as a chief cauſe of the failure of the laſt negociation, the number of couriers which had been diſpatched; and they inſolently declared that they conſented to open a negotiation with lord Malmeſbury, though they were of opinion that another choice would have augured more favourably for the ſpeedy concluſion of peace. Any alteration in the paſſport was ſtated to be unneceſſary; and it was agreed that England ſhould ſtipulate for Portugal, as would France, on her ſide, for Holland and Spain.

The republican negotiators were M. Letourneur, lately one of the Directory, M. Pleville le Pelley, and M. Maret, to whom M. Colchen was joined, as ſecretary of legation, with power to aſſiſt at the conferences. The latter perſon, a man of eminent talents, and preposſeſſing manners, M. Barthelemy, one of the Directors, had originally propoſed as preſident of the commiſſion; but he is ſaid to have been overruled by his colleague Rewbell, who ſucceeded in giving that rank to M. Letourneur. The ſelection of theſe plenipotentiaries was not ill contrived to miſlead the French people into a belief that their government was ſincere in wiſhing for peace; they being generally conſidered as men of good intentions, and free from that offenſive aſperity which ſome of their party thought it dignified to manifeſt, and which could only tend to retard a treaty, by exciting diſguſt and irritation.

The plenipotentiaries had their firſt interview on the ſixth of July, and exchanged their credentials. In the powers which the Directors gave to their agents they took eſpecial care to ſecure to themſelves the means of throwing in the way of a treaty as many obſtacles as might be neceſſary to anſwer their purpoſe. This was done by compelling their agents to pauſe at every ſtep, and to wait for further inſtructions: and it was done by thoſe who had ſo recently aſſerted

that the ſending too many couriers was the principal cauſe by which the laſt attempt to treat was rendered abortive. It is manifeſt that this conduct could only have been adopted with ſiniſter views. It was not poſſible for the Britiſh cabinet to foreſee all the cavils and demands of the republicans; and, therefore, lord Malmeſbury could not avoid diſpatching couriers; but the members of the French government, who muſt have made up their minds as to what terms they would accept, might, if they had pleaſed, have enabled their repreſentatives to negotiate without the loſs of a moment.

That no pretext might exiſt for caſting the blame of delay on the Britiſh cabinet, lord Malmeſbury, on the third day after his arrival at Liſle, gave in the project of a treaty. It was ſtudiouſly drawn up in the moſt conciliatory language. As it was not yet known whether France would herſelf conſent to make ceſſions, or whether ſhe would impoſe on her allies the burthen of giving this country a compenſation for what was to be reſtored to France, blanks were left in thoſe articles of the treaty which related to the conqueſts to be retained by England. The French plenipotentiaries having declared that, as the republic would not relinquiſh any of her territories, the compenſations muſt be taken from the poſſeſſions of her allies, lord Malmeſbury propoſed to fill up the blanks with the words, the iſland of Trinidad, the Cape of Good Hope, the Dutch ſettlements in Ceylon, and the town and fort of Cochin, which latter place, however, was only to be ceded in exchange for the town of Negapatnam and its dependencies. Beſides this, nothing more was aſked than that Portugal ſhould return to a ſtate of peace without any demand being made on it; and that the property of the Prince of Orange ſhould be reſtored, and an equivalent be given to him for the loſs of his office and dignities.

Eaſy as it would ſeem to have been for the French negotiators to give an anſwer to theſe propoſitions, they were, nevertheleſs, under the neceſſity of referring them to the Directory. But, though they had not powers to forward a treaty, they were, as we have already obſerved, abundantly furniſhed with ſuch as were likely to fruſtrate one. They now ſtated that there were certain inſulated points which it would be proper to diſcuſs, while the main buſineſs was at a ſtand. Their firſt objection was to his majeſty's retaining the title of king of France. The diſcontinuing the uſe of this title was conſidered as a conceſſion which could not be diſpenſed with; it being in a manner eſſential to the full recognition of the French republic. It was in vain that lord Malmeſbury reminded them that ſuch titles were never imagined to convey any right, but were merely memorials and records of former greatneſs; and that, in all former caſes, during three centuries, a ſeparate article in the treaty, thus explaining the title, had been held to be ſufficient. In their official note they declared that "the eſtabliſhment of the French republic, and the acknowledgment of that form of government by the king of England, would not allow of his retaining a title which would imply

imply the existence in France of an order of things which was at an end." An argument so wretched as this, the negotiators themselves, who were compelled to employ it, could have hardly believed to be worthy of a serious reply.

The second point on which they insisted, was one of material importance. They required the restitution of the ships captured and destroyed at Toulon, or an equivalent for them. This claim they grounded on the circumstance of lord Hood having received them in trust for the king of France. It was said that the rights attributed to Lewis the seventeenth were now undeniably vested in the republic; and, therefore, the claim could not be rejected. Lord Malmesbury assured the French negotiators that such a demand was wholly inadmissible; and that to persist in it was the most likely means that could be devised to defeat the great end of their mission. Considering the vast advantages which France had already obtained by the war, and would gain by the treaty, he was surprised that it had been brought forward, and he earnestly recommended that it should be withdrawn. M. Letourneur and his colleagues, however, replied that this was out of their power; and, in proof that it was so, they appealed to their instructions, from which they read the passage that bound them.

In the third place, they desired to know whether Great Britain had any mortgage on the Low Countries, in consequence of money lent to the Emperor; they being instructed to say, that the French government would not be responsible for any mortgage given for money advanced to carry on war against the Republic. Yet, while they said this, they owned that France had taken the Netherlands charged with all their incumbrances. To this lord Malmesbury replied, that, supposing the case to exist, they should have stated the exception in their treaty with the emperor: it could not be mixed up with the present treaty. Besides, if they had, as they confessed, taken the territories with all their incumbrances, there could be no doubt as to the meaning of the words; and if no exception was stated in the first instance none could be made with a retroactive effect. This subject of dispute was, however, soon removed by a dispatch from lord Grenville, which informed the ambassador that the loans to Austria were secured on all the revenues of the emperor, and that there was no intention of calling on France for any part of either the interest or the capital of those loans.

In another interview, an objection, which had been started in the first, was pertinaciously maintained. It was to that renewal of preceding treaties which usually forms an article of every new treaty, and which had consequently found a place in the project of lord Malmesbury. Various cavils of the most futile kind were urged against this renewal, by a part of the French negotiators. Among other things, some of which were even more absurd, it was contended that the renewal might be supposed to apply to conventions and stipulations which were directly contradictory to the present system of government; and, to illustrate this, the convention of Pilnitz

was

was quoted. Feeling, perhaps, the folly of the reaſoning which was uſed by his colleagues, one of the negotiators endeavoured to place the matter on a more rational footing. Their only object, he ſaid, was to frame the preſent treaty in ſo clear, diſtinct, and ſolid a manner that it could not at any future period be broken, without a manifeſt violation of good faith; and this object would, he thought, be beſt attained by bringing into one article every thing in thoſe treaties which related to the two countries.

The Britiſh miniſters had repeatedly denied their having participated in the treaty which was aſſerted to have been concluded at Pilnitz. That denial as we have ſeen, was repeated in the Houſe of Peers, by lord Grenville, ſo recently as the 27th. of March, when the debate took place on the earl of Suffolk's motion. His lordſhip, however, held it to be neceſſary now to reiterate it in the ſtrongeſt language. He deſired the Britiſh plenipotentiary "to take this opportunity to explain, in the moſt diſtinct and unequivocal terms, that if any ſecret treaty was in fact concluded at the interview at Pilnitz, between the late emperor and the king of Pruſſia (which is to ſay the leaſt, very doubtful in point of fact), this at leaſt is certain, that his majeſty was no party to ſuch treaty; and not only was not then included in it, but has never ſince adhered to it, nor even been appriſed of its contents. The public declaration which was made at that interview ſhews, on the face of it, that his majeſty was no party to it; and it is, indeed, notorious, that it applied to circumſtances which were done away long before the war broke out between Auſtria and France, and that the ſubſequent negotiations for the maintenance of peace between thoſe powers turned on points wholly diſtinct from thoſe ſuppoſed to have been referred to in the pretended treaty of Pilnitz." It might be imagined that, after a diſavowal like this, ſcepticiſm itſelf could hardly doubt its truth, or the moſt hardened impudence perſevere in a charge which was unſuſtained by the ſhadow of a proof, and ſo ſolemnly contradicted. Political prejudice, however, ſeldom liſtens to any evidence which is favourable to its enemies.

After a delay of a week the anſwer of the Directory arrived from Paris. It ſeemed intended to bring abruptly the negotiation to a cloſe. Nothing can be conceived at once more inſolent and more abſurd. It declared that ſecret treaties exiſted between the French republic and its allies, by which they reſpectively guaranteed to each other the territories poſſeſſed by them before the war. The republic, it ſaid, being unable to releaſe itſelf from the engagements which it had thus contracted, required, as an indiſpenſible preliminary, that England ſhould conſent to reſtore not only the French colonies, but likewiſe all thoſe belonging to Holland and to Spain. If lord Malmeſbury were not authorized to accede to this demand, it was intimated that he muſt ſend to his court a meſſenger to obtain the neceſſary powers. 15th July.

It is ſomewhat remarkable, that, before the commencement of the negotiation, ſome of the Paris papers in oppoſition

oppoſition had ſtated that ſuch a demand would be made, and had juſtly cenſured it, as an inſuperable obſtacle to peace.

A propoſition like this would have deſerved to be met but with diſdain, even had a republican army effected a landing on the Engliſh coaſt. But, under the circumſtances of the period at which it was made, it could not fail of exciting indignation. Lord Malmeſbury, however, was well acquainted with the wiſh of the Britiſh cabinet for peace; and, therefore, inſtead of demanding his paſſports, he determined to requeſt a conference. In that conference he remonſtrated with the French negotiators on the utter inadmiſſibility of the demand which had been brought forward. They, on their ſide, were averſe from a rupture. They laboured with conſiderable zeal to explain away the plainly offenſive meaning of the anſwer; and they eventually went ſo far as to promiſe that the Britiſh propoſals ſhould be deliberated on; and that, if they were not approved of, a counter project ſhould be given in by France.

From the letter of lord Grenville, on this occaſion, it was obvious that the cabinet believed the Directory to have reſolved that no peace ſhould be concluded. Lord Malmeſbury was, nevertheleſs, inſtructed to confer again with the republican negotiators, and firmly, yet mildly, to argue with them on the ſubject. The inſolence and injuſtice of the French claim, and the fallacy of the pretext on which it was grounded, were ſtrongly expoſed. It was remarked that France could have no right to ſet up her public treaties, much leſs her ſecret ones, in bar to our juſt demands; that if ſhe wiſhed to relieve her allies from the burthen of compenſations ſhe ought to offer them from her own ſtores; but that the pretence which ſhe made was inconteſtibly frivolous and illuſory, as there could not exiſt a doubt that the allies, whom ſhe had notoriouſly dragged into a war againſt their wiſhes and their intereſt, would at any moment authorize her to accede to the terms which were propoſed by his Majeſty. England having already preſented a project of a treaty, no further propoſitions, it was ſaid, could be made till France had replied; and the Britiſh government muſt therefore wait for the counter project which had been promiſed to lord Malmeſbury.

The French negotiators could not deny the correctneſs of this reaſoning. They again candidly admitted that the Britiſh ambaſſador was entitled to receive a counter project; they regretted that they were rigidly bound down by their inſtructions; they expreſſed their anxiety to bring about a treaty; and, when they requeſted lord Malmeſbury to embody his arguments of that day in an official note, they even aſſured him that, if he did not put them all in writing, they would not ſcruple to employ, in the manner beſt calculated to give them weight, ſuch as his lordſhip might have omitted. The ſincerity of their profeſſions there is no reaſon to diſbelieve.

The preparations of the majority of the Directory againſt their colleagues and the two councils were not yet matured; it was perhaps

haps, dubious which ſide would triumph; and they did not, therefore, think it politic to inſiſt on their extravagant demand. It was tacitly abandoned. The reſource of delay ſtill remained. A fortnight was ſuffered to elapſe without any inſtructions having been ſent to their agents at Liſle. The agents themſelves were embarraſſed to account for this circumſtance; but they were willing, if poſſible, to draw from it a favourable omen. It at leaſt, they ſaid, proved that the Directory had relinquiſhed their pretenſions; as, had that not been the caſe, the courier would have been immediately ſent back. In order to prevent idle rumours and falſe reports from being ſpread, they propoſed to meet his lordſhip every other day; and to this he gave a ready aſſent. At one of theſe meetings a hint was thrown out that it would be requiſite to take into conſideration the rights of neutral ſtates; but, in the preſent poſture of affairs, the Britiſh miniſter did not deem it expedient to take any notice of this ſuggeſtion. When it was communicated to his court, lord Grenville, with a proper firmneſs, declared that his majeſty was unalterably reſolved never to admit of any propoſal for treating with his enemies on the ſubject of the rights or claims of neutral powers.

The two members of the Directory who really wiſhed for peace were Barthelemy and Carnot. As the plenipotentiaries were urgent for inſtructions, Carnot preſſed his colleagues to enquire what ſacrifices the allies of France were willing to make, in order to obtain a peace. On this occaſion, Rewbell broke out into a violent invective againſt the Dutch. He accuſed them of being all betrayers of France, friends of the Stadtholder, partizans of England, and only watching for an opportunity to ſurrender themſelves into her hands. Every thing which they gained in riches and proſperity muſt, he ſaid, be at the expence of France, and to the benefit of England. He was of opinion that Holland ought to be kept in the moſt abſolute dependence, ſubjected to paſſive obedience, and treated as a conquered country. Availing himſelf of the opportunity afforded by this honeſt and liberal opinion, Carnot obſerved that, in ſuch caſe, it would be the height of folly for the French republic to loſe her colonies, and exhauſt the remains of her marine, to ſerve an ungrateful people. In reply Rewbell exclaimed, "Do you imagine it is for Holland that I would "demand the reſtitution of the "Cape and Trincomale? The "firſt object is that of recovering "poſſeſſion of them, for which the "Dutch muſt furniſh us with the "ſhips and the money, and I will "afterwards clearly convince "them that thoſe colonies belong "to us." As, however, it was not at this moment prudent to adopt openly the plan of Rewbell, Carnot carried his point ſo far that it was at length agreed to aſk the Batavian government what it would cede for peace; or, in caſe it perſiſted in refuſing ceſſions, what reſources it would offer for the continuance of the war. It was added that, if thoſe reſources were inadequate, France would be neceſſitated to conclude a ſeparate peace. This ſtep ſerved the purpoſe

pose of silencing Carnot, and of gaining time, and it was not intended to serve any other.

The middle of August arrived before the French negotiators were enabled to inform lord Malmesbury at what period there was a probability that the negotiation might be resumed. They then assured him, that in the course of four or five days they should receive their final instructions. On his expressing a hope that those instructions would in substance be a counter project, one of them frankly answered that they had repeatedly pressed on their government the necessity of a counter project, and that he really thought they might have foreseen every thing that had occurred, and been prepared with one, by which means they would have saved a large portion of valuable time.

While this was passing, the Directory gave another striking instance of their contempt of truth. In a message, addressed to the two councils, they scrupled not to affirm that the delay in the negotiation, which they hypocritically affected to regret, was entirely to be attributed to the backwardness of the coalesced powers. By speaking in the plural number, which they did twice, they manifestly included England in this calumny. When, however, lord Malmesbury, by order of his court, remonstrated on this wanton and malignant falsehood, the French negotiators instantly disavowed any such meaning, declared that the message was awkwardly worded, that it alluded solely to Austria, and was intended to stimulate the councils; and that no blame whatever could be attributed to the British cabinet. This they subsequently repeated, by command of the Directory, the majority of which probably did not deem it wise to deprive the people of France of all hope of peace at such a critical moment. Their language at a later period fully belied the sincerity of their disavowal.

Instead of four or five days, fourteen elapsed before the French negotiators could say any thing on the subject of their mission. On the twenty-eighth of August they stated that the answer which had arrived from Holland was so unsatisfactory, that the Directory had been compelled to return it to the Dutch ministers at Paris, in order that it might receive such alteration as was needful. Those ministers had referred it to their government, and consequently, nothing could be done in less than a week, even supposing that no delay was occasioned by deliberations at the Hague.

The catastrophe of this political drama was now at hand. The further interval of a week, which the majority of the Directory had thus obtained, was wanted to enable them to complete their arrangements for the meditated overthrow of their colleagues and of the two councils. It was sufficient for the purpose. On the fourth of September they were decisively victorious; and the government of France, though still nominally republican, became in reality despotic, in the persons of an inglorious triumvirate.

What would be the result of this, it was not difficult to divine. The negotiators, indeed, expressed their hopes that the revolution would

would not tend to fruſtrate a treaty. But it is more than probable that their hopes were mingled with ſerious fears. They were not, however, long kept in ſuſpenſe. One of the firſt acts of the triumvirate was to recal them, and to ſubſtitute M. M. Treilhard and Bonnier d'Alco in their ſtead. Honeſt agents of diſhoneſt maſters, they were, in truth, not fitted for the parts which they had had to play, and ſtill leſs for thoſe which remained to be played; and they doubtleſs rejoiced at a diſmiſſion which delivered them from an office in which nothing was to be gained except anxiety and ſhame. When they took leave of the Britiſh ambaſſador, they acted with a ſpirit of liberality and juſtice which was the more honourable, as they muſt have known that it could not fail of being diſagreeable to the preſent maſters of France, and, perhaps, prejudicial to themſelves; which was, in reality, afterwards proved by M. Letourneur. In the name of his colleagues, M. Letourneur, the preſident, bore ample teſtimony to the candour and openneſs which lord Malmeſbury had uniformly diſplayed, and aſſured him that he had earned the ſtrongeſt title to their eſteem and good wiſhes.

In the diſpatch by which he announced to the cabinet their departure, lord Malmeſbury, on his ſide, did not neglect to mention them in thoſe terms of warm praiſe which they really merited. He drew a ſiniſter prognoſtic from their recall; and it was ſpeedily verified.

The new commiſſioners opened the firſt conference with laviſh aſſertions of the pacific wiſhes of the Directory. Their next ſtep, in proof of it, was to enquire whether the full powers of the Britiſh plenipotentiary authorized him to conſent to the reſtitution of the conqueſts made by Great Britain. He could not, they ſaid, but expect ſuch an enquiry, as he was aware of their laws and treaties; and no great country could, on any account, act in contradiction to them. This language was rendered more offenſive by their declaration that it aroſe ſolely from the love of peace which was felt by the Directory. The note which they delivered to his lordſhip, peremptorily required an anſwer within the courſe of the day.

Though lord Malmeſbury had, perhaps, made up his mind to expect inadmiſſible propoſals, he was entirely unprepared for this revival of the former relinquiſhed abſurdity. His ſurpriſe at ſuch conduct was expreſſed in forcible terms. On his obſerving that, if their principle were once admitted, there would be nothing left to negotiate about, one of the French miniſters broke out into a very remarkable ſpeech. "That would not," he ſaid, "be the caſe; many articles would ſtill remain to be propoſed; and many points for important diſcuſſion." It is probable that Ireland was one of the points to which he alluded. An envoy from the United Iriſhmen had for a conſiderable period been ſoliciting ſuccours at Paris, and had inceſſantly urged the Directory to make the independence of Ireland an indiſpenſable condition of any treaty of peace.

The official note of lord Malmeſbury, in anſwer to that of the French negotiators, contained of courſe a refuſal to treat on any other

other principle than that of compenſations; a principle which had already been recognized by the republican rulers themſelves. In reply, he was deſired to return to his court within twenty-four hours, to aſk for ſufficient authority. When, however, in demanding his paſſports, he lamented the rupture of the negotiation, the French miniſters, who ſeem to have been admirably adapted to their unworthy office, affected to believe that he had not ſeized the real meaning of the note. There exiſted, they ſaid, no wiſh on the part of their employers to break off the treaty; but ſo much the contrary, that they had received no orders to quit Liſle after his lordſhip's departure.

Imagining that there was ſtill the ſhadow of a hope that they might have been authorized, in ſome degree, to recede, his lordſhip obtained another interview. His efforts were fruitleſs. Not the ſlighteſt deſire was manifeſted that he would ſuſpend his journey, and diſpatch a meſſenger to his court for further orders. Nothing, therefore, was left for him but to depart, and he accordingly quitted Liſle on the eighteenth of September.

The farce of keeping their negotiators in waiting at Liſle, was played for nearly a month by the French Directory. In a note, which they ſent from that place, they did not bluſh to aſſert the pacific ſpirit of the rulers of France, and to add that the conſcience of the Directory, and the whole of Europe, would bear teſtimony that it was the Engliſh government alone which would be guilty of inflicting the ſcourge of war upon the two nations.

A brief note from lord Malmeſbury cloſed the correſpondence, and declared that "the king could no longer treat in an enemy's country, without being certain that the cuſtoms eſtabliſhed amongſt all civilized nations, with regard to public miniſters, and eſpecially to thoſe charged to negotiate for the re-eſtabliſhment of a peace, would be reſpected for the future in the perſon of his plenipotentiary."

The declaration of the Britiſh court*, which was publiſhed on the 25th of October, expoſed in a maſterly manner the chicanery and inſolence of the enemy. It, nevertheleſs, notwithſtanding the late brilliant victory over the Dutch, offered to conclude peace on the ſame moderate and equitable terms which had been recently propoſed. If the rejection of theſe was perſiſted in, it threw back on France the crime of continuing the ſcourge of war; and it finally intimated that his majeſty was reſolved to diſcharge his duty with reſolution, conſtancy, and firmneſs, in the full expectation that, favoured by Providence, the zeal, valour and reſources of his ſubjects would neither be found inadequate to the arduous conteſt, nor unequal to the importance and value of the momentous objects which were now at ſtake.

No avowed and regular defence of their conduct was iſſued by the heads of the republic. Instead of this, they inſerted in their journal a few unacknowledged compoſitions, the arguments of which were, however, ſo pitiful, and the

* See State Papers, p. 356*.

aſſertions

assertions so glaringly false, that, even fettered as the people and the press were, these unofficial libels were marked with censure by the public, and by some of the least timid of the political writers.

CHAP. III.

Debates and proceedings on Military and Naval subjects. Committee of Supply. A hundred and twenty thousand seamen voted. Complaint of General Tarleton on the depredations committed by the enemy. The army estimates brought forward by Mr. Windham. Objections made by General Tarleton. Mr. Fox enquires respecting the treatment of the Maroons. Reply of Mr. Bryan Edwards. He attacks Mr. Wilberforce. Sarcastic observation of Mr. Fox. Additional articles of the army estimates brought forward and voted. Army extraordinaries voted. Mr. Windham proposes an increase of pay to the privates and non-commissioned officers of the army. The members of the opposition censure the manner in which the increase had been notified to the soldiery. Mr. Windham moves an increase of pay to the subalterns. He vindicates the government with respect to army arrears. Allowance voted to the yeomanry cavalry. Mr. Pitt moves a committee to consider that part of the King's Speech relative to an invasion. He proposes to raise fifteen thousand men for the regulars and navy, by a levy on the parishes; to call out a supplementary militia of sixty-four thousand men; to establish a provisional cavalry of twenty thousand men; and to embody the gamekeepers. The plan is strenuously opposed by Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Curwen, and others, as expensive and likewise unnecessary, there being no real fear of an invasion. They censure severely the conduct of the last parliament. Mr. Dundas and Mr. Pitt reply. The Gamekeepers' Bill is strongly opposed by many members, and at length dropped by the ministers. The Parish Quota Bill is passed without opposition. Mr. Curwen opposes the recommitting of the Militia Bill. Mr. Pitt gives stronger assurances than before that an invasion is intended. Speech of Mr. Fox, in which he severely reprobates the conduct of the ministry. The Militia Bill is passed. Mr. Fox and General Tarleton oppose the Cavalry Bill. The former describes it as absurd and impracticable. He attacks the conduct of the government with respect to Ireland. Reply of Mr. Ryder and of Mr. Wilberforce, the latter of whom brings a heavy charge against the opposition party. Mr. Sheridan repels the charge in an angry speech. The Cavalry Bill is passed. The Chancellor of the Exchequer brings in Bills to explain and amend the three Acts. Mr. Fox and Mr. Biddulph move for the repeal of the Militia and Cavalry Acts. The Motions are negatived; and the explanatory Acts passed. By the amended Acts, Catholics are allowed to serve as privates in the Provisional Cavalry and Supplementary Militia. Mr. Wilberforce brings in a Bill to allow Catholics to serve as officers, and Mr. W. Smith moves a clause to admit Protestant Dissenters. The Bill, with Mr. Smith's clause, passes the House of Commons. In the House of Peers, Lord Kenyon moves that the Bill should be read that day three months. Violent and illiberal speech of

the Bishop of Rochester in support of Lord Kenyon's Motion. The Bill is thrown out. An Act passes for raising a militia in Scotland. Riots in consequence in several parts of that country. The measures taken to repel invasion are supposed by some persons to be insufficient for the purpose. Colonel Wood gives notice of a motion for enquiry into this subject. He suspends his intention for some time, and at length moves for the establishment of a military council. The motion is opposed by the ministers, and finally withdrawn by Colonel Wood. Motions in both Houses for an enquiry into the recent attempt on Ireland. Arguments employed on both sides. The motions are negatived. Conduct of Spain. The Spanish monarch forms a treaty with the Directory, and declares war against England. Futility of the Spanish manifesto. British counter-declaration. The address on the war carried unanimously in both Houses. Debate on the vote of thanks to Sir J. Jervis. Motion in favour of La Fayette. It is negatived.

MENACED as the British islands were with invasion by an enemy who, provided he could harass and annoy us, cared little at what hazard his attempts were made, it became necessary for the legislature to decide on many additional naval and military precautions which were proposed by the ministers, and which were of a nature to excite much difference of opinion as to their efficacy, and consequently much animated debate. Accordingly, several of the plans which the ministers brought forward, were severely scrutinized and censured by the members in opposition; and it must be owned that, on more than one occasion, those members had cause of triumph.

The routine business of the session commenced on the 14th of October, when Mr. Pybus moved that a hundred and twenty thousand seamen, including twenty thousand marines, should be employed for the service of the year 1797, and that for each man four pounds per month should be granted, for thirteen months. This vote, which was an increase of ten thousand men, was assented to unanimously. Some complaints were, however, made by general Tarleton, who urged that, with the immense naval force which the government had at its disposal, we ought to manifest a decided superiority; whereas, on the contrary, Richery's fleet had been allowed to sail from Cadiz, and ravage our settlements in Newfoundland, and there was a rumour that a considerable loss had been sustained by the capture of a convoy from Quebec.

The army estimates, which were presented on that day week, by the secretary at war, were not suffered to pass through the commons so quietly. The first resolution moved by Mr. Windham was, that 195,000 men should be employed for the land service of the year. The expence he stated at 5,190,000l. being less by 168,426l. than that of the preceding year; and he reminded the House that this diminution was as much as could be expected, considering that a reduction, to the amount of more than three-quarters of a million, had taken place in the last session. The home army, he said, consisted of 60,765 men, being an increase of 11,546 men; the army abroad, which comprehended

hended all on foreign ſervice, except thoſe in the Eaſt Indies, was to the number of 64,276 men, being a decreaſe of 13,641 men on that head. The army abroad was compoſed wholly of regulars; that at home of regulars, militia, invalids and fencibles. With the difference of the city regiments, the militia was nearly the ſame as laſt year; the fencibles were ſomewhat fewer; but there was a ſmall augmentation of the invalids, from the out-penſioners, who were capable of performing that duty, having been called upon and drafted.

A variety of objections were ſtarted by General Tarleton. Among them the moſt prominent was the vaſt expence incurred. Laſt year the military expenditure, he ſaid, equalled the revenue of the year preceding the war; it would be fully as much this year, for many articles were omitted in the eſtimates; and, this being the caſe, ſurely the idea of raiſing an additional force of 103,000 men, and that too when the exiſtence of danger was unproved, ought to be abandoned. That the conqueſts and glory gained by our army afforded a compenſation for the money ſpent on them he poſitively denied; and to prove the juſtice of his opinion, he took a review of our preſent ſituation in the Weſt India iſlands. Looking to minor points, he conceived that the troops in the Eaſt Indies ought to be paid for by the Company; and with regard to a charge of 360,000l. for the recruiting ſervice, he contended that this muſt aſſuredly be ſuperfluous, at a moment when the miniſters were deſerting the old mode of raiſing men by beat of drum, and were having recourſe to the mode of requiſition. Expreſſing the higheſt reſpect for the militia, as being the beſt conſtitutional defence which could be employed, he nevertheleſs remarked that into that ſervice had crept certain abuſes, which ought to be ſpeedily redreſſed. One of theſe, which was exceedingly prejudicial, was the practice of taking the moſt deſerving of the privates to act as ſervants to the officers, by which means the men who above all others ſhould be kept and cheriſhed in a regiment, were detached from it. The ſerjeants too had been converted to purpoſes foreign from the nature of their office. Not fewer than nineteen had been made muſicians, which was purchaſing muſic at too high a price. Enquiry, economy, and above all, peace, were the things which he recommended to the attention of parliament.

The alluſions which were made to the Weſt Indies, occaſioned from Mr. Fox, an enquiry into the truth of a report, that the treaty with the Maroons had not been faithfully adhered to. Mr. Bryan Edwards immediately roſe to vindicate his tranſatlantic conſtituents. He entered into a ſort of hiſtory of the conteſt, and maintained that the Aſſembly of Jamaica had not violated the compact entered into with the Maroons by Colonel Walpole. The Maroons did not ſurrender within the time ſtipulated, and conſequently the Aſſembly was juſtified in ſending them off the iſland. Every thing had, however, been done for their comfort; they were quite ſatisfied; and, therefore, he hoped that no more would be heard of the buſineſs.

Mr. Wilberforce having complained

plained that during the long courſe of a century, nothing had been done to inſtruct and enlighten them, by doing which they might have been rendered uſeful members of ſociety, Mr. Edwards ſeized this opportunity to vent his ſpleen on Mr. Wilberforce, and to proceed in a ſtrain of ridicule and levity, for which, on recollection, he himſelf deemed it proper to apologize to his hearers. Among other crimes of the ſame kind, he charged the right honourable adverſary of the ſlave trade, with indulging in the formation of ſchemes totally inconſiſtent with human nature, and with the preſent condition of man. So that, according to this acute reaſoner, it appears that kidnapping men for the purpoſe of making them ſlaves, and afterwards wantonly ſubjecting thoſe ſlaves to bodily and mental torture, are things quite conſiſtent with human nature, and with the preſent condition of man.

The explanation which had been given was by no means ſatisfactory to Mr. Fox, who was ſtill of opinion that the Maroons had been hardly dealt with, and that their caſe ought to be examined by the legiſlature. At the ſame time, he ſarcaſtically obſerved, that, after what had been ſaid, he would not accuſe the government of Jamaica of keeping bad faith with the Maroons, any more than he would accuſe Shylock, in the Merchant of Venice, of a breach of contract. Both parties, he thought, had adhered with equal ſtrictneſs to the letter of their engagements.

The reſolutions with reſpect to the ſums required by the eſtimates, were then agreed to.

On the ſecond of December, ſeveral articles, omitted in the army and navy eſtimates, were propoſed to the Houſe. This gave riſe to ſome obſervations from General Tarleton, who aſſerted, that the army expenditure of the year would be ſix millions. He likewiſe reprobated the miniſters for the diſaſtrous attempt on St. Domingo, which could not poſſibly be productive of any thing but the loſs of treaſure and of lives, and of conſequent diſgrace. Nor was he more ſanguine with reſpect to a plan which rumour aſſigned to them, of diſpatching ten or twelve thouſand men for the defence of Portugal; a meaſure which he was of opinion would at leaſt be fruitleſs.

Among the ſums of moſt magnitude, which were now voted, were 1,624,000l. for ordnance ſervice; 653,573l. for ordnance of the navy, and 768,100l. for repairing and building ſhips of war.

The army extraordinaries were not preſented till the 5th of April, when the ſecretary at war moved that the ſum of 3,280,513l. ſhould be granted to cover them from the ſixth of December 1795, to the ſixth of December 1796. The reſolution was carried, after a few words from Generals Tarleton and Walpole.

That increaſe of pay which the ſeamen had extorted by mutiny, the government thought it proper to extend to the army; which, in fact, deſerved the boon for its loyalty, even had it not been juſtified in looking for it as an act of juſtice. Accordingly, on the twenty-fourth of May, the ſecretary at war brought forward the ſubject in

a committee of ſupply. He paſſed lightly over the miſconduct of the ſailors, which he attributed to the malignant arts of jacobiniſm; at the ſame time expreſſing his confident hope of their future good behaviour. To the ſoldiery he gave warm and well-earned praiſe, for their reſiſtance to thoſe arts; and he declared that, though they had not themſelves called for it, ſome addition to their pay was highly neceſſary. Deferring till another opportunity the relief intended to the ſubalterns, he confined himſelf at preſent to that meant for the privates and non-commiſſioned officers. To the privates he propoſed an addition of two-pence per day, to the corporals two-pence-halfpenny, and to the ſerjeants three-pence. The whole ſum required for this purpoſe, for ſeven months, from the twenty-fifth of May, he ſtated at 225,600l. and to that effect he moved the uſual reſolutions.

Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Fox, General Tarleton, and Mr. Martin, made a few remarks on the propoſal, and their remarks undoubtedly ſtood on conſtitutional ground. To the purpoſed increaſe of pay they did not object; on the contrary, they deemed it juſt and prudent; but they objected to the manner in which it was announced to the ſoldiers. They remarked that, before any thing had been ſaid to parliament on the ſubject, the miniſters had officially given a promiſe to the army. This was an unconſtitutional and highly cenſurable mode of proceeding. The communication ought firſt to have been made to parliament; which, in conſequence of that not having been done, was now placed in an awkward ſituation. It would receive no thanks for its compliance, and would be expoſed to odium in caſe of its refuſal. The ſoldiers ought to have been taught to regard the legiſlature, and not the miniſters, as an object of gratitude. As the matter ſtood, they would not conceive that they owed any thing to the vote of the houſe of commons.

The ſtep which had been taken the chancellor of the exchequer vindicated, as well as he could, by alleging that it was impoſſible the ſoldiers could imagine that it was in the power of the miniſters to confer the favour on them without the conſent of the parliament. To this, however, it was replied by Mr. W. Smith, that the previous promiſe rendered it impracticable for the Houſe to refuſe, even if it were ſo diſpoſed; and that of this the army muſt be well aware. The reſolutions were finally agreed to.

The plan for ameliorating the ſituation of the ſubalterns in the regulars, militia, and fencibles, was produced in another committee of ſupply, by the ſecretary at war, on the twenty-third of June. It was compriſed under three heads. By the firſt an additional allowance was propoſed of one ſhilling per day to lieutenants, enſigns, adjutants, and quarter-maſters. Where, however, an officer held two commiſſions he was to draw for only one. The ſecond conſiſted of a remiſſion of certain deductions hitherto made, and was extended to the cavalry as well as to the infantry. To an enſign the amount was 4*l.* to a lieutenant 5*l.* to a cornet 9*l.* and to a lieutenant

of

of horſe 10*l.* The third, which was alſo common to the cavalry and infantry, was the abolition of a difference between the ſubſiſtence and the arrears, which difference had long been a ſubject of complaint. While he was on the laſt point, he took occaſion to defend the government, with reſpect to army arrears, which he ſtated to be attributable to the regiments themſelves. He did not, however, deſpair of ſeeing this evil remedied. In concluſion he moved a vote of 60,000*l.* to cover the encreaſe of pay for 183 days, commencing from the twenty-fifth of June.

The reſolution was agreed to, after a few words from general Tarleton, who lamented that the cavalry did not participate in the whole of theſe benefits, and explained ſome of the hardſhips to which officers in that ſervice were expoſed.

Several other reſolutions were at the ſame time carried, the principal of which was a vote of four millions, for army extraordinaries for the current year.

An allowance of three pounds per man to the yeomanry cavalry, who were ten thouſand in number, was the laſt vote of this kind in the committee of ſupply. It was moved by the chancellor of the exchequer, who paid a high compliment to this deſcription of force, and declared his intention of ſubmitting to parliament, in the courſe of the next ſeſſion, ſome ſyſtematic arrangements, in order to render this cavalry a permanent national defence, in the manner of the militia. According to his preſent ideas it would not, he ſaid, be neceſſary in time of peace to call out the whole body more often than once in four years; and conſequently but a trifling expence would be incurred by the country.

Such was the uſual buſineſs of the ſeſſion. We next come to the diſcuſſion of thoſe meaſures which were rendered neceſſary by peculiar circumſtances; and which were, indeed, among the earlieſt ſubjects of parliamentary deliberation. Almoſt as ſoon as the two houſes met, Mr. Pitt gave notice of a motion for a committee to conſider that clauſe of his Majeſty's meſſage which related to an invaſion. This motion he made on the eighteenth of October.

The meaſures which he propoſed to adopt, for the purpoſe of ſecuring the country againſt the menaced deſcent, were four in number. The firſt was a levy on the pariſhes, ſimilar to that which two years before had been ſucceſsfully practiſed. On this occaſion, however, it was not meant to confine it to the naval ſervice. Of the fifteen thouſand men to be thus raiſed, three-fifths were intended to recruit the regiments of the line. The next plan was to engraft on the militia a ſupplementary militia of ſixty-four thouſand men. That too many individuals might not be drawn at once from their uſual purſuits, only one ſixth part of the whole was to be embodied in ſucceſſion, and trained for twenty days. As the late returns from the counties proved the militia contingents to be extremely diſproportioned, they being in ſome places one in three, and in others one in ſeven, Mr. Pitt ſuggeſted that the preſent levy ought to be regulated by a general eſtimate of the inhabitants who were able to bear arms. The third propoſition was to raiſe a body

of irregular cavalry, the amount of which he eſtimated at twenty thouſand. It was to be furniſhed by thoſe who kept horſes; every perſon who kept ten horſes being to ſupply one horſe and horſeman, and in the ſame proportion for more or fewer horſes. The concluding reſource to which he applied, was the procuring corps of men who from their dexterity in the uſe of fire arms might be of infinite utility in haraſſing the enemy. For theſe he looked to that deſcription of men called game-keepers, and to others of ſimilar claſſes. Thoſe who did not chuſe to ſerve, or to procure ſubſtitutes, were to be at liberty to reſign their deputations as game-keepers. The force to be thus obtained he imagined would be ſeveral thouſands. He concluded by moving the neceſſary reſolutions.

Without, in this ſtage of the buſineſs, directly oppoſing the meaſures themſelves, many of the members in oppoſition expreſſed many doubts as to the propriety of ſome of them, and the neceſſity of any. Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Curwen, took an active part on this ſide. They urged that the miniſters had given no evidence that an invaſion was impending; and they declared it to be their firm belief that none would be undertaken. It was not obvious to them that this military augmentation was not brought forward by its propoſers to enable them to accompliſh other purpoſes than thoſe of home defence. Perhaps it was deſigned to give them the means of carrying on their chimerical and diſaſtrous ſchemes of conqueſt in the weſtern hemiſphere. If ſo, it could not be too much deprecated. It was proper, therefore, that they ſhould give ſome ſtronger pledge than they had yet given of the rectitude of their intentions. But allowing that, in fact, an invaſion was meditated by the French, was not this a deciſive proof of the folly and wickedneſs of thoſe miniſters who had plunged us into an iniquitous war; and, after all their vaunts of marching to Paris, and deſtroying the enemy, were compelled to call on the country to adopt the moſt burthenſome meaſures, to prevent that very deſpiſed and abuſed enemy from effecting its deſtruction. While they were on this ſubject, Mr. Fox and his friends did not ſpare the character of the laſt parliament. They laviſhed on it their bitterest cenſures. It was by the proceedings of that parliament, they ſaid, that the conſtitution had been undermined, and the kingdom expoſed to ruin. Looking at the plans now produced, though they declined entering thus early into any detail, they conſidered them as by no means free from ſerious objection. To the ſcheme for calling out the game-keepers they gave their hearty diſſent; as being at once ſhamefully oppreſſive, and unlikely to be of any utility. Nor did they think that the mode of raiſing the cavalry was equitable, or that it could be ſucceſsfully executed; or even that the cavalry would be of ſo much uſe as was imagined. To the levy for the army and navy they were ſomewhat leſs adverſe; but they did not fail to remind the Houſe that it was conceived in the very ſpirit of the French requiſitions, which had been ſo loudly decried.

Mr. Dundas and the chancellor of the exchequer were the princi-

pal

pal ſpeakers in reply. The former aſſerted that the miniſters had ſolid grounds for believing that an invaſion was really intended. Whether the attempt would ever be made, it was, he ſaid, impoſſible to decide. If we wiſely availed ourſelves of the precautions which were ſuggeſted, it was not improbable that the enemy would be deterred by them from carrying his projects into execution. As to the pledge which was required from the miniſtry, he thought that the pledge which their reſponſibility afforded was fully ſufficient. This idea, however, was ridiculed by his opponents, who were of opinion that, thanks to ſuch confiding houſes of parliament as the laſt had been, the reſponſibility of miniſters was become nothing more than an abſolute mockery. They were not better ſatisfied with another part of his ſpeech, in which he hinted at the wiſdom of having a force to employ in offenſive operations, in caſe the republicans ſhould reject our overtures for peace; a hint which was certainly better calculated to excite than to allay thoſe fears which they had manifeſted, with reſpect to the real purpoſe of the plans on which they were now debating.

Mr. Pitt ſpoke more at length than his colleague; but by far the largeſt portion of his ſpeech was occupied in vindicating and eulogizing the late parliament, and in deſcanting on ſome ſhades of difference in the ſentiments expreſſed by Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan, from which he drew the concluſion that their reaſoning againſt miniſters was inconſiſtent and interdeſtructive.

After a few deſultory obſervations from other members, the reſolutions were agreed to.

When the game-keepers' bill was brought in, a ſtrong diſlike of it was ſhown by ſeveral members. It was in vain that Mr. Roſe declared, that the game-keepers were only to be called out when the militia were, and that gentlemen who, having taken out licences to ſport, were liable to ſerve, would have leave to provide ſubſtitutes. Nor was more ſatisfaction given by Mr. Pitt's ſubſequent aſſurance, that, as the objects of the bill were already expert in the uſe of the muſket, no training was wanted, and it would be unneceſſary to call them into activity before an invaſion took place. Mr. Sheridan maintained that the bill was a ſtigma on the good ſenſe of the houſe and of the nation; that it was unintelligible in ſtyle, and incapable of amendment either in its language or tenor; and he laughingly added that he had too much reſpect for the underſtanding of Mr. Pitt to credit that he was the author of ſuch an abſurdity: ſomebody muſt undoubtedly, he ſaid, have put into his hands, in the ſhape of a bill, a bad tranſlation of a German romance. Finding that the plan was ſo much diſreliſhed, the chancellor poſtponed the ſecond reading for a fortnight, and ultimately abandoned the bill.

The act to raiſe 9,000 men for the army, and 6,000 for the navy, paſſed through both houſes unoppoſed. Of the number to be levied 2,000 were to be ſupplied by Scotland.

The militia and cavalry acts did not proceed quite ſo ſmoothly in their progreſs. On a motion being made for recommitting the

militia bill, Mr. Curwen oppoſed the motion, and an animated debate enſued. In his arguments there was nothing of novelty. His conviction of the non-exiſtence of the alleged danger was the reaſon which he again aſſigned for his oppoſition to the meaſure. It did not appear probable to him, after the loſſes which ſhe had ſuſtained in this campaign, that France would hazard a deſcent; and he ſtill feared that the fatal ſyſtem of Weſt Indian conqueſt was at the bottom of our vaſt and expenſive preparations. He promiſed, nevertheleſs, to yield his concurrence, if the miniſters would give ſatisfactory evidence that the danger was real.

In his reply, the chancellor of the exchequer ſpoke with ſome warmth reſpecting the doubts which were entertained; and he appeared to conſider them as inſulting and indefenſible after the danger of an invaſion had been announced from the throne; and that, too, in ſo ſolemn and preſſing a manner. If any thing had, he ſaid, been wanting to convince him of the reality of the danger, every thing that had occurred from that day to this, had ſtrengthened his apprehenſions. After what he knew of the preparations for putting the deſign into execution, he ſhould have conceived himſelf to be guilty of the higheſt crime againſt his ſovereign and the country, had he neglected to call upon parliament to exerciſe its wiſdom in deviſing thoſe meaſures which might tend to avert the threatened attempt, or to turn it to the confuſion and ruin of the enemy.

The tone in which Mr. Pitt had ſpoken called forth an acrimonious rejoinder from Mr. Fox, who treated with contempt the idea of being ſatisfied by the ſpeech from the throne; a ſpeech which was always looked upon as the ſpeech of the miniſter. The diſtruſt felt by his party he juſtified on the ground that it was the practice of the miniſters to make uſe of falſe pretences; and as affording a preſumption that, even in this inſtance, they had ſome hidden intention, he referred to the ſpeech of Mr. Dundas on a former evening. This he followed up by a vehement invective againſt the conduct of the miniſtry in the years 1792 and 1794. In the one caſe, when they called out the militia and fortified the tower, they themſelves diſbelieved the alarm which they were ſpreading; and, in the other, when they dragged innocent men to trial for high treaſon, they had not the ſhadow of a pretext to authorize their ſhameful proceedings. Certainly, if an invaſion were threatened, he for one, would call upon the people to reſiſt it with all their might. He would ſay to them, be unanimous in your exertions; be vigorous in your efforts; draw your purſes freely; contribute your perſonal labours cheerfully. At the ſame time, he would warn them to guard againſt domeſtic enemies as well as againſt foreign. But, becauſe he approved of reſiſtance to invaſion, was he, therefore, to give his aſſent blindfold to the plans which were now before him? In thoſe plans he thought there was much that ought to carefully weighed. Was there nothing in the boundleſs expence which they impoſed? Was it a light thing the calling out ſo many men, putting them under martial law, and under

under officers of the crown, and teaching them to imbibe military notions and prejudices; while, on the other hand there exiſted in theſe new laws none of thoſe checks and guards which were contained in the old militia acts; and this at a period, too, when the erection of barracks all over the iſland evinced that there was an eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of ſeparating the ſoldiery from the people? As to the cavalry act, he declared that it was ſo impracticable and tyrannical, and tended to impoſe ſuch enormous and almoſt intolerable taxes, that, even were an invaſion certain, it ought to be rejected. As, however, the miniſter had given more poſitive aſſurance than before that a deſcent on our territory was meditated, both he and Mr. Curwen forbore to oppoſe the recommitment of the bill.

As ſoon as Mr. Fox had ſat down, the chancellor of the exchequer roſe and ſtated, in unequivocal terms, that, ſubſequent to the meeting of parliament, he had received information which led him to apprehend ſerious danger of an attempt on ſome part of this iſland; and, though he did not name Ireland, he ſaid quite enough to ſhew that it was equally menaced by an attack from the republicans.

In the ſubſequent ſtages of the militia act no further oppoſition was made to the principle. To the details ſome objections were ſtarted, Mr. Sheridan, among other things, contended that it was uſeleſs, and in ſome degree oppreſſive, to protract its operation as far as three months beyond the concluſion of a peace, or even till the cloſe of the war; as the war might continue much longer than there was any fear of invaſion. Mr. Pitt refuſed to agree to his amendment, which limited the bill to two months after the next ſeſſion, but conſented to ſhorten the period to one month after the ſigning of a peace.

The only diviſion which took place was on a clauſe for exempting perſons having children; Sir W. Young, the propoſer of the clauſe, being deſirous that two children might exempt, and the chancellor of the exchequer inſiſting on three. The latter number was carried by ninety-three voices againſt twenty-two.

In the laſt ſtage of the bill Mr. Sheridan made an effort to do away a diſtinction, which he with reaſon conſidered as both odious and unjuſt. He moved to expunge that part of the oath which compelled the militia man to ſwear that he was a proteſtant. In this, however, he failed, and the bill was paſſed with the oath in its original form.

When the report of the cavalry bill was brought up it was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by general Tarleton, who contended that the levies to be obtained by the bill would be unfit to take the field; and that there was no probability that an invaſion was ſeriouſly intended. He was eloquently ſeconded by Mr. Fox, who expreſſed the ſame ſentiments with reſpect to the menaced deſcent, at leaſt as far as related to this country. The bill he ſtigmatized as perplexed, intricate, abſurd, oppreſſive, and wholly impracticable; and he laughed to ſcorn the idea that it would produce any other effect than that of over-burthening and irritating the people. In ſpite of the care which had been beſtowed on it in the committee,

committee, there were, he ſaid, parts of it which no human underſtanding could comprehend. It would be far wiſer to truſt to the ſpontaneous zeal of Engliſhmen in the hour of peril, than to endeavour to carry into execution ſuch a wretched meaſure as this. Availing himſelf of the opportunity afforded by the hints which, on a former night, the miniſter had thrown out concerning the danger of Ireland, Mr. Fox now turned from the bill, to indulge in a bitter attack on the manner in which that country was governed. The maſs of the people he repreſented as being treated more like cattle than like men; their parliament he termed a mockery, and a contemptible monopoly; and he adviſed the miniſters, if they ſeriouſly wiſhed to ſecure that kingdom, to reſtore to the Iriſh their juſt rights, and to give them ſuch a conſtitution as they could look up to with reverence. It was not yet too late, he ſaid, to apply a remedy, though a ſhort delay might perhaps make it ſo.

The latter part of Mr. Fox's ſpeech was heard with great anger by ſome of the friends of the miniſters. Mr. Ryder deſcribed it as a collection of inflammatory matter; as holding out encouragement to the enemy; and as being more like the manifeſto of a French general than the ſpeech of a Britiſh ſenator. Mr. Wilberforce joined him, and accuſed the oppoſition party of being deſirous to palſy the arm, and to cripple the exertions, of the executive power. He would not, he ſaid, charge them with wiſhing for an invaſion, but he believed that they would not be diſpleaſed at any ſmall miſchief befalling the country, provided they could take advantage of it to expel the miniſters from office.

This ſweeping condemnation called up Mr. Sheridan, who retorted with all the ſeverity of his wit and eloquence. The ſpeech of Mr. Wilberforce he conſidered as the moſt extraordinary and unprovoked libel that had ever been uttered within the walls of that houſe. For whatever injury, however, it inflicted, he took ample vengeance. Nor did the miniſter eſcape without his ſhare of invective; every term in the vocabulary of reproach being exhauſted by Mr. Sheridan, to expreſs towards him his feelings of indignant hatred.

After a deſultory converſation, in which ſeveral members bore a part, the houſe divided on the queſtion of receiving the report, which was carried by 104 ayes againſt 30 noes.

A few amendments were made in the ſubſequent ſtages, but no debate took place, and the bill was paſſed. Its opponents, however, did not fail to predict that, when it came to be executed, the validity of their objections to it would be fully demonſtrated.

Their predictions were ſpeedily verified. In about a month, the chancellor of the exchequer found it neceſſary not only to bring in a bill to amend and explain the cavalry act, but alſo the ſupplementary militia and the pariſh quota acts. On this occaſion Mr. Fox moved to repeal inſtead of amending the militia act; and the ſame kind of motion was made with reſpect to the cavalry act, by Mr. Biddulph. It was urged that both theſe laws were highly oppreſſive; that

that they were deteſted by the people; and that they were alſo unneceſſary, there being no reaſon whatever to expect an invaſion. It was argued on the other ſide, that they might eaſily be amended; that the diſlike of them was not general; and that the danger which they were intended to guard againſt ſtill exiſted. The motions for a repeal were, of courſe, negatived. Among the amendments introduced was one which was originally ſuggeſted by Mr. Sheridan. That clauſe of the oath which compelled the militia man to ſwear that he was a proteſtant was now omitted; and thus an opening was made for the lower claſs of catholics to take their part in the defence of their country. Nothing ſhort, indeed, of the moſt ſtupid bigotry could have cheriſhed the idea of excluding them from it, after the numerous and perſevering proofs which they had given of their loyalty.

As catholics had been thus admitted to ſerve as privates, it appeared to Mr. Wilberforce that there could be no pretence for not permitting them to become officers, in the ſupplementary militia and proviſional cavalry. He conſequently, on the twenty-ſecond of May, brought in a bill to enable them to hold commiſſions in thoſe two kinds of force. Mr. W. Smith moved a clauſe to admit proteſtant diſſenters alſo, without taking the qualifications required by the teſt act. The clauſe was received, and the bill was paſſed by the commons.

In the upper houſe, when the order of the day was moved on the eleventh of July, for the ſecond reading, Lord Kenyon moved that the bill ſhould be read on that day three months. His reaſons were that the bill broke in upon the teſt act, and that it was too late in the ſeſſion to procure ſuch an attendance of peers, eſpecially of the ſpiritual peers, as there ought to be when ſo important a meaſure was debated. Adverſe as he was to the bill, his language was dignified and moderate. Not ſuch was the caſe with that which was uſed by the biſhop of Rocheſter. Though the meaſure had been nearly two months before parliament, he choſe to talk of the houſe being taken by ſurpriſe, and to expatiate on the indecency of bringing it forward in the dog days, when ſo many lords were abſent. The teſt act he held to be the bulwark of the civil and religious eſtabliſhment, and this bill he conſidered as ſtriking at the root of it. That the catholics were loyal ſubjects he was graciouſly pleaſed to allow, though he was not willing to grant any thing to them; but for this conceſſion he indemnified himſelf by a violent and illiberal philippic againſt the proteſtant diſſenters, the whole maſs of whom he boldly accuſed of being at once enemies to the civil and eccleſiaſtical conſtitution. With them, he ſaid, under the colour of religious difference, faction had been conſtantly at the bottom. As if to deter his hearers from contradicting his decorous aſſertion, he arrogantly added, that the man muſt be an idiot, who, upon a peruſal of hiſtory, and from careful obſervation, did not perceive this to be their true character.

The bill was vindicated by the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Carliſle, and lord Hawke; and oppoſed, among others, by the biſhop of Briſtol, the lord chancellor, and lord

lord Auckland. On a diviſion it was thrown out by a majority of ſeventeen.

The laſt precautionary meaſure which was taken was the eſtabliſhment of a militia, conſiſting of ſix thouſand men, in Scotland. The bill went through both houſes, with no debate, and but few remarks on it. As the Scotch militia was exempted by it from being called into England, the duke of Norfolk endeavoured to put it on the ſame footing as the Engliſh, which was liable to be ſent into Scotland; but his motion was negatived, on the plea that, the meaſure being a novel one, every thing ought to be done to render it as palatable as poſſible to the Scottiſh people.

Notwithſtanding, however, the care which had been taken to prevent it from being obnoxious, it was viewed with an evil eye by the Scottiſh peaſantry, among whom the moſt falſe and abſurd reports were ſpread with reſpect to its tendency. In many places, when the time approached for carrying it into effect, particularly at Jedburgh, Eccles, Dumbarton, Selkirk, and Tranent, immenſe mobs collected together, and violent riots were the conſequence. The liſts for the ballot were in ſeveral inſtances ſeized and carried off. At Tranent the magiſtrates were attacked in their place of ſitting, and would have been murdered had not the military been called to their aſſiſtance. On this occaſion, the mob with bludgeons and ſhowers of ſtones aſſailed the ſoldiers both in the ſtreet, and from the tops of houſes; nor were they diſlodged without an obſtinate conteſt, in the courſe of which ſeveral of the rioters were killed or wounded.

While ſome were of opinion that, by the meaſures which we have deſcribed, the miniſters were incurring an immenſe expence to guard againſt an improbable danger; others, on the contrary, believed that not enough had yet been done to put the country into a ſituation to fruſtrate the projects of the republican rulers. Shortly after the Chriſtmas receſs, Colonel Wood took an opportunity to touch upon this ſubject. He deſcribed the public alarm as extreme; thought that it originated from want of confidence in the miniſters; aſſerted that there were in the kingdom barely arms ſufficient for the troops already embodied; and finally announced his deſign of moving for an enquiry into the ſteps which the government had taken for the national defence. Nothing further, however, paſſed on this occaſion than a few words from Mr. Pitt, who declined entering into the queſtion, and hinted that the honourable member had not choſen a proper ſeaſon for introducing it.

Nearly a month elapſed before Colonel Wood again brought the ſubject under the view of the Houſe. It is probable that he would have abandoned his intention, had not, in the interim, the French attempt on Ireland occurred to ſtimulate him. He moved an addreſs to his majeſty, beſeeching him to direct his royal highneſs the commander in chief, and the maſter-general of the ordnance, in conjunction with other able and experienced naval and military officers, to conſider the preſent ſtate of the defence of

the

the country, and to conſult and determine on any other meaſure of ſecurity which it might appear eligible to adopt. This motion was ſeconded by Sir John Sinclair.

The ſpeech of Colonel Wood was not of much length; nor was it overloaded with argument. Aſſuming the careleſſneſs of the miniſters as a fact, and that the fears of the people were more excited by that careleſſneſs than by the French, he cenſured them for adopting little temporary expedients, and adviſed them to follow the example of the enemy, the chief ſucceſs of whoſe military operations was due to a military council, compoſed of men of the firſt abilities, at the head of whom was Carnot. He again complained that the quantity of arms in ſtore was inadequate, and inſiſted that it ought to be ſpeedily encreaſed. The ſecurity of the peace and order of the metropolis, ſhould it be found neceſſary to march the troops to the coaſt, ought likewiſe to be provided for in time, and not delayed till the preſſure of circumſtances might render it impracticable. He alſo ſuggeſted that a military array, for a few hours every week, of all the men capable of bearing arms, eſpecially toward the coaſt, would be a cheap and eligible meaſure. In his opinion, all the reaſons recently aſſigned for the diſappearance of ſpecie were erroneous, that event being entirely occaſioned by timid perſons withdrawing their money in order to hoard it. Nor would the effect ceaſe till that cauſe was done away. It had, he ſaid, been originally his intention to move for a ſecret committee of the houſe; but, on conſideration, he had choſen to adopt the preſent mode, which was juſtified by precedents as old as the reign of Elizabeth, and as recent as twelve years ago, when the protection of the dock yards was under debate, and the ſuggeſtion of aſſembling a board of officers was cordially agreed to by the chancellor of the exchequer. He hoped, therefore, that his motion would meet with the concurrence of the miniſter, and of the houſe of commons.

His hopes, however, were not gratified. The motion was oppoſed by Mr. Dundas, Mr. Windham, Mr. Courtenay, and ſeveral other members. Mr. Dundas took the lead, and aſſerted that the propoſed board was wholly unneceſſary, and that the motion itſelf was an implied cenſure on the Duke of York. With reſpect to the employment of able officers, that, he ſaid, was already attended to; and to prove that it was ſo, he ſpecified the names of many who were employed. He conſequently moved that the Houſe do adjourn. Mr. Windham expreſſed nearly the ſame ſentiments; and contended that the motion was not ſo much what it profeſſed to be, as an attempt to put the executive government into a new commiſſion; in which caſe the queſtion would be, whether it was removed into better hands.

Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, Colonel Fullarton, and others, oppoſed the adjournment, on the ground that it was highly neceſſary to ſatisfy the people that every thing that was practicable was done for their defence. Ireland, they ſaid, had undoubtedly been neglected in a very criminal manner.

Colonel Wood, in reply, diſa-

vowed any intention of imputing blame to the Duke of York; and, as the ſenſe of the Houſe appeared to be againſt him, he declined to preſs the queſtion to a diviſion.

That the recent attempt of the French upon Ireland, fruſtrated only by the fortunate violence of tempeſts, ſhould be paſſed over in parliament, with merely a few alluſions to it, introduced in the courſe of debates on other queſtions, was a thing not to be expected; and indeed, not to be deſired. It was indiſputably a ſubject which called for a ſerious enquiry. Such was the opinion not only of thoſe who were in a ſtate of conſtant hoſtility to the miniſters, but alſo of many who were friendly to them on almoſt all occaſions. The long knowledge which thoſe miniſters had poſſeſſed of the enemy's deſigns againſt the two iſlands, and the coſtly and expenſive meaſures of precaution which they had, in conſequence, believed it indiſpenſably neceſſary to propoſe, ſeemed to render it ſtrange, if not unaccountable, that the republicans ſhould have been able to find any point of our ſhores in an unguarded ſtate.

In the houſe of commons, Mr. Whitbread, on the third of March, and in the houſe of peers, the earl of Albemarle, on the ſixteenth of the ſame month, moved for a committee of enquiry. In the commons, the motion was ſupported by Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Sturt; and in the lords by the earl of Carliſle, the marquis of Abercorn, the earls of Guildford and Scarborough, earl Moira, earl Fitzwilliam, the marquis of Lanſdowne, and the duke of Bedford. In the former, it was oppoſed by Mr. Dundas, Mr. Windham, and Mr. Pitt; in the latter by earl Spencer, the earls of Liverpool and Errol, and lords Hood, Auckland, and Grenville. The chief burthen of contending againſt it was born by Mr. Dundas, and earl Spencer.

The debate in both houſes was long and animated. Much, however, that was ſaid, particularly in the houſe of commons, added nothing to the weight of argument. It conſiſted of the uſual ſeries of attacks on the general conduct of the miniſters, and on the propriety of the meaſures which we have lately ſeen diſcuſſed. The reaſoning which was brought to bear on the queſtion itſelf, lay within a narrow compaſs.

It was contended by the friends of the motion, that the circumſtance of the French having reached our ſhores, and then eſcaped, when we had ſuch an immenſe maritime force, and had reaſon to expect an attack, was a diſgrace to the government, and proved that neither wiſdom or vigilance had been diſplayed. Had the French, it was ſaid, landed but five or ſix thouſand men, they might have captured Cork, deſtroyed our magazines of naval ſtores, and thus crippled our navy for twelve months to come. Why had not inſtructions been given to admiral Colpoys, in caſe of the enemy's ſquadron eluding him, to proceed for Ireland immediately? and why did he return to Spithead, after he was at length apprized that the republicans were at ſea? Was it, as had been rumoured, a want of proviſions, water, or fuel, that had compelled this ill-timed return? They likewiſe aſked why a ſufficient force had

had not been provided for lord Bridport? why his fleet had not been ready to depart till the twenty-ninth or thirtieth, though orders to ſail had been ſent to it on the twenty-ſecond? and what was the cauſe that, when it did ſail, it moved ſo ſlowly down the Channel? To the admirals they did not, they ſaid, mean to impute the ſhadow of blame; they had no doubt that thoſe gallant officers had done all that lay within their power. It was impoſſible, however, they thought, to exculpate the miniſters from the charge of having been groſsly negligent.

It was replied, by the miniſters, that in this caſe, every thing had been done that prudence could ſuggeſt. One fleet was ſtationed off Breſt to watch the enemy, and intercept the expedition; and another fleet was kept in readineſs at home, to relieve the fleet off Breſt if neceſſary; or to purſue the enemy if he ſhould ſail. In the uncertainty which prevailed with reſpect to the enemy's intentions, Portugal and other points being menaced as well as Ireland, no better arrangements could be deviſed. To have given poſitive orders to admiral Colpoys to ſail to Ireland, when there was a ſtrong probability that the attack might fall on ſome other quarter, would have been an impolitic meaſure. That the French quitted Breſt unſeen, was no wonder. So heavy were the fogs, that it was impoſſible for admiral Colpoys to keep even his own ſhips under his obſervation, and the conſequence was, that though a frigate was in ſearch of him with the intelligence, he did not learn till the twenty-fourth, that the enemy had put to ſea no leſs than eight days before. On the ſeventeenth, there had been a hurricane, and the hope that all or part of the hoſtile ſquadron might have been diſabled by the ſtorm, and would be forced to put back, induced him to continue off Breſt. Being unable to keep his ſtation there, he ſailed for the Lizard point, which was the beſt quarter for receiving information of the enemy, or further orders from the admiralty. He was, however, blown up the Channel by the ſevere gales; and not compelled to return by the want of proviſions. With reſpect to the tardy movements of Lord Bridport's fleet, they ſtated that neither the admiral nor the miniſters were cenſurable for them. The delay had been entirely occaſioned by contrary winds and tides. Nor, when the wind did turn, would it have been ſafe to have borne down channel under a preſs of ſail in the dark and ſtormy nights of December. On the whole, they denied that there was any ground for the propoſed enquiry, or that the republicans had any cauſe for triumph on account of an expedition which had coſt them ſeveral ſhips, and four or five thouſand men.

On a diviſion, the motion was loſt in the commons by 200 voices againſt 62; and in the lords by 91 voices againſt 21. In both houſes ſome of thoſe who uſually voted with the miniſters, were now found in the minority.

Laſt in order, we ſhall mention thoſe ſubjects of diſcuſſion which do not belong to either of the claſſes which we have already deſcribed. Firſt in importance amongſt them ſtands the diſpute with Spain, which finally terminated in hoſtilities. From the period

riod of the ſigning of the treaty of Baſle, between the Spaniſh monarch and the French republic, the republican government ſeems daily to have been acquiring an aſcendancy at the court of Madrid; the natural conſequences of which was, a growing ſpirit of cavil and diſlike in that court towards this country. It was in vain that the Britiſh cabinet endeavoured to conciliate the Spaniſh ſovereign and his miniſters, and to bring them back to a proper ſenſe of their own intereſts. At length, unnatural as ſuch a coalition was, an offenſive and defenſive alliance was concluded between the directory and his catholic majeſty. It was ſigned at St. Ildephonſo, on the nineteenth of Auguſt, and conſiſted of nineteen articles*. England alone was the object of it; a ſtipulation being inſerted that Spain ſhould remain neuter with reſpect to the other enemies of the French republic. By this treaty, either party when called on was to furniſh fifteen ſail of the line, ſix frigates, and four ſloops; with eighteen thouſand infantry, and ſix thouſand cavalry; and in caſe of this force proving inſufficient, it was to employ the whole of its ſtrength.

This monſtrous anomaly in politics, was ſoon followed by the Oct. 6. Spaniſh declaration of war †; a production which no true Spaniard could read without bluſhing for his monarch. From all the ſtate papers that ever were penned, it may juſtly be conſidered as bearing away the palm for falſehood, injuſtice and palpable abſurdity. The pretexts employed were ſo glaringly falſe or trivial, that nothing but a weakneſs of intellect, bordering on imbecility, could have induced the writer to venture them before the public eye. It was anſwered by the Britiſh government, in a counter declaration ‡, which was as remarkable for calm dignity and cloſe reaſoning as the Spaniſh paper was for qualities of an oppoſite kind. No aſſertion made by the court of Madrid, however ridiculous it might be, was ſuffered to paſs without a full refutation. Yet, moderate as this manifeſto was, it doubtleſs wounded deeply; for there reigned throughout it a tone of pitying forbearance, which could not fail to be a thouſand times more galling to Caſtilian pride, than expreſſions of vindictive anger could poſſibly have been.

So obviouſly juſt was the cauſe of England, that in both houſes, the addreſs to his majeſty on the war was voted without a diſſenting voice. Mr. Fox alone ſaid a few words; and he, while he regretted the neceſſity of entering into a new conteſt, did not expreſs a doubt with reſpect to its juſtice.

Spain was ſoon puniſhed for her fault, by the victory off Cape St. Vincent. On this ſplendid occaſion, the thanks of the two houſes were of courſe voted to the victorious admiral. In both houſes this gave riſe to an animated converſation. In the lords it was ſuggeſted by the duke of Bedford, and in the commons by Mr. Keene and others, that his majeſty ought to be addreſſed to beſtow on Sir John Jervis ſome ſignal mark of favour. The miniſters, on the other ſide,

* State Papers, A. R. 1796, p. 225. † P. 298. ‡ Id. p. 203.

though

though they admitted to the fulleſt extent, the merits of the gallant commander, yet objected to the meaſure, on the ground that it was entirely unprecedented, and that it was in ſome degree an interference with the royal prerogative. No doubt, they ſaid, could exiſt of the ſovereign's diſpoſition to confer honours where they were ſo well deſerved, and there would be an impropriety in taking out of the hands of his majeſty the performance of a taſk which would be ſo highly gratifying to the royal feelings. The validity of theſe arguments was denied in the moſt poſitive terms by the members in oppoſition, who maintained that parliament had an undoubted right to take the ſtep which they adviſed. That right, however, they conſented to waive, and the original vote was accordingly paſſed amidſt loud acclamations.

An attempt was made, early in the ſeſſion, by General Fitzpatrick, to obtain the royal interceſſion in favour of General La Fayette, who was confined in the dungeons of Olmutz, and who, great as were his political faults, was undoubtedly treated with indefenſible harſhneſs. It produced a debate full of argument, eloquence, wit, ſarcaſm, and mutual reproach; but the motion was finally negatived by a majority of 82; there being 50 for, and 132 againſt it.

CHAP. IV.

Financial Buſineſs of the Seſſion. Mr. Pitt brings forward a Plan for funding a large Quantity of navy and exchequer Bills. Terms to be offered to the Holders. Mr. Pitt alludes to a new Plan of iſſuing navy and exchequer Bills. Queſtion put by Mr. Huſſey. Mr. Fox attacks the Plan. He ſtates the Profits made by ſome of the Bill-Holders to be immenſe, and mentions ſome of the objections to the preſent Meaſure. Reply of Mr. Pitt. He conſiders the Plan to be highly advantageous to the Public. Mr. Fox and Mr. Huſſey again controvert his Arguments. On the ſecond debate Mr. Fox again oppoſes the Scheme. It is, however, adopted. Bill brought in by Mr. Pitt, to prevent navy Bills from being iſſued at a longer Date than three Months. Obſervation of Mr. Huſſey. The Bill paſſes. Mr. Pitt reſolves to raiſe a loan by an open Subſcription. Terms which he offers. The loan is rapidly filled. The Eaſt India Company ſubſcribes two Millions, of which it agrees to pay the Intereſt. The Chancellor of the Exchequer brings forward the Budget. Statement of the Supplies and of the Ways and Means. Amount of Intereſt to be provided. Mr. Pitt explains the Cauſe of the Increaſe of the navy Debt beyond his Eſtimates. Detail of the various new Taxes. He informs the Houſe that he has furniſhed Aſſiſtance to the Emperor, without the Knowledge of Parliament, and calls for a continuance of the Confidence of the Houſe. Remarks of Mr. Grey, and Mr. Fox, on Mr. Pitt's financial Statements. Mr. Fox ſeverely attacks the Meaſure of ſending Money ſecretly to the Emperor, and attributes it to an Intention of ſuperſeding the Authority of the Commons. The Reſolutions moved by

by Mr. Pitt are carried. When the Report is brought up, Mr. Fox again reprobates the Conduct of Mr. Pitt with great Severity. Reply of Mr. Pitt. Sir W. Pulteney agrees with the Oppoſition in cenſuring the Miniſter. Speech of Mr. Grey, who moves to poſtpone the reading of the Reſolutions. Aſperity of Mr. Wilberforce. Mr. Grey's Motion is negatived by a large Majority. Mr. Fox brings forward a Motion of Cenſure againſt the Miniſters. Mr. Pitt vindicates himſelf. Mr. Bragge moves an amendment, which is ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the Oppoſition. It is however, carried by a large majority. Mr. Fox moves two amendments which are negatived. Meſſage from his Majeſty relative to giving further ſuccour to the emperor. Debates in conſequence. Taxes agreed to. In the houſe of lords, the Duke of Norfolk moves two amendments to the loan bill, which are negatived.

THE financial buſineſs of this year was of frequent occurrence, and of a highly important nature; and it was conſequently productive of many and animated debates, in which the conduct of the miniſters was arraigned with unſparing ſeverity. The repeated impoſition of heavy burthens upon the people; the certainty that further and ſtill heavier burthens muſt be impoſed; the tottering ſtate of public credit; and the very inadequate reſult that was obtained by ſo many ſacrifices; could not fail, indeed, to incite, and apparently to juſtify, the lamentations which were poured forth on the preſent ſtate of affairs, and the gloomy predictions which were inceſſantly made with reſpect to the future.

Oct. 28. The firſt financial meaſure which was propoſed by Mr. Pitt, was one which was deſigned to remove out of the market a large maſs of navy and exchequer bills, which, having fallen to a conſiderable diſcount, were materially injurious to the public credit. The amount of theſe navy bills, of which the periods of payment varied from one month to fifteen, was little ſhort of twelve millions; that of exchequer bills was two millions and a half. His plan was to fund the whole of theſe bills; allowing to the holders of them a bonus, calculated according to the time at which the bills were payable. For this purpoſe, the bills were to be divided into claſſes, in the order of their dates; the largeſt bonus to be allowed to thoſe bills which were on the point of becoming due. What ſtock the bills ſhould be funded in was to be left to the choice of the holders. The bills were to bear intereſt till the 12th of December; and the dividends to commence on the three and five per cents from the fifth of July, and on the four per cents from the 10th of October. The average bonus upon all the claſſes he eſtimated at one and a quarter in the three per cents, two and a quarter in the four per cents, and three and a quarter in the five per cents. Nearly the ſame terms were to be allowed to the poſſeſſors of Exchequer bills. This plan, Mr. Pitt ſaid, would tend greatly to relieve public credit, facilitate commercial operations, and promote the general proſperity of the country. At the ſame time he expreſſed a hope that, in future iſſues of navy and exchequer bills, it would

would be poſſible to deviſe regulations for iſſuing them for ſuch periods, and at ſuch a rate of intereſt, as would prevent them from falling to a diſcount which was at once prejudicial to individuals and to the nation. He then moved his leading reſolution, to enable his majeſty to make proviſion for ſatisfying navy bills, to the ſum of nearly twelve millions.

In anſwer to a queſtion, from Mr. Huſſey, what would be the rate of intereſt which the public would pay, the chancellor of the exchequer replied, that it would be a trifle more than five per cent. He lamented that more advantageous terms could not be procured for the public, and he avowed that he had been exceedingly diſappointed in the ſpeculation which he had undertaken; but he contended that he had omitted no precaution that prudence could ſuggeſt, and that it was impoſſible for him to have foreſeen the depreciation of the bills. This was by no means ſatisfactory to Mr. Huſſey, who maintained that the conduct of the miniſters, in incurring ſuch an amount of debt, was highly reprehenſible, and that the terms which were offered to the holders of the bills were, in reality, far beyond what Mr. Pitt had confeſſed, and were extravagant in the extreme.

The moſt formidable opponent of the meaſure was, however, Mr. Fox, who criticiſed it with minute attention and the utmoſt ſeverity. The proceeding he conſidered as one of the moſt improvident and waſteful of its kind. Upon all the bills the profit made by the holders would, he ſaid, be enormous; but on one claſs of them, including diſcount and intereſt, it would reach as high as a hundred and three per cent. That government had no right to dictate on what terms the bills ſhould be funded he willingly admitted; nor did he object to funding them; but, allowing all this, and that the bills muſt be diſcharged at ſtated periods, it did not follow that, on their being paid conſiderably earlier than thoſe periods, the terms ſhould be as good, far leſs that they ſhould be better, than the holders would be entitled to if they were to retain the bills till the regular courſe of payment. It ought, likewiſe, to be remembered, that navy and exchequer bills were a ſpecies of property which could not be applied to commercial purpoſes. They muſt be kept till the regular time of payment, with the profit of only four per cent., which was originally allowed them. What pretext, then, could be alleged for the laviſh boon which was now propoſed to be given? Why was a bonus of two per cent. to be offered to induce perſons to exchange this inconvertible property for one that was convertible? It was alſo, he thought, another objection of weight that, as the ſcheme now ſtood, the one party was to be immediately bound, while the other would remain at liberty for ſeveral days. After the houſe of commons had agreed to ſanction the tranſaction, the option of the holders was ſtill left open. No advantage could be gained by the public, from any fluctuation in the value of the funds; loſs might indeed be ſuſtained; but the poſſeſſors of theſe bills had the power of taking any advantages which might ariſe, and of receding from their bargain with the miniſter.

It was contended in anſwer, by Mr. Pitt, that the profits made by the bill holders had been greatly over-rated; that the bonus given on a ſmall part of the bills had been unfairly argued from, as if it extended to the whole; that it was not larger than in juſtice it ought to be; that, as to the public being bound and the holders at liberty, it was a circumſtance unavoidable in all caſes of funding; that no political event was in the interim likely to occur, which could influence the funds; and that, even ſuppoſing the owners of the bills to make an unuſual profit, it would be folly to relinquiſh, on that account, a great national benefit. By taking theſe ſecurities out of the market, the credit and commerce of the country would receive material aſſiſtance. Even in an economical point of view it was prudent to adopt the plan; ſince, ſhould the government be compelled to iſſue more exchequer bills, the loſs, according to the preſent depreciated ſtate of that paper, might be infinitely ſuperior to the amount of that bonus which was to be allowed for the purpoſe of taking the bills out of circulation.

Unconvinced by this reaſoning, Mr. Fox made a reply, in which he repeated ſome of his arguments, and digreſſed ſomewhat, to animadvert on the contradictory opinions which, he ſaid, the chancellor of the exchequer had, on various occaſions, maintained, with reſpect to the true ſigns of national proſperity. Mr. Huſſey likewiſe renewed his oppoſition; aſſerting that this plan would take nothing out of the market, as it merely replaced one ſpecies of paper by another. Sir William Pulteney, too, thought that it would be at once coſtly and inefficacious; and that it would have been proper at firſt to have funded only four millions; and permitted a competition to take place among the holders, by which plan it was highly probable that a better bargain might have been made.

The two reſolutions were then put and carried, after a few remarks from Mr. Pitt, on the ſentiments of Sir William Pulteney.

When the report of the committee was brought up, and the reſolutions were moved by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox renewed his hoſtility with freſh vigour. He contended that, far from having exaggerated the profits made by ſome of the bill holders, he had in fact underrated them, as, inſtead of being 103 per cent. they were in reality 135 per cent. He alſo attacked the ſcale of intereſt allowed on the bills; declaring it to be not only contrary to every principle of policy, but of common ſenſe. In proportion as the capital was extended, the intereſt ought to be low, and vice verſa; but here, he ſaid, the caſe was directly the reverſe; and to prove this fact, he entered into a long and elaborate ſeries of calculations.

In reply to this, Mr. Pitt reiterated ſome of his former aſſertions; affirmed that the profit made on the bills was leſs than ſix per cent. inſtead of being 135 per cent.; and pointed out the reaſons for adopting that ſcale of intereſt which Mr. Fox had conſidered as worthy of cenſure.

The debate was continued for ſome time longer, in a deſultory manner, with little addition of argument,

gument, and without producing conviction on either side. The house at length divided on the resolution, which was carried by a majority of 160; the ayes being 208, the noes 48.

In order to avoid for the future the serious inconvenience which had been occasioned by navy bills falling to a heavy discount, from the length of time which they had to run, Mr. Pitt afterwards brought in an act, by which it was provided that no bill should thenceforth be issued at a longer date than three months, and that each bill should bear a daily interest of three pence halfpenny on every hundred pounds, or nearly five and a half per cent. As it was understood to be the intention of government that, in some instances, the bills should not be issued till three months after the contract was made, it was urged by Mr. Hussey that this would go far towards defeating the good intentions of the statute. The act passed, however, without opposition.

The time now approached when the budget must be brought forward. In aid of the revenue, a large sum was required, to cover the expenditure of the year. In the present state of credit, serious prejudice would, Mr. Pitt thought, be occasioned to the country by adhering to the old mode of obtaining a loan. He determined, therefore, to raise on an entirely new plan the eighteen millions of which he stood in need. By this plan, the loan was to be thrown open to the public, and the money was to be subscribed by corporate bodies and opulent individuals. No new stock was to be immediately created. In the circular letter which was distributed by the treasury, it was proposed that every contributor of a hundred pounds should receive 112l. 10s. 0d. in a five per cent. stock, to be irredeemable, except with consent of the owner, until the expiration of three years after the existing five per cents had been redeemed or reduced; but with an option in the holder to be paid at par, at any shorter period, not less than two years from the conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace. In either case payment was to be made in money, or, at the choice of the holder, in three per cent. stock, valued at 75l. Such was the scheme by which, if carried into rapid and complete execution, the chancellor of the exchequer hoped to enhance the value of the funds, and invigorate public credit. It is said, however, that, on this occasion, he did not trust to the influence of patriotic feelings alone; but gave a stimulus to selfishness and tardiness, by intimating that, should the project not succeed, some peremptory mode must be adopted, to draw forth the national resources. The bank, as the most powerful of the corporate bodies, and capable of giving an impulse to them all, was earnestly exhorted to set them an example of liberality and promptitude.

The books were opened at the bank on the first of December, and, in the course of a few hours, more than eight millions were subscribed. Before the noon of the fifth the whole amount was written down, and the books were then closed, though offers were still pouring in from every corner of the country. There seems little doubt that nearly as much more might with ease have been procured. The bank itself

advanced one million, and its directors and officers one half of that ſum. Other great bodies diſplayed a ſimilar ſpirit. The Eaſt India Company came forward with two millions, of which it conſented to diſcharge the intereſt for a ſtated period. From the circumſtances under which this loan was raiſed it bore the name of the Loyalty Loan. An immediate riſe of the funds was the conſequence of the meaſure.

This operation having been crowned with ſucceſs, equal to his moſt ſanguine hopes, the chancellor of the exchequer opened his firſt budget on the ſeventh of December. Having declared that he would abſtain from any preliminary remarks, he proceeded to lay before the Committee an account of the ſupplies for the year.

SUPPLIES.

NAVY, 120,000 ſeamen - - -	£6,240,000	
Extraordinaries - - - -	1,420,000	
Further ſum for Navy - - -	2,500,000	£10,160,000.
ARMY. Sums already voted - -	£6,613,000	
Extraordinaries - - -	4,300,000	10,913,000.
ORDNANCE - - - -		1,623,000.
Miſcellaneous ſervices, including relief to emigrant prieſts		378,000.
Deficiency of Land and Malt - -		350,000.
Sum for diminution of National Debt -		200,000.
Deficiency of taxes, after deducting ſurplus of grants for 1796 - - - -		1,023,000.
Vote of Credit - - -		3,000,000.
Total		£27,647,000.

To meet this expenditure, he ſtated to the Committee the following Ways and Means, the ſum ariſing from which exceeded by £298,000, the amount of the Supply.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Land and Malt Tax - - - -	£2,750,000.
Growing produce of the Conſolidated Fund -	1,075,000.
Surplus of Grants of 1796 - - -	420,000.
Surplus of the Lottery - - -	200,000.
Loan - - - - -	18,000,000.
Exchequer Bills - - - -	5,500,000.
Total	£27,945,000.

He

He then detailed the ſtatement of the ſums bearing intereſt, for which it would be neceſſary to find additional taxes. The firſt of theſe was the loan of eighteen millions, which had, he ſaid, been raiſed in a manner honourable to the ſpirit of the country. The intereſt on this loan was only 5l. 12s. 6d. per cent., to which was to be added one per cent., on account of the ſinking fund, making together 6l. 15s.; ſubject, however, to a great reduction, ſhould the funds riſe in the event of a ſafe and permanent peace. But this reduction he would not now calculate on; and, therefore, the whole annual charge would be 1,215,000l. Of exchequer bills, he purpoſed to circulate 5,500,000l. which, as they would be iſſued for ſo ſhort a period as three months, and were to be receivable on inſtalments of the loan, would conſequently not be ſubject to fall to ſuch an enormous diſcount as they had hitherto done. The intereſt on theſe would be 275,000l. To provide for the intereſt of the navy debt, would require a further ſum of 592,000l. To theſe items muſt be added 140,000l., which was not an expence of the year, but was to make up the deficiency occaſioned by relinquiſhing the tax on collateral ſucceſſion, for which a ſubſtitute had not been found. The total was 2,222,000l. per annum. But from this muſt be deducted 112,000l. which the Eaſt India Company had agreed to pay annually for four years; and which payment he had now reaſon to believe that the Company would liberally conſent to continue till the expiration of their charter. Deducting this ſum, there would remain to the extent of 2,110,000l., for which new taxes muſt be impoſed.

As the navy debt had ſwelled ſo enormouſly beyond what he had formerly given reaſon to expect, he thought it neceſſary to offer ſome explanation of the cauſes. Theſe, he ſaid, were the heavy unforeſeen expence of Britiſh and foreign tranſports, in conſequence of the viciſſitudes of the weather, and the delays and diſaſters which our expeditions had experienced; the high demurrage which had been paid; and the unprecedented diſcount to which navy bills had fallen. On theſe three heads nearly three millions had been expended; ſo that, taking alſo into account that we had another maritime enemy to encounter, and a threatened invaſion to repel, his original eſtimate was not unpardonably erroneous.

The taxes to be laid on he arranged under the three heads of Exciſe, Cuſtoms, and Aſſeſſed Taxes. The firſt article of the exciſe claſs was tea. On this he propoſed a new duty of ten per cent.; the produce he eſtimated at 240,000l. In order that the duty might not preſs on the lower orders of the community, it was not to extend to thoſe cheap teas which they commonly purchaſed. Coffee was alſo to be taxed at the ſame rate, and its produce was calculated at 30,000l. To a duty of two pence halfpenny in the pound on the ſale of eſtates, and of three pence on other ſales, he looked for a ſum of 40,000l. An increaſe of duty of a ſhilling per thouſand on bricks, he took at 36,000l. On Britiſh and foreign ſpirits he expected to raiſe 210,000l. by an added duty of five pence per gal-

lon. From this quarter he drew another reſource to the extent of 30,000l., by a large augmentation of duty on the diſtilleries of the Scotch Lowlands; and he announced his intention of eventually extending the meaſure to the diſtilleries of the Highlands. The total amount under the head of exciſe was 856,000l.

Under the claſs of cuſtoms, the firſt object was ſugar, from which he deſigned to draw 280,000l, by a tax of two and ſixpence per hogſhead. On brimſtone, ſlates, bar iron and olive oil he ſuggeſted an increaſe of duty to the amount of ten per cent, and on all other cuſtoms, wine, coals, and prize goods excepted, an increaſe of five per cent; making together 153,000l. Pepper and ſome other articles would, he imagined, give a produce of 33,000l. The whole ſum to be thus obtained was 466,000l.

The laſt claſs was that of aſſeſſed taxes. From an additional duty on horſes, dogs, and ſervants, and from ten per cent on the commutation duty, he eſtimated that 140,000l. might be obtained; and 150,000l. from a houſe tax, levied in proportion to the other aſſeſſed taxes which were paid by the occupier. From a ſmall regulation in certain ſtamp duties 30,000l. was to ariſe; from raiſing the rates of poſtage no leſs than 250,000l. and 60,000l. from an addition on ſtage coaches. Of new taxes he propoſed only two. One of theſe was a ſtamp duty on parcels, to produce 60,000l.; and the other was a tax on canal navigation, equal to one eighth of the tolls, which he took at 120,000l. The total amount of taxes to be impoſed was 2,132,000l. which left a ſurplus of 22,000l. above the ſum that was wanted to diſcharge the intereſt of the money borrowed.

The moſt important part of Mr. Pitt's ſpeech on this occaſion was, however, that in which he made known that he had tranſmitted money to the emperor, without the conſent of parliament. So bold a meaſure could not indeed but excite an unuſual degree of indignation in ſome, and of ſurpriſe in all. Twelve hundred thouſand pounds was the ſum thus tranſmitted. He reſted his defence on the plea that it would have been imprudent at the time to diſcloſe the ſending of this ſuccour; and he referred with triumph to the glorious effects which it had produced. Well aware of the reſponſibility which they incurred, and not fearful of the event, the miniſters, he ſaid, had reflected that, in the critical ſituation of the country, it would be a matter of extreme delicacy to give riſe to a public debate on the propriety of advancing money to a foreign court. They knew what alarm might be occaſioned by a propoſal to ſend a quantity of ſpecie out of the kingdom; and they knew, too, that a generally received opinion of the miſchief that might be attendant on a meaſure, was often productive of the reality. The conſequences of a diſcuſſion might likewiſe have been to have cauſed the ſuggeſtion of a grant too ſmall for the wants of our ally, or too large for our means. It was, he affirmed, by theſe reaſons that the miniſters had been induced to decline a reference to the judgment of parliament. So confident did he appear to be that the proceeding was

†

was a meritorious one, that he closed his avowal of it in these words. "It is my design, if this conduct be found to merit your approbation, humbly and earnestly to claim and solicit your confidence in continuing the same system. I cannot, for the reason I have already mentioned, propose to you any specific sum to be granted to his imperial majesty. But, if you think proper to repose in ministers the same confidence in granting such occasional aid as they may see to be necessary, it shall, on their part, be exercised with the same caution. I have therefore proposed a sum of three millions, chiefly with a view of enabling ministers to make advances to our allies; if we shall be compelled to persevere in the war."

On this occasion Mr. Grey and Mr. Fox were the only speakers in opposition. The former confined himself wholly to financial remarks. He commented severely on what he considered as the false and delusive statements which he chancellor of the exchequer so frequently made; censured him for the repeated errors in his calculations relative to the sums which were requisite for the public service; and predicted that, heavy as were the taxes which were now to be imposed, it would ultimately be necessary to raise other taxes to the amount of not less than a million.

With respect to the question of finance, very nearly the same ground was taken by Mr. Fox, and he expressed himself with as much warmth as Mr. Grey had done. He should not, he said, think that he performed his duty, either to his constituents or to his country, if he did not deliver it as his opinion that the speech of Mr. Pitt was false in almost every particular, and that nothing could have a greater tendency to delude the people as to their financial situation. That speech contained likewise a number of general observations, which he must deny to be true: if they were true, he would not hesitate a moment to join in agreement with those who held that to talk of ours being a free constitution was merely an idle vaunt. In fact the system of the ministry virtually included an abolition of the privileges of the house of commons, and the creation of a dictator, who, at least in time of war, was to levy and to expend with no other check than his own discretion. Mr. Fox then touched on, and in some instances further illustrated, those points over which Mr. Grey had already gone. As to the loan, to which that gentleman had not alluded, he maintained that the terms were by no means so advantageous as they had been pretended to be; and he asked how it happened that the minister now thought an open loan advisable for sixteen millions, when, in 1793, he had deemed it unadvisable for six millions, and had positively declared that it was a measure which could never be resorted to with a probability of success?

The presumed miscalculations of Mr Pitt, and the fallacy of his estimates, were, however, in Mr. Fox's view, but objects of subordinate interest. It was the circumstance of the advances which had been secretly made to the emperor that he considered as most worthy of the severity of his censure.

ſure. On this head he ſpoke with peculiar energy. He firſt reminded the houſe that, during the three cloſing months of the laſt parliament, not a week had elapſed in which the miniſter had not been queſtioned whether he intended to grant any pecuniary aid to his Imperial Majeſty. No intention of the ſort was, however, then avowed. The chancellor of the Exchequer, it appears, thought that his own authority was ſufficient, and that it was a buſineſs with which the houſe of commons had no concern. "From his own conduct, indeed," exclaimed Mr. Fox indignantly, "he may borrow an example to keep the meaſure in countenance. It is of a piece with his advice to his majeſty, to continue him as his miniſter againſt the declared opinion of the houſe of commons in the year 1784. Now, he has gone one ſtep further than he went in giving that advice; he has ſhewn to the people of Great Britain that he is a better judge than themſelves when their money ſhould be given, and how much of it ſhould be given, to any foreign prince. If theſe are the ſentiments which are to be acted upon in this country; if the miniſter be ſuffered to carry them into effect; I for myſelf declare that the conſtitution of this country is not worth fighting for. On what principle, I deſire to know, is it that the miniſter arrogates this power to himſelf, inſtead of referring it to the commons of Great Britain, to whom, and to whom only, it conſtitutionally belongs? If he thus, without the conſent of parliament, directs the application of the money of the people upon foreign affairs, I ſee no reaſon whatever why he ſhould not claim the ſame power (as I dare ſay he will if he ſucceeds in this) over the whole of our domeſtic concerns. I am ſure the reaſon which he gives for the one will juſt as well apply to the other. Parliament, he ſays, could not calculate ſo well as he could upon the neceſſity, and upon the amount. This may be ſaid as correctly of our domeſtic as of our foreign affairs. Until this circumſtance occurred, the miniſter thought it decent to apply to you, and to give you an eſtimate of what you were to provide for. He now tels you that he did not think it neceſſary to conſult you, becauſe you are not judges of the extent of it. But, did he conſult you on the principle of it? He certainly did not, though repeatedly ſolicited. He ſuffered the laſt parliament to be diſſolved, he ſuffered you all to meet your conſtituents with an aſſurance, I do not ſay his poſitive and declared aſſurance, (but by his ſilence he gave you an implied aſſurance) that, in the interval of the diſſolution, no money was to be advanced to the emperor. You met on the 27th of September. Did he then give you any intimation of his having advanced this money before you were called together? Did he give you any intimation of it till this very night, when he comes before you with his freſh burthens on the people? Not a word! For this conduct I ſay that he ought to be impeached. He had it in his power to conſult you upon this ſubject long ago, as it was his duty to do. He has neglected to do ſo, and by this neglect has manifeſted a determination

nation to diſpoſe of the money of the people without conſulting their repreſentatives. This is aggravated by his not calling you together ſooner. If he had advanced the money before you met, why did he not tell you ſo? What reaſon can be aſſigned for this? In the name of God, what is it poſſible to ſay but that the miniſter thinks his judgment better than the judgment of the repreſentatives of Great Britain? He has ſaid much upon the time at which this money was advanced. If he had any intention of advancing it previous to the diſſolution, why did he not ſtate that intention to the laſt parliament? Or, if he diſcovered the neceſſity of it ſince the diſſolution, might he not long ſince have ſaid ſo to the preſent parliament? The real fact is, that he has acted as he has done, for the expreſs purpoſe of eſtabliſhing the principle that the miniſters are more competent judges of the manner in which the public money is to be applied than the repreſentatives of the people."

After a few more obſervations from Mr. Fox, the reſolutions were put and carried; the houſe was reſumed; and the report was ordered to be received on the following day.

When the report was brought up, ſeveral of the members in oppoſition manifeſted their determined hoſtility to the ſtep which Mr. Pitt had taken. Mr. Fox led the way, in a ſpeech ſtill more animated than that which he had already made on the ſubject. He accuſed himſelf of a dereliction of his duty, in having ſuffered the reſolutions to paſs without a diviſion, and declared that he ſhould conſider himſelf as imperiouſly called upon to take the ſenſe of the houſe that night upon every queſtion, whether of ſupply or of ways and means. Should he be ſucceſsful he would, on an early day, move that his Majeſty's miniſters, in granting money without the conſent of parliament, had been guilty of a high crime and miſdemeanour. Should he fail in his motion; he truſted that the people, in every part of the country, would expreſs their abhorrence of the libellous doctrines which Mr. Pitt had delivered on the preceding evening, doctrines more dangerous to the ſtate than thoſe of Paine; and that the houſe of commons would, by the unanimous voice of the nation, be compelled to aſſert thoſe rights which it had tamely and puſillanimouſly ſurrendered. If the doctrines laid down by the miniſter were conſtitutional, then, indeed, ours was a vile and deteſtable conſtitution. He repeated, and in the moſt emphatic terms, that, bad as it would even then have been, this flagrant violation of the law had not been committed for the convenience of the miniſters, or for any advantage which they ſuppoſed would reſult from it, but ſolely from the moſt ſiniſter of motives, ſolely for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a precedent for ſetting at nought the authority of parliament. It was part of a ſyſtem which was now daily acted upon. He concluded by declaring, that if this were abjectly ſubmitted to, if the houſe of commons took no ſteps to vindicate its honour and its rights, that houſe could no longer be looked upon as a branch of the conſtitution; and in the Britiſh government there would be little

little or nothing to diſtinguiſh it from that of abſolute monarchies.

The ſpeech of the miniſter, in reply to Mr. Fox, was in a tone of defiance and ſarcaſm, which could not fail to raiſe to a ſtill higher pitch the reſentment of his adverſaries. In diſdainful and taunting language, he more than inſinuated his diſbelief, that the right honourable member really felt what he profeſſed to feel on this occaſion, and on many others. From the ſilence which, on the preceding evening, Mr. Grey had preſerved on this head, it was ſomewhat unfairly argued, by Mr. Pitt, that the advance of money to the emperor was not a meaſure of a cenſurable kind. Far indeed from conſidering what he had done as an action which required that he ſhould exculpate himſelf, he took merit for it, and challenged that enquiry which had been threatened. All the favour, he ſaid, that he would aſk of his accuſers was, that they would not, by endeavouring to ſtop the ſupplies, extend to their country the vengeance which they were anxious to hurl upon him. His defence was compriſed in one ſentence. The vote of credit laſt year, did, he affirmed, actually inveſt the government with the diſcretionary power of applying the ſums granted in the manner that might beſt ſuit the public exigencies; and the money applied to the ſervice of the emperor was within the amount of that grant. That there was ſome limit to this diſcretion, that it was not abſolutely independent of the control of parliament, he ſeemed willing to admit; but, till he ſhould be regularly called upon to vindicate himſelf, he declined explaining his ſentiments as to the extent and exerciſe of that controul.

There were, however, others, not acting in the ranks of oppoſition, who thought that the offence was neither trifling, nor the excuſe valid. Of this claſs was Sir William Pulteney. Though averſe from delaying the ſupplies, he was of opinion that the miniſters deſerved the heavieſt cenſure, for their unconſtitutional conduct. He denied that the vote of credit authoriſed them to ſubſidize foreign powers; pointedly remarked that the diſcloſure of the fact had been avoided till concealment was no longer poſſible; refuted the aſſertion that circumſtances rendered ſecrecy politic, and ſhewed on the contrary that the natural effect of publicity in affording ſuccour muſt have been to raiſe the ſpirit of our ally, and to diſcourage our enemy. He did not ſtop here. On the monſtrous increaſe of the navy debt, which he regarded as proving groſs miſmanagement and want of foreſight, and on the ſhameful prodigality, as he termed it, which had in many other inſtances been diſplayed, he likewiſe beſtowed a few ſentences of ſharp reprobation, and called upon the houſe to enquire ſeriouſly into the cauſes, and to provide a remedy.

For that ſilence which had been conſtrued into a tacit aſſent, Mr. Grey now made ample amends, by a vigorous ſpeech againſt the miniſter. He concluded by moving to poſtpone, till the morrow, the ſecond reading of the reſolutions of the committee of ways and means; and he pledged himſelf that, before they

they were read, he would move the impeachment of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The debate was continued for ſome time with no ſmall portion of warmth. The cauſe of the miniſters was eſpouſed by Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Yorke, lord Hawkeſbury, and the Maſter of the Rolls; but in aſperity of language Mr. Wilberforce went far beyond his friends. Had the cenſure paſſed on Mr. Pitt been directed againſt himſelf he could not have replied in more acrimonious terms. Lord Hawkeſbury, on the contrary, was as remarkable for his coolneſs and candour.

The motion for poſtponing the reſolutions was ſupported by Mr. Harriſon, Mr. Curwen, Mr. W. Smith, and Mr. Fox. On a diviſion Mr. Grey's motion was negatived by a majority of 106, the ayes being 58, the noes 164.

Dec. 13. Having failed in this attempt, Mr. Fox, in the courſe of a few days, again brought the ſubject before the houſe. A common hall of the city of London had, on the ſame day, inſtructed the city repreſentatives to give their ſupport to his efforts. His motion was "that his majeſty's miniſters having authorized and directed, at different times, without the conſent, and during the ſitting of parliament, the iſſue of certain ſums of money for the ſervice of his imperial majeſty, and alſo for the ſervice of the army under the prince de Condé, have acted contrary to their duty, and have violated the conſtitutional privileges of the houſe." The motion was ſeconded by Mr. alderman Combe.

On this occaſion a long and animated debate took place. Some, and that not a ſmall part of it, was, however, neceſſarily a repetition of what had been urged on the two former evenings. The ſpeech of Mr. Fox was diſpaſſionate, compreſſed, and bearing cloſely upon the queſtion. Laying it down as an indiſputable principle, that it was the privilege of the houſe of commons alone, not only to levy taxes and impoſe burthens upon the people, but alſo to judge of the whole expences of the ſtate, as well of the mode in which they ought to be applied as of the manner in which they ought to be raiſed; he contended that the meaſure which he held up to the cenſure of the houſe was of the moſt objectionable kind, and that it could not be paſſed over unreprobated, without expoſing to utter contempt and deſtruction the authority of the commons. That extraordinaries and votes of credit could not abſolutely be diſpenſed with, he admitted, but he held them to be, at beſt, exceptions to the rule of the conſtitution, and neceſſary evils, which could never be extended beyond the neceſſity which originated them, without ſome degree of criminality. In this caſe there was no excuſe. Granting, for the ſake of argument, that the expence was one which ought to be incurred, the queſtion was, whether the mode in which it was incurred was not a highly improper one. That it was ſo, there could not be the ſhadow of a doubt. To prove this aſſertion Mr. Fox entered into a ſtatement of the times and manner in which the remittances had been made.

made. As early as December, 1795, two hundred thouſand pounds had, he ſaid, been iſſued to the army of the prince de Condé. Inſtead of being paid, as might naturally be ſuppoſed, and as it ought to have been, from the vote of credit for 1795, this ſum was paid from the vote of credit for 1796, which vote was, of courſe, intended only for the unforeſeen expences of that year. The vote itſelf was indeed paſſed under very ſuſpicious circumſtances, at an unuſually early period of the ſeſſion. Suppoſing, however, that it might be applied retroſpectively, ſome account of this application ought to have been given in the diſtribution paper, which was produced in April. But no ſuch account was given. The whole was kept a profound ſecret from the houſe of commons. The ſame ſyſtem had been followed by the miniſter with reſpect to the money which he had advanced to the emperor. From the language of that right hon. gentleman during the laſt ſeſſion, guarded as it was, it was fairly to be inferred that no aſſiſtance would be furniſhed to his imperial majeſty without the parliament having been previouſly conſulted. If the neceſſity aroſe during the receſs, and was ſo imperiouſly urgent that it would not admit the delay of calling the parliament together, the miniſter might have aſked for an act of indemnity when the two houſes were aſſembled. But, no! the parliament met at the time appointed for it, and even then the miniſter did not condeſcend to communicate the ſecret. On the contrary, he had, ſince the meeting of parliament, clandeſtinely ſent four hundred thouſand pounds to the emperor, without having ſaid a ſingle word on the ſubject. In all this he could, he ſaid, only ſee a deliberate deſign to eſtabliſh a precedent againſt the conſtitution, for the purpoſe of ſubverting the controling authority of the houſe of commons. In fact, if an attack ſo bold, ſo daring, ſo deſtructive of the very letter of the conſtitution, were to meet with the ſanction of parliament, the queſtion would be, not how far the conſtitution had been injured, but whether we did or did not poſſeſs any conſtitution at all. This action was, in truth, the climax of a long ſeries of aſſaults and encroachments upon the rights of the people. Nothing now remained for the houſe but to viſit it with ſevere reprobation, or to ſubmit in ſilence to any future encroachments which miniſters or princes might be diſpoſed to make. As to an act of indemnity, which ſome had ſuggeſted, he did not conſider the miniſter to be entitled to it, as the tone and manner in which that gentleman had vindicated his conduct, on a former evening, had rendered ſtill more intolerable the flagrant outrage which he had committed on the privileges of the commons. If the houſe did not now aſſert thoſe privileges, it might be aſſured that they would ceaſe to exiſt at no very diſtant period.

The reply of the chancellor of the exchequer was long, elaborate, and, for the greater part, in a more meaſured tone than that which had given ſo much offence on a preceding evening. A very conſiderable portion of it was occupied in expatiating

expatiating on the neceſſity of extraordinaries and votes of credit, both of which were, he contended, fully recognized in conſtitutional practice. His doctrine, however, reſpecting the latter, was in direct oppoſition to that of his opponents. According to his idea, a vote of credit was a privilege granted to the miniſters, to employ a certain ſum to any ſuch purpoſe as the exigency of affairs might require. Subject only to the rendering of a ſubſequent account to parliament, the miniſters had, he conceived, an unbounded liberty to appropriate a vote of credit to whatever uſes they might deem proper. He admitted, indeed, the principle that if miniſters foreſaw any expenditure of conſequence, they ought to ſtate it to the parliament; but this principle he took care to limit, by declaring that, if it would be impolitic to divulge the expenditure, a miniſter would be juſtified in concealing it from the parliament till a future ſeaſon. It was on this ground that he reſted his defence. The beneficial conſequences of the meaſure he conſidered as immenſe and undeniable. It remained then to ſhew, that there was a neceſſity for concealment. The neceſſity aroſe, he ſaid, from the ſtate of the money-market. He had ſubmitted to the contractors for the late loan the queſtion whether it would be prudent to negotiate a loan openly for the emperor, and they had been of opinion, that ſuch a loan would have a ſenſible effect on the money-market; that it would depreciate the funds, and depreſs the public credit. The ſame conſequence would have reſulted from any public notice of the purpoſed aid. It was, therefore, thought adviſeable to adopt that mode of giving relief which was now the object of cenſure, but which had accompliſhed its purpoſe in the moſt effectual manner. In the courſe of this part of his ſpeech, Mr. Pitt repeatedly referred to the judgment given by the monied men, and obviouſly conſidered it, independent of all other circumſtances, as being quite ſufficient to entitle him to claim from his hearers a favourable verdict.

He did not, however, wholly rely on the policy or abſtract correctneſs of his conduct, but endeavoured to ſtrengthen his vindication by adducing precedents of ſimilar caſes which had occurred ſince the period of the revolution. Theſe caſes occurred in the years 1701, 1704, 1706, 1718, 1734, 1742, and 1786, and in all of them, though ſome of them were vehemently cenſured by the oppoſition of the day, the ſteps taken by the miniſters had received the ſanction of parliament. Of theſe, the precedent of 1706 he regarded as that which bore the moſt ſtriking reſemblance to the tranſaction which was now under debate. In that inſtance, the miniſters had received the thanks, inſtead of the reprobation of the houſe; and it was eaſy to ſee that he was not without ſanguine hopes, that the precedent of 1706 would be accurately followed on this occaſion.

Towards the cloſe of his ſpeech, the miniſter, confident perhaps of acquittal, once more reſorted to the language of ſarcaſm and defiance. He complained loudly, that he had been unjuſtly accuſed, and treated with a want of candour and liberality; and he avenged himſelf by

by something more than insinuations against the principles of his antagonists. "It has (said he) been stated, that no other motive than a wanton and malignant desire to violate the constitution can have actuated the conduct of the ministers. If a charge of such malignant intention had been brought against men, who had affirmed the present war to be neither just nor necessary, and who, on that ground, cannot be supposed to be friendly to its success; who have extolled, nay even exulted in the prodigies of French valour; who have gloried in the triumphs of the foes of civil liberty, the disturbers of the peace of Europe, the men who blasphemously denied the existence of the Deity, and who had rejected and trampled on every law, moral and divine; who have exclaimed against the injustice of bringing to trial persons who had associated to overawe the legislature; those who gravely and vehemently asserted, that it was a question of prudence, rather than a question of morality, whether an act of the legislature should be resisted; those who were anxious to expose and aggravate every defect in the constitution; to reprobate every measure adopted for its preservation, and to obstruct every proceeding of the executive government to ensure the success of the contest in which we are engaged, in common with our allies; I say, if such a charge of deliberate and deep-rooted malignity were brought against persons of this description, I should conceive, that even then the rules of candid and charitable interpretation would induce us to hesitate in admitting its reality, much more when it is brought against individuals, whose conduct, I trust, has exhibited the reverse of the picture I have drawn." To their candour he disclaimed any desire to appeal, but he appealed to, and fully relied on the candour and justice of the house, to acquit him of the monstrous charges which had been brought forward against him.

Nearly the same ground was taken by Mr. Bragge. He dwelt on the necessity, pleaded the precedents, and contended that the ministers were invested with a considerable discretionary authority, and that it was their business to look more to the spirit than to the letter of their powers. He thought, that instead of deserving blame, the ministers had highly deserved the gratitude of the country; yet, at the same time, he was desirous, that such a proceeding, dictated by necessity, should not in future be drawn into a precedent. He therefore moved as an amendment,

"That the measure of advancing the several sums of money, which appear from the accounts presented to the house in this session of parliament, to have been issued for the service of the emperor, though not to be drawn into precedent but upon occasions of special necessity, was, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, a justifiable and proper exercise of the discretion vested in his majesty's ministers by the vote of credit, and calculated to produce consequences, which have proved highly advantageous to the common cause, and to the general interests of Europe."

Mr. Thornton, aldermen Lushington, Curtis, and Anderson, and colonel Gascoigne, spoke in favour of

of the minister. The first two were of opinion that a loan to the emperor would not have been prudent, and declared that, although they had originally conceived that a bill of indemnity would be proper, they were now convinced that it was not necessary. With respect to the resolutions of the common hall, against the minister, the aldermen and colonel Gascoigne deprecated the idea that they ought to have any influence whatever on the conduct of the members of that house. The colonel likewise stated, that he had come down to the house with a firm resolve to vote for censure, but that he had been convinced, by what he had heard, that the transaction which was the theme of complaint was according to the established practice of government, and was perfectly correct.

Mr. Nicholls took a middle course, and while he was averse to sending money out of the kingdom without the consent of parliament, he thought it would be impolitic to agree to the original motion, as it might tend to alienate the emperor from the common cause, by making it appear that the British parliament had censured the minister for affording him succour. It would, he imagined, be better to pass a declaratory law.

Mr. Sheridan opposed, with much animation, the amendment which was proposed by Mr. Bragge. He commented in a ludicrous strain on the sudden conversion of colonel Gascoigne, treated with scarcely more respect Mr. Nicholls's suggestion as to a declaratory law contended that the precedents which had been quoted were of no value, and that there was nothing whatever to justify the minister, for having assisted the emperor without the consent of the house of commons, and he remarked that as the amendment took no notice of the money advanced to pay the Condean army, it consequently implied a censure upon that transaction. Irritated probably by the conclusion of the minister's speech, he declared that of all the ministers that ever governed the affairs of Great Britain, the right honourable gentleman was the man who had employed the worst of means, and entailed upon his country the greatest of evils; a man whose whole life had been marked by an attention to views of power and sentiments of ambition, and by an utter disregard of all the feelings of patriotism and virtue.

Sir William Pulteney, though he did not speak with the bitterness of Mr. Sheridan, was unequivocally of opinion that the minister had been guilty of a breach of duty, and he pointed out very forcibly the dangerous consequences which might arise, if such proceedings were allowed to pass without receiving the censure which they merited. As, however, the amendment itself seemed to imply a kind of censure, he was willing to give it his assent, because he would rather have any degree of censure than none. On one point in Mr. Pitt's vindication he commented with great effect. It was that in which the minister expressed so much deference to the opinions of those who were at the head of what is denominated the money market; a deference to which Sir William Pulteney justly considered them as having no title. It was, he thought, highly improper that such persons

ſhould exerciſe any controul or influence over the operations of the government.

The miniſter was defended by Mr. Wilberforce on nearly the ſame ground as he had himſelf taken. The debate was then cloſed by Mr. Fox, who repeated ſome of his former arguments, and did not loſe the opportunity of retorting ſeverely on Mr. Pitt, in anſwer to the latter part of that gentleman's ſpeech.

The houſe divided on Mr. Bragge's amendment, which was carried by a majority of 204, the noes being 81, the ayes 285.

As an amendment on Mr. Bragge's, Mr. Fox then propoſed to inſert, after the word "credit," the following words: "It being the opinion of this houſe that certain of the ſums ſtated in the papers laid before this houſe to have been iſſued on the authority of the vote of credit, were not paid on the ſaid authority." This, however, paſſed in the negative.

He then propoſed to add, to the end of Mr. Bragge's amendment, the words, "Although no documents have been laid before the houſe to prove either the neceſſity or the expediency of the ſaid meaſure." This alſo was negatived.

On this occaſion the party in oppoſition was joined by ſeveral members who uſually voted with the miniſtry, on moſt queſtions of foreign and domeſtic policy, but who thought that the meaſure of clandeſtinely advancing money to foreign powers was a flagrant violation of the conſtitution, which was not palliated by the pretexts urged in its defence, and which it was the bounden duty of the houſe of commons to brand with ſome mark of reprobation, that the impunity enjoyed by the preſent miniſters might not tempt others to a repetition of the crime, and perhaps to crimes of ſtill greater magnitude, and more fatal conſequences.

Though the vote of the houſe was deciſive as to the rejection of cenſure on the miniſters, it could not prevent their conduct from being ſeverely animadverted upon, whenever an opportunity occurred; and only three days elapſed before an opportunity did occur. On the ſeventeenth of December a meſſage from his majeſty was brought down to the two houſes. It ſtated that it would be of the greateſt importance to the common cauſe that his majeſty ſhould be enabled to continue ſuch temporary advances for the ſervice of the emperor as might be indiſpenſably neceſſary, with a view to the vigorous and effectual proſecution of military operations at an early period, and it, therefore, called upon parliament to make ſuch proviſion for the purpoſe as might appear to be expedient.

The ſum which the chancellor of the exchequer propoſed to vote was 500,000*l.*, and he was of opinion that it would be wiſe to leave to the diſcretion of the executive government, to decide as to what times, and in what proportions, the money ſhould be advanced to the emperor. In concluſion he moved an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty, and the reference of his majeſty's meſſage to a committee of ſupply.

The addreſs, and the mode in which aſſiſtance was purpoſed to be given to his imperial majeſty, were both equally diſapproved of by

Sir

Sir William Pulteney, who contended that the addreſs was artfully worded in ſuch a manner as to imply that the recent conduct of the chancellor of the exchequer was not deſerving of cenſure; and that, with reſpect to the relief of the emperor, it would be far better to come forward at once and vote him a ſum in the way of a loan, than to allow 500,000*l.* to be doled out to him at the pleaſure of the miniſters. Nor did he omit again to reprobate the bank directors, for their intruſive interference in affairs of ſtate. He, therefore, moved an amendment, which was ſeconded by Mr. Bontine.

Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Sheridan, repeated many of their former reproaches againſt the miniſter, for his ſhameful violation of conſtitutional principles. It was, Mr. Fox ſaid, perfectly uſeleſs for the houſe to give any directions as to the appropriation of the ſums which it voted, ſince, however preciſe thoſe directions might be, the miniſter would diſpoſe of the money in whatever manner he pleaſed. For the houſe of commons to pretend that it had any thing to do with the ways and means was, in fact, carrying on a farce and a deluſion upon the public, to which he had the ſtrongeſt objection. He did not, however, agree with Sir William Pulteney, that a loan would be better than a ſubſidy; the re-payment of a loan being exceedingly precarious, and the management of a loan the worſt of all things with which a miniſter could be truſted. The remarks on the ſubject of a loan were amplified by Mr. Grey and Mr. Sheridan, who argued that the emperor had failed in his engagements relative to the loans which he had obtained from this country; he having only in part provided for the intereſt, and having wholly neglected to furniſh the ſtipulated ſum to form a ſinking fund for the redemption of the debt.

Sir W. Pulteney's amendment having been negatived, without a diviſion, Mr. Sheridan, after a brief introduction, moved to inſert, as an amendment, at the end of the addreſs—"Your majeſty's faithful commons having thus manifeſted their determination to enable your majeſty to give ſuch aſſiſtance to your majeſty's ally, the emperor, as may be indiſpenſably neceſſary in the unfortunate event of an unfavourable iſſue to the preſent negotiations for peace, cannot omit this occaſion of expreſſing their deep regret that your majeſty's miniſters ſhould in recent inſtances have preſumed to iſſue ſimilar aſſiſtance to the emperor, without any previous application to Parliament ſo to do: thereby acting, as your majeſty's gracious meſſage appears in a great meaſure to admit, in defiance of the eſtabliſhed practice, and in violation of the conſtitutional privileges of this houſe."

This amendment alſo was negatived, without a diviſion; and the houſe went into a committee of ſupply. The reſolution for advancing 500,000*l.* to the emperor was then moved. Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Sheridan, on this occaſion, once more iterated their arguments, and ſeconded them with even more than uſual aſperity of cenſure. Mr. Fox explicitly charged the miniſter with having taken a courſe of obſcurity, concealment, and fraud, and with having ſhameleſsly practiſed a deception upon the houſe

under the cover of his majeſty's ſacred name; and he added that if the houſe of commons ſuffered him to act in this manner, not only unpuniſhed but unchecked, he did not ſee how they could be of more ſervice to the Britiſh people than any other body of gentlemen of the ſame number, who met at any other place for their own amuſement. Mr. Grey, with equal bitterneſs, inveighed againſt the "foul and monſtrous ſyſtem which had been adopted by miniſters in the expenditure of the public money;" and Mr. Sheridan, after many pointed remarks, moved that five hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be lent to the emperor, whenever the engagements reſpecting the former loan ſhould be fulfilled, or ſatisfactory reaſons ſhould have been given for their failure."

The chancellor of the exchequer having vindicated himſelf, by reaſſerting the propriety of a retroſpective uſe of the vote of credit, and excuſed the emperor, by referring to the ſtate of that monarch's affairs, Mr. Sheridan's amendment was at length put, and negatived, and the original reſolution was then carried. On the following evening, when the report had been read a ſecond time, Mr. Grey again propoſed the amendment ſuggeſted by Mr. Sheridan; but with no better ſucceſs, it being rejected without a diviſion.

In the Lords, the Duke of Bedford objected to the addreſs, as Sir W. Pulteney had done in the Commons, on the ground that the words "*continuing* aid to the emperor" ſeemed to imply an approbation of what the miniſter had done. Lord Grenville, however, denied that it was introduced for any ſuch purpoſe, and though he defended the private remittance of aid in certain caſes, he allowed that, whenever it could be done conſiſtently with the public ſafety, parliament ought to be previouſly apprized, and its conſent obtained.

The majority of the taxes propoſed by Mr. Pitt did not occaſion any debate, or even remark. The tax on canal navigation was the only one which excited oppoſition. It was repeatedly objected to, as highly impolitic, by ſeveral members, and, at length, towards the cloſe of the ſeſſion, was abandoned by the chancellor of the exchequer, though not without much reluctance, and many efforts to retain it. He likewiſe gave up, for the preſent, the projected ſtamp-duty on the conveyance of parcels, on account of the difficulty of arranging the details.

In the courſe of the few converſations which took place, relative to the new taxes, complaints were more than once made, that the officers had already begun to levy the duties, though the bills had not yet received the ſanction of the legiſlature. It was anſwered, from the miniſterial ſide, that the levy was not ordered by government, and had been made by miſtake. This, however, did not ſeem to be quite ſatisfactory to ſome of the members in oppoſition, who remarked that the ſame circumſtance had occurred in the year before, and that it was an invaſion of the privileges of the houſe. It certainly does appear that, probably with a view to gain favour by their readineſs, the officers of the cuſtoms had, in more than one inſtance, diſplayed an indecent haſte to thruſt their hands into the pockets of the public,

public, without having previouſly been inveſted with legal authority.

In the houſe of commons the terms of the loan, advantageous as they were deemed by the miniſters, did not eſcape without cenſure: but that cenſure was not followed up by any proceeding. The caſe was different in the houſe of lords. On the order of the day being read for going into a committee on the loan bill, the Duke of Norfolk moved that "inſtructions ſhould be given to the committee, to receive a clauſe, impowering the lords of the treaſury, to delay the payment of the capital of each ſubſcriber, after the termination of the war, till ſuch time as the three per cent. conſols ſhould be 75." The rate of intereſt he thought much too high. This, however, was not the point on which he moſt inſiſted. His argument was principally directed to ſhew the dangerous conſequences which might ariſe from allowing the ſubſcribers to call in their ſtock, and be paid in money, if they choſe, at the expiration of three years. Even ſuppoſing peace now to take place, the nation might in three years be engaged in a new war, and what a calamitous predicament it would be placed in, if the ſubſcribers ſhould then inſiſt on receiving the whole of their ſtock in ready ſpecie! This was a poſſible caſe, and it, therefore, behoved their lordſhips to guard againſt it. While he was on this ſubject, he alſo embraced the opportunity of enquiring whether the preſent loan was all that would be wanted for the ſervice of the year.

The motion was oppoſed by lord Grenville, who pleaded the great improbability that perſons, ſo zealous and patriotic as the ſubſcribers had proved themſelves to be, would ever think of diſtreſſing their country by inſiſting on payment in ſpecie. With reſpect to the queſtion whether any further ſupplies would be wanted, he gave ſuch an anſwer as, without expreſſing any thing poſitively, was calculated to induce a belief that the ſum now called for would be ſufficient for the purpoſe.

It was replied, by the Duke of Norfolk, that avarice and ſelf-intereſt were too probable, and indeed too prevalent, to allow of any truſt being placed in the circumſtance on which Lord Grenville grounded his confidence; that, in fact, no violent zeal for the country could be diſcovered in the ſubſcribers, who had obtained a rate of intereſt ſuperior to that which they could have obtained in any other manner; and that, conſequently, proviſion ought to be made againſt an event which might poſſibly occur.

On the queſtion being put, the motion of his Grace was negatived, without a diviſion.

When the motion was made for the third reading of the bill, his Grace again roſe to move another clauſe of amendment. He denied that the readineſs with which the loan had been filled was any proof of zeal, and he entered into a calculation to ſhew that the lenders had exacted ſuch intereſt as in any other caſe would have amounted to groſs uſury. Such conduct was, however, defenſible in the monied intereſt, as it was called; but he thought it highly indecorous in men of rank and diſtinction. In times, like this, of public exigency, thoſe who had money to ſpare, and were eager to ſubſcribe it, ought to do ſo

without receiving a bonus. As a teſt, therefore, of the actual zeal of each ſubſcriber, he moved "that the caſhier of the bank be empowered to call upon each contributor or ſubſcriber to the loan, to take the ſum ſubſcribed by him without the premium of twelve and a half per cent. and intereſt for his money advanced at five per cent. And that he be empowered to contract with each contributor to that effect, at the time of the firſt payment; and that a liſt of the names of the perſons ſo acceding, ſhall be made out and laid before both houſes of parliament."

This amendment alſo was oppoſed by Lord Grenville, who warmly vindicated the monied intereſt, the loan-holders, and the terms of the loan; declared that he did not believe there were more than two perſons in the country who were of the ſame ſentiments as his Grace; and aſked why thoſe who thought the rate of intereſt too high had not come forward, and offered the money on more reaſonable terms.

Dextrouſly availing himſelf of the contradiction contained in the ſpeech of Lord Grenville, his Grace replied that two good reaſons might be given why others had not come forward to offer the loan at a lower intereſt. There was no time, and, had there been time, no two perſons could pretend to furniſh eighteen millions of money. His opinion reſpecting the loan he declared to be unchanged by all that had been urged in its favour; and in this opinion the Duke of Bedford ſtrongly expreſſed his entire concurrence.

The queſtion was then put, and the amendment was negatived without a diviſion.

CHAP. V.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer moves the appointment of a Committee, to enquire into the financial ſtate of the nation, Debate on the queſtion whether the Committee ſhould be appointed by ballot, Motion made by Mr. Sheridan to add Mr. Fox to the Committee. It is negatived. Mr. Harriſon moves to enquire whether ſome reduction cannot be effected in Sinecures Places, Penſions, and uſeleſs Offices. The Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr. Windham oppoſe the motion, and inſiſt on the neceſſity of Sinecures. Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan ſupport the motion. Altercation between Mr. Fox and Mr. Roſe. Dr. Laurence and Mr. Serjeant Adair oppoſe the motion, as not being ſufficiently ſpecific. It is negatived by a large majority. Mr. Pitt is compelled to bring forward a ſecond Budget. His regret on this occaſion. Statement of the Supplies. Of the Ways and Means. Terms of the Loan. They are confeſſed by Mr. Pitt to be unfavourable. He intimates that ſome allowance muſt be made to the holders of the Loyalty Loan. New Taxes propoſed. Mr. Fox replies with much ſeverity, and predicts that more will be called for. Mr. Grey accuſes the Chancellor of the Exchequer of having miſapplied a ſum of money. Tax on Newſpapers oppoſed by Mr. Sheridan. The Chancellor of the Exchequer abandons certain Taxes, and propoſes others. He moves a Loan to the Emperor. It is oppoſed by Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and others. The Emperor having made peace, the Loan is dropped.

dropped. Mr. Pitt brings forward a reſolution to indemnify the loſerſon the Loyalty Loan. Language of the Bankers. The reſolution is ſtrongly oppoſed by Mr. Dent and others, but is at length carried. It is again vigorouſly oppoſed, on the ſecond reading, by Mr. Sheridan. The Speaker decides that thoſe who are intereſted ought not to vote. The reſolution is carried by a majority of only one; and, therefore, Mr. Pitt declines acting on it. Marriage Portion of 80,000l. voted to the Princeſs Royal. Remarks of Mr. Curwen. Vote of Credit paſſed for half a million.

IN the preſent perplexing and embarraſſed ſtate of financial affairs, and amidſt daily calls for an inveſtigation of them, the chancellor of the exchequer deemed it neceſſary to adopt ſome meaſure of enquiry, which might give ſatisfaction to the country. He, therefore, reſolved to propoſe the appointment of a committee, conſiſting of fifteen members, which ſhould be authorized to enter into an immediate and thorough examination of all the branches of public income and expenditure. Accordingly, on the 10th of March, he moved, as a preliminary ſtep, "that it be referred to a ſecret committee to examine into the total amount of the public debt, with the intereſt due thereon, and all public charges, as they ſtood on the 5th of January, 1797; diſtinguiſhing what part aroſe ſince the year 1793, and the produce of the four years preceding; and alſo the produce of the ſeveral taxes impoſed for defraying the charges of each year within the ſeveral periods, and to report the ſame with their opinion thereon to the houſe. And likewiſe to examine into, and ſtate the amount of any unfunded debt outſtanding on the 5th of January, 1797; and alſo to calculate the total amount of the expences incurred for the year 1798, as far as they can be made up, and to ſtate the ſame, as it ſhall appear to them, to the houſe, together with the proviſions that have been made for defraying the ſame." This motion was put and carried, without exciting any obſervation.

When, however, the miniſter moved that the committee ſhould be choſen by way of ballot, a vehement oppoſition was made to the propoſal by Mr. Sheridan, and by others of the ſame party. Mr. Sheridan, as on a recent occaſion of a like kind, which will be mentioned in the next chapter, was the moſt prominent of the ſpeakers. It was, he ſaid, a notorious fact, that a ballot was the means employed by the miniſter for packing a jury of his friends, to make a report on his conduct; and, therefore, in defence of its own dignity, the houſe ought to ſhew that it would no longer tolerate ſuch a ſyſtem of trickery. The practice was vindicated by Mr. Dundas, as one which had been long eſtabliſhed, and was perfectly innocent: but this vindication had no other effect than to draw down on him, from Mr. Sheridan, an abundance of ſarcaſm and perſonal remark. In order to do away with an objection which had been urged, that ballot liſts were circulated by the miniſters, and were always adopted, Mr. Pollen moved that the houſe ſhould now proceed to the ballot. But this was oppoſed by ſeveral miniſterial members, as taking the houſe by ſurpriſe; and on a diviſion, it was

rejected by 123 voices againſt 40. The nomination was conſequently deferred. On a ſubſequent day, Mr. Sheridan made a motion that Mr. Fox ſhould be added to the committee. It was, however, unſucceſsful; being rejected by 148 noes againſt 75 ayes. The final reſult of the labours of this committee was a long ſeries of luminous and valuable reports, accompanied by a vaſt body of evidence, and containing numerous wiſe and beneficial ſuggeſtions, on every branch of the national finances.

It has been ſeen, in the volume for 1794, that a motion againſt penſions and ſinecure places was made in the laſt parliament, by Mr. Harriſon, and was rejected by a conſiderable majority. The pecuniary difficulties under which the nation now laboured appeared to him to render neceſſary, and perhaps to afford ſome chance of ſucceſs to, a propoſition of a ſimilar kind. On the 13th of March, therefore, he moved as a reſolution, "that the extent of the ſupplies voted to government, ſince the commencement of the preſent war, having cauſed ſo heavy an increaſe of taxes, it is the duty of this houſe to inquire whether ſome relief to the burthens of the people, or proviſion for further expence, may not be obtained by the reduction of uſeleſs places, ſinecure offices, exorbitant fees, and other modes of retrenchment in the expenditure of the public money."

This motion was ſeconded by Lord John Ruſſel in a ſpeech which, wandering into other topics, had little reference to the ſubject of it; and was warmly ſupported by Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Fox, Mr. Baſtard, and Mr. Tierney. It was oppoſed by the chancellor of the exchequer, and, with ſtill more ardour, by Mr. Windham.

It was contended by the honourable mover that, at a period when profuſion ought to be rigidly guarded againſt, the miniſters were ſquandering in an unexampled manner the treaſures of the public, for the ſole purpoſe of giving ſecurity to their own tottering power. In proportion as the danger preſſed on them, they extended more widely their prodigality and corruption. New boards were eſtabliſhed, new places were created; efficient holders of offices were removed and penſioned to make way for the friends of the miniſters, and, as if thoſe miniſters were afraid that they might be followed by others more virtuous than themſelves, not only were the vacant ſinecures ſeized with avidity, but the reverſions of them were granted, ſo as to preclude the poſſibility of relieving the people from any part of their burthens. It was to the boundleſs patronage which was placed in the hands of the miniſter, that he attributed all the calamities of the country, and he declared his conviction that, if the monſtrous ſyſtem of influence were not corrected by efforts within the walls of the houſe, it would be tumultuouſly reformed from without. He avowed, however, that the purpoſe of his motion was not merely to obtain a retrenchment on theſe heads, but likewiſe to bring to the notice of parliament the total diſregard of expenditure in every department. On this point he dwelt for a conſiderable time, and referred to a multiplicity of inſtances, to prove the reality and extent of that extravagance which was the theme of his cenſure.

A direct

A direct opposition to a measure of retrenchment did not, perhaps, appear to the chancellor of the exchequer to be politic, and he, therefore, adopted a less offensive mode of getting rid of Mr. Harrison's motion. Professing the highest respect for economy, he pleaded, in the first place, that the committee which had been recently appointed, would be instructed to inquire into the means of diminishing the public expenditure; and that, consequently, as far as regarded the general question of saving, the present motion was unnecessary. While he was arguing on this head, an inadvertence of language escaped from him, which was eagerly seized on by his vigilant opponents. "The committee," said he, "which *I* appointed;" and this expression was triumphantly adduced by Mr. Sheridan, as an abundant proof that all that he had so lately objected to the mode of chusing committees by ballot was strictly correct; it being now confessed, by the minister himself, that such committees were the mere creatures of his will.

Entering into a view of the various offices of the state, Mr. Pitt now contended that no abuses existed, and that there was no reason to believe that any saving could be accomplished. The necessary and efficient offices were not, he said, by any means too highly remunerated. The talents required in them were great, many of them were attended with considerable expence, and in none of them did the holders receive, perhaps, as much from the public, as they might have gained had they applied themselves with equal labour to the customary pursuits of life. There were, indeed, other offices, offices about the sovereign, which had fewer duties attached to them; but they were the remnants of former times, connected with the splendour of monarchy, and had been usual in all countries which were governed by monarchs. This custom had been interwoven into our constitution, and formed an appendage to our mixed government; not for the display of idle parade; not for the loose gratification of idle vanity; but produced by the manners of our ancestors, and continued for the dignified consistency of appearance in the king of a great and free people. Under this head he also chose to class sinecures, which, while he confessed them to be of a more invidious nature, he maintained were capable of being looked at with the eye of reason. He described them as affording provision and retreat for a life devoted to the public service; urged that no other mode of bestowing reward would be regarded as less obnoxious, or less liable to error; and finally asserted, that those which had been already bestowed were as sacred as freehold property, and could not be touched by Parliament, without its acting on principles which might serve full as well to justify the seizure of every other kind of property. In aid of this argument in defence of sinecures, Mr. Pitt reminded the house that the propriety of their existence had been recognized by Mr. Burke, in his celebrated measure of economical reform. To any practicable and proper saving he declared himself a friend; but, before the house could proceed to retrench and lop off, it must ascertain

tain whether, in reality, any particular offices were paid beyond the toil and responsibility attached to them; this would be done by the recently appointed committee; and he, therefore, moved to get rid, by the previous question, of Mr. Harrison's proposition.

Mr. Windham went still farther than the chancellor of the exchequer, and treated with alternate derision and asperity the motion before the house, which he considered as founded on gross error and monstrous doctrines. What resources, what funds, he asked, would it provide for the relief of the country? A few miserable savings and scrapings, the odds and ends of candles, cheese parings, and tattered rags and remnants, "a thing of shreds and patches!" This was the resource which it offered. For this, every sinecure place was to be abolished; or, in other words, public confidence was to be destroyed, the useful and the brave were to be deprived of their remuneration, and people were to be prevented in future from being as prompt and vigorous as they otherwise would be, on account of the insecurity and improbability of obtaining any recompence. Sinecures were necessary, as a provision for old age, talents, and public services. All that would be gained by their abolition would not be a farthing a head on the people in the metropolis. Those who argued against them ought to recollect where they were, and to talk like statesmen in parliament, and not as if they were haranguing a club in a pot-house. Their ideas were only fit to inflame the poor, and to purchase "mouth honour," and unworthy popularity. As to the emoluments of office, it was absurd to exclaim against them; they were honourably and hardly earned, and it would be the extreme of imprudence to look to men of fortune alone for the service of the public, even supposing them to possess ability and inclination, to the exclusion of less fortunate men of talent. Such had not been the principle of Mr. Burke in his plan of reform. In his opinion, Mr. Windham said, there was a close connection in reason, and a still closer one in fact, between the clamour against public offices and the confiscation of private property; and of this France afforded a striking proof. What service did a man do for his estate? Of the two species of property, added he, the place is the most secure, because the labourer is supposed "to be worthy of his hire," whereas the estate may have originated in abuse of power, or servility to a prince, and on that ground it might be alleged that the possessor and his family had enjoyed it long enough, and that it was now high time for it to revert to other claimants. He wound up his speech by justifying the department over which he presided, and declaring that it afforded no room for retrenchment, to which he added, that he firmly believed the same to be the case in every other branch of the national expenditure.

The assertions of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Windham were considered by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox, as being directly at variance with well known facts. The plea that the motion was useless because a committee of enquiry was already appointed, they treated as nugatory; it being quite certain, from the

the manner in which it had been choſen, that nothing ſatisfactory to the people would be effected by that committee. In anſwer to the argument, that no reform was neceſſary, they replied that, if a reform was neceſſary at the period when Mr. Burke's bill was paſſed, it was far more ſo now that ſuch an additional maſs had been created of patronage and emolument; and they did not forget, at the ſame time, to call to the recollection of their hearers, that Mr. Burke's plan had been only partially executed. That the direct ſaving would be ſmall was, they ſaid, no reaſon why the retrenchment ſhould not be made. But, in truth, it was not the direct ſaving which was the main object. But deſtroying influence, and thus ſecuring the independence of the Houſe of Commons, many millions would be ſaved to the country, which were now ſhameleſsly ſquandered. It was to this that the people looked, and they therefore warned the miniſter not to deceive himſelf, by ſuppoſing that the people were, as had been affirmed, indifferent to the fate of the motion which was now before the houſe. As to the ſplendour neceſſary for a court, which had been urged in behalf of ſome uſeleſs offices, they affirmed, that though ſplendour and dignity might, under certain circumſtances, be proper and becoming, yet, at a period like the preſent, when credit was fallen, when commerce was decaying, when the nation was almoſt cruſhed beneath an intolerable load of taxes, ſplendour then became an inſult to the people, and authority could only be retained by ſympathizing with, and participating in, the privations which were ſuffered by the community. That penſions were always granted as the reward of merit they poſitively denied. They had, on the contrary, been too often granted, merely becauſe the receivers of them had diſplayed their ſubſerviency to a faction. That ſome offices were even underpaid was, they ſaid, undoubtedly true; but could that be affirmed of the larger number? Aſſuredly it could not. As to ſinecures, they maintained that they had, in numerous inſtances, been beſtowed on perſons who had not the claim which is given by long, laborious, and inadequately paid ſervice; and, in proof of this, among other caſes, they quoted that of Mr. Roſe, on whoſe clerkſhip of the parliament, at a ſalary of 4000l. per annum, the reverſion of which he had obtained for his ſon, they commented with ſuch ſeverity as to occaſion a warm altercation between Mr. Roſe and Fox.

Dr. Laurence and Mr. Serjeant Adair objected to Mr. Harriſon's project, on the ground that it took for granted that which ought to be proved; that it did not clearly mark out the abuſes which it conſidered as a ſubject of complaint; and that thus it left the queſtion doubtful, whether it did not point to ſome defect in the conſtitution. Economy, they thought, ought to be ſtrictly obſerved, but they were of opinion that it was highly dangerous, by means of vague motions in favour of economy, to give the people an idea that there was ſomething radically wrong in the fabric of the ſtate. It was, Dr. Laurence obſerved, to put a ſtop to ſuch deluſions, and to diſpel the notions then afloat, reſpecting theo-

ries

ries and improvements in government, it was to lead the people from dangerous innovations to wholesome reforms, that Mr. Burke brought forward his plan in 1782. His plan was ſpecific, and fully explained; and it was to be regretted that the preſent motion was not equally explicit and defined.

The motion was alſo oppoſed by Mr. Roſe and Mr. Pollen, and ſupported by Mr. Baſtard and Mr. Tierney. On the queſtion being put the previous queſtion was carried by a majority of 92; the ayes being 169, the noes 77.

If in the preceding ſeſſion the chancellor of the exchequer had, as he then confeſſed, felt as a highly painful circumſtance the neceſſity of bringing forward a ſecond budget within the year, it muſt, under the increaſed difficulties of the country, have been doubly painful to him to be now compelled to have recourſe to the ſame meaſure. There was beſides, another and a powerful reaſon, which could not fail to render ſuch a ſtep ſtill more diſagreeable to his feelings. It afforded a triumph to his political opponents, who had repeatedly predicted that, heavy as were the burthens already impoſed, and poſitive as he was that a ſufficient proviſion was made by them for the public ſervice, he would, nevertheleſs be forced to aſk for additional ſupplies before the cloſe of the ſitting of parliament. The ſums voted having, however, proved to be woefully inadequate, he had no alternative but to propoſe a ſecond budget, which he accordingly did on the 26th of April.

In performing this taſk, the chancellor of the exchequer did not affect to conceal that it was to him a ſource of diſappointment and regret. But, at the ſame time, he declared that he thought it his duty to come forward with a firm and manly ſpirit, in which he truſted that he ſhould have the concurrence of the houſe and of the country, to convince our enemy that, whatever might be our embarraſſments, we were reſolved to carry on the conteſt to the laſt, rather than ſubmit to haughty and diſhonourable terms of peace.

After having adverted to the firſt report of the finance committee, which, he ſaid, had materially diminiſhed the labour of preparing his plan, he proceeded to detail the various items of expence, for which proviſion was to be made. The total, including the ſums already voted, amounted to nearly forty-three millions, an amount which, he candidly confeſſed, bore a moſt formidable aſpect.

Navy	£12,661,000
Army	6,600,000
Army extraordinaries	3,387,000
Treaſury bills and army warrants	2,088,000
Army extraordinaries for 1797	4,000,000
Ordnance	1,623,000
Ordnance, extraordinaries, and barracks	737,000
Miſcellaneous ſervices	929,000
Carried up	£32,025,000

Advances

Brought up	£32,025,000
Advances to the merchants of Grenada	600,000
Imperial loan	500,000
Annual addition to the finking fund	200,000
Deficiency of land and malt	350,000
Repayment to the Bank for advances to the conſolidated fund of 1795	1,054,000
Ditto for 1796	1,350,000
Further deficiencies of land and malt	900,000
Deficiency of the conſolidated fund	2,177,000
To diſcharge exchequer bills iſſued on the credit of the conſolidated fund for 1796	1,110,000
Vote of credit for 1797	2,500,000
Total of ſupplies	£42,786,000

The ways and means to cover this vaſt ſupply, were as follows, comprehending, of courſe, the ſums which were voted on the firſt budget.

The land and malt	£2,750,000
Surplus of grants	420,000
Loyalty loan, according to the firſt budget	18,000,000
Lottery	200,000
Exchequer bills	3,000,000
Growing produce of the conſolidated fund, by eſtimation	2,000,000
The part of the new loan applied to Great Britain only	16,500,000
Total of ways and means	£42,870,000

Mr. Pitt then ſtated to the committee the extent and terms of the new loan which he had negotiated. He had, he ſaid, agreed proviſionally for eighteen millions, of which a million and a half was for the ſervice of Ireland. That kingdom was to be at the charge of raiſing this latter ſum, and was to provide the intereſt. His bargain was certain for 14,500,000l. that being the ſum which would be wanted for England and Ireland; and conditional for 3,500,000l. that being the ſum which, on a future day, he ſhould propoſe to the committee to advance to the emperor, and this he thought might be done with perfect ſafety, and with the moſt beneficial effect. With regard to the terms on which this loan was raiſed, he lamented that they were not favourable, although he had ſtruggled hard to procure ſuch. The bonus was equal to 6l. 17s. per cent., a great and improvident bonus, he owned, for the public to give, but which, he was ſorry to ſay, he had found it impoſſible to prevent. Including charges of management and redemption fund, the intereſt would be 8l. 7s. 6d. per cent. Before he quitted this ſubject he gave notice that, as the ſubſcribers to the loyalty loan had ſuffered a heavy loſs, it would, on a ſub-

a ſubſequent day, be proper to conſider the propriety of affording them ſome relief.

To pay the intereſt of the loan, and of a floating navy debt of three millions and a half, and to make up for the deficiency occaſioned by relinquiſhing ſome of the taxes which had been propoſed before Chriſtmas, it was now neceſſary to raiſe yearly 1,284,000l. by new impoſts. This the miniſter purpoſed to accompliſh in the following manner:

The conſolidated duties on ſtamps in general, doubled	£320,000
On bills of exchange	40,000
Tax on property transferred by private contract, at 4d. per pound	170,000
Copies of deeds to be given in evidence to be ſtampt	50,000
On the probates of wills above the ſum of 300l.	40,000
An additional duty of 1½d. upon the ſtamp of each newſpaper	114,000
Increaſed duty on advertiſements	20,000
On attorneys' certificates	45,000
On ornamented plate	30,000
On inſurances from fire	35,000
Duty equal to the tolls on all carriages paſſing turnpikes	450,000
	£1,284,000

Each of theſe articles, Mr. Pitt, as uſual, introduced by a brief explanation of his reaſon for believing that it was capable of bearing an increaſe of taxation, or of being made the object of a tax. His argument reſpecting the propriety of increaſing the ſtamp on newſpapers gave riſe, as he expected, to ſome animadverſions. The additional duty which he propoſed was three-halfpence each paper, and he conſidered it as perfectly fair, and of a kind to be productive; newſpapers being an article of luxury, which was ſought after by the public with aſtoniſhing avidity, and was therefore not likely to be at all diminiſhed in ſale.

The heavy call which was now made on the public purſe, drew from Mr. Fox a ſpeech of no ſmall ſeverity. Deluſive, he ſaid, as were the former financial calculations of the miniſter, they were far exceeded in deluſion by his ſtatements of this day, which might truly be affirmed to be unprecedented in the hiſtory of Finance. He had himſelf, he reminded his hearers, clearly expoſed the fallacy of Mr. Pitt's former ſtatement, that the loan provided by the firſt budget would be an ample ſupply for the exigencies of the country. But the miniſter to day pleaded that he had experienced diſappointments. What unforeſeen diſappointment could he, Mr. Fox aſked, have experienced, in this ſhort time, to render neceſſary this unparalleled application? Mr. Fox then proceeded to comment on the report of the finance committee, and maintained that they had rated far too high the produce of the taxes. Inſtead of a deficiency of 210,000*l.* which was the eſtimate made by the committee, there was, he affirmed, a deficiency of no leſs than 470,000*l.*

They

They had alſo calculated at too low a rate the expences of the naval ſervice, which, inſtead of being 12,661,000*l.* would extend to 14,161,000*l.* In fact, notwithſtanding all the burthens recently impoſed, and thoſe which we were on the point of impoſing, there ſtill would be a million more to be raiſed. On the return of peace the revenue would be equal to the whole rental of the kingdom. He objected ſtrongly to paſſing an immediate vote of 200,000*l.* to the emperor, which Mr. Pitt had declared his intention of moving that evening, and he earneſtly recommended that peace ſhould be obtained, it being the only remedy which could be of ſervice to the country, in its preſent depreſſed and exhauſted condition.

The chancellor of the exchequer was alſo accuſed, by Mr. Grey, of having miſapplied a ſum of 1,054,000*l.* which had been voted, in the preceding year, to repay a part of the money that was due to the bank. It was anſwered by the miniſter and by Mr. Steele, that the ſum under diſpute had never been ſpecifically appropriated by parliament to any ſuch purpoſe as was pretended, and that conſequently there was not the leaſt foundation for the charge which was thus unjuſtly and intemperately brought forward. Mr. Grey, who was joined by Mr. Fox, ſtill, however, maintained, that the money was underſtood at the time to be intended for the repayment of the bank, and that Mr. Pitt's defence conſiſted of mere ſpecial pleading and comments on form.

The reſolutions were carried without a diviſion, with the exception of that relative to the duty on newſpapers, which was oppoſed by Mr. Sheridan, as ſtriking ſeverely at the liberty of the preſs. Newſpapers had, he ſaid, been denominated a luxury, but was the diſmal catalogue of miſery and diſtreſs which they now almoſt conſtantly contained, any luxury to thoſe by whom they were read? The fact was, that the tax was not a meaſure of revenue. It was meant to deprive the lower claſſes of people of the ſole means which they poſſeſſed of obtaining political knowledge.

The reſolution was, nevertheleſs, carried by 151 ayes againſt 43 noes.

On the following evening, when the reſolutions were read a ſecond time, Mr. Fox repeated his predictions that ſtill further ſupplies would be wanted. The reſolutions were then agreed to, and bills ordered to be brought in for carrying them into effect.

Of the various taxes, the only one which met with oppoſition was that which levied an additional three-halfpence on newſpapers. It was ſeveral times ſtrongly cenſured, and Mr. Sheridan once divided the houſe, but was left in a minority, on the motion, that the impoſt on newſpapers ſhould be left out of the ſtamp-duty act, and made the ſubject of a ſeparate bill, in order to afford an opportunity for more extended diſcuſſion. The bill finally paſſed in its original form.

Towards the cloſe of the ſeſſion, the chancellor of the exchequer, in a committee of ſupply, on the 30th of June, ſtated his intention of relinquiſhing the toll-duty, the parcel-duty, and the duty upon advertiſements. To make up the deficiency occaſioned by the abandonment of theſe taxes, and ſome modifications

modifications of others, the whole amounting to 660,000*l.* he propoſed to lay a tax on watches and clocks, and on horſes employed in agriculture, and to increaſe the exiſting cuſtoms on pepper, coals, and other articles, on which no ſpecial duty was yet impoſed. The produce of theſe duties, with an unexpected ſurplus of 182,000*l.* which had accrued in the exciſe of the Scotch diſtilleries, would, he ſuppoſed, be adequate to the purpoſe for which they were intended. To theſe impoſts he ſubſequently added an increaſe to the ſervants and horſes kept for pleaſure; and this he did to compenſate for the tax on inland navigation, which, as we have before-mentioned, he at length gave up with infinite reluctance.

Some objections were made to the agricultural horſe-tax, as preſſing injuriouſly on agriculture; and to the clock and watch-tax, as being likely to diminiſh the manufacture of watches, chains, and trinkets, to a very conſiderable extent. Both the taxes were, however, adopted.

In purſuance of the deſign which the chancellor of the exchequer had announced when he opened the ſecond budget, he now brought down a meſſage from his majeſty, recommending the commons to guarantee a loan for the emperor, to be applied in making good the advances already made to that ſovereign, and to defray the amount of farther advances to the extent of not more than two millions. This meſſage was taken into conſideration on the firſt of May, when Mr. Pitt ſtrenuouſly contended for the propriety of giving further aid to his imperial majeſty, and aſſerted that it might be done without producing any bad effect on the finances of the country; the courſe of exchange having recently become more favourable, and many of thoſe cauſes having ceaſed which had occaſioned the draining of our ſpecie. He therefore moved the neceſſary reſolution.

April 29.

This meaſure was oppoſed by Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Curwen, and others. They affirmed, that as the emperor had now concluded an armiſtice, and was not in a condition to continue the war, there was every probability that he would immediately conclude a peace with the French republic; and that, therefore, the houſe ought to wait till it knew the reſult, which it eaſily might in the courſe of a few days; and they poſitively denied that the purpoſed remittances could be ſent without being productive of great miſchief to our own intereſts, as they would certainly prevent the bank from accompliſhing the reſtoration of its credit. Mr. Fox conſequently moved that the chairman ſhould quit the chair.

It was, on the other ſide, inſiſted, by the chancellor of the exchequer, and ſir W. Pulteney, that the loan could not be productive of injury; that every thing ought to be done for ſo faithful an ally as the emperor; that there was no reaſon to believe that a peace would be directly ſigned; that, at all events, the determination of England to aid her ally would have a favourable influence on the terms, which was, in reality, ſo much gained for herſelf; and that the vote could do no harm, as it would be in the power of the miniſters to ſtop the ſuccour

ſuccour ſhould news ſuddenly arrive that peace was concluded.

Mr. Fox's motion was negatived by a majority of 135; the noes being 193, the ayes 58.

Intelligence of the ſignature of the preliminary treaty having, however, been received, the miniſter gave notice, on the 5th of May, that it was not his intention to perſiſt in the plan of making further advances to his imperial majeſty.

We have ſeen that, in opening his ſecond budget, Mr. Pitt intimated his intention of propoſing to give ſome relief to the ſubſcribers of that loan which bore the lofty name of the loyalty loan. He now came forward to carry that intention into effect. Even before the budget was opened, a meeting of the bankers had been held, to decide upon the amount of the ſum for which they ſhould aſk; and, with no ſmall violence done to truth, they had come to a reſolution, that the ſubſcribers were entitled to relief; to which they added, that fifteen ſhillings long annuity would be an adequate compenſation. It was, nevertheleſs, at length agreed, that the committee appointed by this meeting ſhould be left at liberty to uſe their own diſcretion in negociating with the miniſter. Mr. Pitt, however, did not think fit to preſs their claims, as they were pleaſed to imagine them to be, to the full extent of their wiſhes. He only propoſed to the houſe to grant them ſeven ſhillings and ſixpence per cent. long annuity, which would have impoſed on the country an annual burthen of between ſixty and ſeventy thouſand pounds. Well knowing that the argument of the right of the ſubſcribers to be indemnified, could not be ſuſtained for a moment, and was, indeed, only calculated to excite feelings of an indignant kind, the chancellor of the exchequer explicitly diſavowed it, and reſted his appeal to the houſe on the ground of generoſity and of policy. It was as a reward for the zeal of the ſubſcribers, and as a ſtimulus for future exertion, that he recommended the adoption of his propoſal.

May 31.

The miniſter is ſaid to have brought forward this queſtion with much reluctance, and only in conſequence of the daily importunities of the committee appointed by the bankers. He probably anticipated the ſtrenuous oppoſition which was now made. Not only thoſe who were conſtantly hoſtile to him, but even ſeveral of thoſe who uſually voted with him, expreſſed their diſguſt at ſuch a waſte of the public money. Mr. Dent, himſelf a ſubſcriber, was the firſt to oppoſe the motion of Mr. Pitt, and to move that the chairman ſhould leave the chair without putting the reſolution. He conſidered the claimants, for the moſt part, as merely ſpeculators, who expected to gain, and who ought to abide by their bargain; and he declared that incalculable evil might ariſe from the ſtep which the chancellor of the exchequer ſuggeſted; as, in time to come, it would not fail to be pleaded as a precedent. Had there been fifteen per cent. gain, inſtead of loſs, on the loan, he did not believe that any part of the profit would have been offered to the public. This application appeared to him, he ſaid, to wear very much the aſpect of a job; and he ſeverely reprobated the conduct of thoſe who, by deceiving the

the miniſter, had prevailed on him unwarily to lend it the ſanction of his ſupport.

In theſe ſentiments Mr. Dent was joined by Mr. W. Smith and Mr. Tierney, who alſo indulged in bitter ſarcaſm on that loyalty which ſhrunk from ſuſtaining any pecuniary loſs. What title, they deſired to know, had ſuch men to the character of patriots? It was a diſgrace to the name of patriot to confer it on them. Yet to theſe people it was meant to make a ſacrifice of no leſs than a million; for to ſo much, at fourteen years purchaſe, would the annuity amount. At leaſt it is to be hoped, ſaid Mr. Tierney, that thoſe preſent who are perſonally intereſted will act like gentlemen, and abſtain from voting. Obſervations ſcarcely leſs ſtrong were made by Mr. Joliffe, Mr. Baſtard, and many other members.

To all this it was merely replied, by the chancellor of the exchequer, that the ſubſcribers had ſome title in equity to be indemnified, becauſe they had lent their money under the idea that no other loan would be contracted during the year. The ſame argument was uſed by Mr. Morland. It was not, however, pretended that any engagement not to raiſe a ſecond loan had been entered into by the miniſter; and the experience of the paſt had rendered it nearly certain that a ſecond would be wanted.

On a diviſion, Mr. Dent's motion was negatived by 40 voices againſt 26. The original reſolution was then carried.

As ſtrong ſuſpicions had been entertained that, in caſe of the vote paſſing, the real ſufferers would not be thoſe who would benefit by it, the liſt of the original ſubſcribers was ordered to be laid on the table. This not being thought ſufficient, a motion was made that it ſhould be printed. The motion was oppoſed by ſome perſons, on the ground that it was incurring an unneceſſary expence. To this it was anſwered, that ſuch language was inſufferable; that thoſe who uſed it ſtrained at gnats while they ſwallowed camels; and that it could not be borne that men who were voting a million into their own pockets ſhould pretend to ſtickle at ten pounds. The printing of the liſt was at length acceded to.

When the reſolution was read a ſecond time, it was again reſiſted, as ſtrenuouſly as before. Sir John Sinclair endeavoured, at the outſet, to get rid of it on a mere queſtion of form. Mr. Sheridan, however, who took the moſt prominent part in this debate, expreſſed his hope that the buſineſs would be allowed to proceed; as he ſhould, he ſaid, be ſorry to ſee a caſe of ſuch rank depravity, ſo iniquitous a job, diſmiſſed on a mere point of form, without the cenſure which it merited. Sir John Sinclair accordingly withdrew his objection. The true ſecret of this affair Mr. Sheridan conceived to be, that the miniſter had, by this loan, loſt much of his popularity with the monied men, and he was now ſtriving to regain it at the public expence. The want of delicacy which, on the preceding evening, ſeveral intereſted perſons had diſplayed by voting in favour of the meaſure, he condemned in the ſevereſt terms; and he warned them that prudence, no leſs than decorum, called upon them to forbear this night from acting in the ſame manner. It was, he urged, abſolute madneſs

neſs in them to render the Houſe of Commons ſtill more unpopular, by ſo mean and ſelfiſh an action.

Theſe obſervations had the effect of inducing Mr. Manning, who was one of the ſubſcribers, to appeal to the ſpeaker, for an opinion on the propriety of his giving a vote. The deciſion of the ſpeaker was, that it would not be proper for him to vote, unleſs he conſented to relinquiſh his intereſt. A converſation of ſome length took place on this deciſion, in the courſe of which Mr. Windham made a rather petulant attack on the motives of thoſe who were adverſe to the cauſe of the ſubſcribers. For this he was reprehended by Mr. Baſtard; who alſo remarked, that, if the rule laid down by the ſpeaker had been known before, the reſolution would have been thrown out in the firſt inſtance; the majority for it being only fourteen, which was exactly the number of intereſted members who voted in its favour.

Little was ſaid in behalf of the reſolution. Mr. Pitt maintained that it was not without precedent; ſomething of the ſame kind having been done in 1759. He did not, however, ſeem to rely ſo much on this, as on the policy of the meaſure, which, he was of opinion, would far overbalance any pecuniary burden that it might occaſion.

On a diviſion, the reſolution was carried by a majority of only one; the ayes being 36, the noes 35. The chancellor of the exchequer then declared that he would bring in a bill, to carry the reſolution into effect: but he appears, on reflection, to have diſcovered that it would not be adviſable to proceed any farther, and the buſineſs was accordingly dropped.

The marriage of the princeſs royal with the hereditary prince of Wirtemberg, which took place on the eighteenth of May, gave occaſion to a meſſage from his Majeſty, expreſſing his hope that the parliament would enable him to grant ſuch a portion as would be ſuitable to the honour and dignity of the crown. A ſum of eighty thouſand pounds was in conſequence moved for, by the chancellor of the exchequer, and was voted by the commons. Mr. Curwen was the ſole ſpeaker; and, though he declined to oppoſe the vote, he declared, that, burthened as the nation was, he thought it would have been productive of good effects, had the king himſelf provided for this marriage, inſtead of calling upon the people. The ſame opinion was alſo expreſſed by other members, in ſubſequent debates upon pecuniary ſubjects.

Among the lateſt financial acts of the ſeſſion was the paſſing a vote of credit, to the amount of half a million. It was ſtated by Mr. Pitt, that this ſum was deſigned to be applied to ſeveral important purpoſes. Somewhat above two hundred thouſand pounds it was in contemplation to advance to our old and faithful ally, the queen of Portugal, to enable her to defend her dominions againſt any attack from the common enemy. From the remainder would likewiſe be defrayed a few charges not yet certified, for the prince of Condé's army, and alſo the expence of diſbanding a part of the corps in the Weſt Indies, to which ſome compenſation ought in juſtice to be allowed. The vote was paſſed without any objection.

CHAP. VI.

History of, and Debates upon, the Stoppage of Cash Payments at the Bank. Presumed Causes of the Stoppage. Correspondence between the Bank and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Bank Directors apply to Mr. Pitt, to know how long they may go on paying Cash. Answer of the Minister. Order of Council issued on the Twenty-sixth of February. Meeting of the Merchants and Bankers to support the Credit of the Bank. The Order of Council is communicated to the Parliament. Motions in the Two Houses to prevent further Remittances to the Emperor till the Order of Council had been enquired into. The Motions are negatived in both Houses. Lord Grenville moves for a Secret and Select Committee to enquire into the Debts and Funds of the Bank. Debate upon the Subject. The Ministers attacked for their Conduct. Violent Language of the Duke of Bedford. He moves an Amendment. Speech of the Marquis of Lansdowne. The Amendment is negatived, and the Motion carried. Debate in the Commons. Mr. Pitt moves for a Secret Committee. Long and eloquent Speech of Mr. Fox, calling for a thorough Enquiry, and severely censuring the Minister. He is joined by some Members not usually in Opposition. Arguments of the Opposition Members. An Amendment moved by Mr. Sheridan. Reply of Mr. Pitt. The Amendment negatived, and the original Motion carried. Resolution for Enquiry moved by Mr. Fox, and agreed to. Altercation on the Appointment of a Committee. Speech of Mr. Fox. Condemnation of the Mode by Ballot. Speech of Mr. Pitt. Of Mr. Sheridan. Defence of the Ballot. Motion of Mr. Fox negatived. Committee by Ballot resolved upon. Bill to authorize the Bank to issue small Notes. Mr. Wilberforce Bird brings in a Bill to authorize Bankers and Manufacturers to issue small Notes. It is agreed to. Reports brought up from Lords' and Commons' Committees. Substance of them. The Duke of Bedford moves for a Select Committee of Enquiry. A Secret Committee by Ballot proposed by Lord Grenville. Debate on the Subject. Lord Grenville's Motion is agreed to. Papers moved for in the House of Commons by Members in Opposition. Observations of Mr. Sheridan. The Chancellor of the Exchequer moves for a Bill to continue the Restriction. Speech of Mr. Fox. Opinions of the Solicitor General on the Bank and other Subjects. Animadversions upon them by Mr. Sheridan. Motion of Mr. Sheridan, for repaying the Advances made to the Government by the Bank. The previous Question moved by Mr. Pitt. Speech of Mr. Fox. He deprecates an Extension of Paper Circulation, and a forced Paper Currency. Reply of Mr. Sheridan to Mr. Pitt. The previous Question is carried.

IMPORTANT and spirit-stirring as were the topics of taxes, loans and subsidies, there arose this session a subject of debate, which, by its portentous magnitude, reduced all others to comparative

comparative insignificance. Its occurrence formed, indeed, the commencement of a new era in the financial history of the country. Established somewhat more than a century since, and at a stormy period, the bank of England had, at its outset, to contend with many difficulties. It had, nevertheless, not only surmounted those difficulties, but had also resisted the shock of repeated menaces of a French descent on our coasts, of two actual rebellions, one of them sufficiently formidable, and of a desperate and protracted riot in the capital; and had, at length, so firmly rooted itself, that its stability was grown into a common proverb and object of comparison in the mouths of the people. This state of things was now, however, to undergo a sudden and alarming change, and an experiment was to be tried, of the most perilous and doubtful kind.

The event to which we allude was the stoppage of cash payments at the bank of England; an event the probability of which had not, perhaps, been contemplated by a single person in the country, excepting by the ministers and those concerned in the management of the bank affairs. A variety of causes concurred to produce it. Of these one of the most prominent was undoubtedly the large drain of the precious metals which had taken place, in consequence of the subsidies to foreign powers, and the vast importations of grain to cover the deficiencies of our harvest, and of naval stores and other articles, for the service of the state *. So early as the middle of January, 1795, the court of directors began to fear that the calls of the government upon the bank for assistance would be productive of embarrassment; and they, therefore, requested that the minister would arrange his finances for the year in such a manner as not to rely upon any aid from them, beyond what they had already promised. Driven by his necessities, however, Mr. Pitt was compelled, from time to time, to call for further advances, which were generally granted, but never without additional remonstrances, and additional declarations that the bank could not persevere in acting upon the present system. In the meanwhile the quantity of cash and bullion in the bank continued to diminish; so that between the month of June 1795, and that of September 1796, very nearly two thirds of it had been drawn forth. There remained, nevertheless, at the latter period, a sum of two millions and a half, and as this had been the amount, with little fluctuation, for some months, it would probably have at least been kept at this level, and the bank might have proceeded as usual, had not a new and powerful cause supervened, to drain away, with accelerated rapidity, that portion of cash which was yet in store. This cause was the alarm occasioned by the republican preparations to invade us. The consequence of this alarm was that the farmers and others, especially in distant parts of the country, hastened to withdraw their money from the hands of the bankers, in order to secure by hoarding it;

* For the Papers on this subject, See Appendix to the Chronicle, p. 176 *—220 *

and

and this was carried to such an extent, that, in many places, particularly in the North of England, the bankers were compelled to entreat for a short delay, to enable them to obtain from the metropolis the necessary quantity of specie. While affairs were in this state, the minister brought forward his plan of a loan of a million and a half for Ireland, by which step, as a great part, if not the whole of the sum would, in all likelihood, be remitted in cash, the directors were so much terrified, that they appointed a deputation to wait upon Mr. Pitt, and assure him that "such a measure as the Irish loan would threaten ruin to the house, and most probably bring them under the necessity of shutting up their doors." If he persisted in raising the million and a half, they desired that he would considerably reduce the debt which was due to the bank by government, and that he would make his repayments precede the payments which might be fixed for the Irish loan; this being the sole means of averting the misfortune which they feared. Mr. Pitt adhered to his intention, but modified his plan, so as to render it less likely to be injurious, and he also promised that the reduction of the debt should be accomplished, in the suggested manner. The time, however, was gone by when palliatives could be of any utility. The demand for cash at the bank was not only constant, but the demand of each day was larger than that of the preceding, and there seemed no reason to hope that it would not go on enlarging in the same proportion. In this emergency the directors on the twenty-second of February, applied to Mr. Pitt, requesting that he would find means to tranquillize the public fears respecting an invasion, and that he would repay to them a part of their advances. He engaged to do all that lay in his power, and recommended to them to endeavour to purchase whatever gold they could from foreign countries; with which recommendation they expressed their readiness to comply. But compliance was now become impossible. So rapidly did the drain upon the bank go on, that, between the eighteenth and the twenty-fifth of February, it amounted to more than six hundred thousand pounds, leaving in store scarcely above twelve hundred thousand pounds, which, in the space of another week, would probably have been exhausted.

Thus situated, the directors once more, on the twenty-fourth, applied to Mr. Pitt. The language of their application was remarkable; because, representing the bank rather in the light of an engine of government than a trading company, it in reality threw on the government all the responsibility of breach of faith towards the bank creditors. The deputy governor and Mr. Bosanquet were instructed to wait upon the chancellor of the exchequer, to mention to him the circumstances of the case, "and to ask him how far he thought the bank might venture to go in paying cash, and when he would think it necessary to interfere, before the cash was so reduced as might be detrimental to the immediate service of the state."

The chancellor of the exchequer seems by this time to have fully made up his mind with respect to the decisive measures which it would

would be neceſſary to adopt. He replied that "the matter was one of great importance, and that he muſt be prepared with ſome reſolution to bring forward in the council, for a proclamation to ſtop the iſſue of caſh from the bank, and to give the ſecurity of parliament to the notes of the bank." In this caſe, it would, he ſaid, be proper to appoint a ſecret committee of the houſe of commons, to enquire into the ſtate of the bank affairs. To the propoſition of an enquiry the governor and deputy governor gave a ready aſſent, declaring that the affairs of thoſe whom they repreſented were fully competent to bear the moſt rigorous ſcrutiny. At the ſame time, they ſuggeſted that, in this alarming criſis, it would be highly prudent that ſome general meeting ſhould be called, conſiſting of the bankers and chief merchants of London, in order to obtain a declaration from them in ſupport of the public credit; and, as a preliminary to this, they recommended to the chancellor of the exchequer to have an immediate private meeting, for the purpoſe of arranging that which was to be publicly held. Theſe ſuggeſtions the miniſter promiſed that he would act upon without any delay.

Accordingly, on the twenty-ſixth of February, an order of council was iſſued, which declared that unleſs ſome ſtep was immediately taken, there might be reaſon to apprehend a want of a ſufficient ſupply of caſh for the public ſervice, and, therefore, that it was indiſpenſably neceſſary that the directors of the bank of England ſhould forbear iſſuing any caſh in payment until the opinion of parliament could be taken upon the ſubject, and the proper meaſures adopted, for maintaining the means of circulation, and ſupporting the public and commercial credit of the kingdom at ſuch an important conjuncture. The projected meeting of merchants and bankers was alſo convoked at the manſion-houſe, and an engagement was there ſigned, by which the ſubſcribers pledged themſelves to take bank notes in payment of all demands, whether from the government or from individuals. This example was followed by the members of the privy council, and by the principal inhabitants in moſt of the towns.

The order in council was communicated to the two houſes on the 27th of February, and was ordered to be taken into conſideration on the following day. As the party in oppoſition believed the ſtoppage of the bank to be in a great degree occaſioned by the large export of ſpecie, they embraced the opportunity which was now offered them, of attempting to prevent any further remittances from being ſent to the continent. Accordingly the duke of Norfolk moved that "an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty that no further exportation of gold or ſilver coin, or of gold or ſilver bullion, ſhould take place for the uſe of the emperor, or any other foreign power, until the ſenſe of parliament be taken on that ſubject, after a full review of the cauſes of the preſent exigences of the public, and on which his majeſty has been adviſed to iſſue the extraordinary and illegal order of council upon

the table." A ſimilar motion was made, in the other houſe, by Mr. Sheridan.

The motion was oppoſed, on the ground that it was merely intended to anticipate the debate of the next day, and to obtain, by a ſide-wind, a ſort of indirect deciſion. It was alſo ſaid to be improper, becauſe it took for granted a connexion between the remittances to the emperor and the objects which were to be diſcuſſed on the morrow; a connection which was denied to have any exiſtence. And where, it was aſked, was the neceſſity of preſſing it, when all that could be hoped from it was that it would prevent money from being ſent abroad between this and the following day, a ſtep which there was no reaſon whatever to imagine that the miniſters were meditating?

On the other ſide, it was contended that this ſubject was in its nature perfectly diſtinct from that which was on the eve of being diſcuſſed; that it was highly important to adopt inſtant meaſures to hinder the miniſters from draining the country ſtill further of its gold; and that a refuſal to adopt ſuch meaſures would excite infinite alarm, by authorizing a belief that it was intended to perſiſt in a ſyſtem which had already been productive of the moſt calamitous conſequences. Theſe reaſons, however, had no weight with the majority. The motion was negatived by 34 againſt 5 in the peers, and by 247 againſt 70 in the commons.

On the following day, lord Grenville moved the uſual addreſs to his majeſty, returning thanks for his meſſage. He then moved the appointment of a ſecret and ſelect committee, conſiſting of nine peers, to enquire into the debts and funds of the bank, and the cauſes that had rendered the order of council neceſſary, and to report their opinion, as to the confirmation and continuance of the meaſures adopted. The iſſuing of the order of council would, he hoped, be found to be not only a wiſe and ſalutary ſtep for the country, but one which was indiſpenſable, to ward off conſequences of the moſt dangerous nature. At all events, whatever might be the deciſion of their lordſhips, the miniſters would have the ſolace of knowing that they had acted conſcientiouſly, and to the beſt of their judgment for the public welfare. The bank he aſſerted to be in an affluent condition; and he maintained that the directors had done wiſely in complying with the order of council, though they were not legally bound to yield it their obedience. The propriety of a ſecret committee he reſted on the imprudence of diſcloſing many circumſtances, which might come out on an enquiry of ſuch a delicate kind as that which was about to be made.

To this motion two objections were immediately urged by the duke of Grafton and the Earl of Guildford. They contended that a ſecret committee was highly inexpedient, inaſmuch as ſecreſy always conveyed the idea of ſomething diſagreeable and ſuſpicious. Nor, in this caſe, could there be any reaſon for it, if, as they were willing to believe, the pecuniary ſituation of the bank were really ſo proſperous as the miniſters had affirmed,

affirmed. To inſtruct the committee to give an opinion would alſo be improper, becauſe the houſe would, in ſome meaſure, be ſhackled by that opinion. It was alſo ſaid, that a bill of indemnity ought to be brought in: if not to protect the miniſters, at leaſt to protect the bank, as, till this was done, the bank directors were liable to actions at law from every perſon who held a note, of which the payment was refuſed.

With reſpect to a bill of indemnity, it was ſaid, on the other ſide, that, if it were thought to be requiſite, the miniſters would gratefully receive it; as they had undoubtedly acted upon their own reſponſibility, unjuſtified by the ſtrict letter of the law. As to the committee, they maintained that precedent and uſage were in favour of a ſecret one when delicate ſubjects were to be examined into; and that the houſe would be at liberty to come to whatever deciſion it choſe upon the report, unfettered by the opinion of the committee.

This anſwer was declared to be no wiſe ſatisfactory. It was likewiſe argued, in addition, that the latter part of the words of the motion were ſuch as to excite ſerious alarm. The committee was to give its opinion on the confirmation and continuance of the meaſure. Was it, then, intended to continue the ſtoppage of payments at the bank? If ſuch were the intention, public credit would infallibly be deſtroyed. This remark, firſt made by the earl of Guildford, was repeated by the duke of Bedford, who ſeized upon this opportunity of cenſuring, with infinite aſperity of language, the conduct of the miniſters. He charged them with ignorance, incapacity, and raſhneſs; he affirmed that, by their repeated blunders and inconſiſtences, they had done every thing to diſgrace the Britiſh character, and bring the country to the verge of ruin; they had, he ſaid, prompted the very fears of invaſion which they now deſcribed as ill-founded and exaggerated; to keep up thoſe fears they had paſſed ſtatutes fraught with folly, which were a diſgrace to the ſtatute books, and which no one could comprehend; they had called for armaments from the ſubjects, to the annoyance of every part of the kingdom; they had ſuffered our own coaſts to be inſulted by a diſembarkation; and they had allowed twenty thouſand of the enemy to come into the bays and rivers of Ireland, which kingdom was ſaved from ravage and bloodſhed only by the providential interference of the elements. Yet now they preſumed to charge upon ill-founded and exaggerated apprehenſions the diſgrace which aroſe from the ſtoppage of the bank. After having objected to a ſecret committee, becauſe, among other reaſons, the Houſe ought not to determine ſuch an important national queſtion upon the opinion of nine lords, however reſpectable they might be, he concluded by moving, as an amendment, to omit all the latter part of lord Grenville's motion.

The tone of the noble duke gave ſerious offence to ſeveral of the peers, and was reprehended as undignified, indecent, and unparliamentary. It was ſaid, that in his zeal to multiply invectives, he had not only loſt ſight of the reſpect which

which was due to their lordſhips, but to the legiſlature and the laws themſelves, both of which he had inſulted by opprobrious language. He had alſo loſt ſight of conſiſtency; for, while he blamed the miniſters for talking of invaſion and preparing againſt it, he had diſproved his own arguments, by bringing forward two inſtances of actual attempt at invaſion. That part of his ſpeech which ſpoke of the recent armaments as being an annoyance was warmly taken up by earl Fauconberg, who dwelt upon the merit of thoſe perſons who had raiſed provincial volunteer bands, for the defence of the country. Was it, he ſaid, to be borne that after having, to the injury of his health and fortune, raiſed and diſciplined a regiment for the protection of the North Riding of Yorkſhire, it ſhould be held up to hatred and deriſion, as a nuiſance to that part of the kingdom?

It was anſwered, by the noble duke, that he had no wiſh to wound the feelings, or depreciate the merits of thoſe who had ſo nobly exerted themſelves in what they believed to be a period of danger; but that the circumſtance of the noble earl having thus injured his health and his fortune, was ſurely ſome proof that ſuch armaments were really an annoyance. Nor did he mean to inſult the legiſlature or the laws. It was againſt the miniſters that his animadverſions were directed; and it was, he thought, a ſufficient proof of their propenſity to blundering that they had paſſed acts which were ſo unintelligible that they were, in the courſe of a fortnight, compelled to paſs others to amend them; and even then had not ſucceeded, for, having himſelf ſat as a magiſtrate, he could affirm, without the chance of being contradicted, that there was no perſon who could now underſtand the new cavalry act.

The amendment was ſupported by the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Guildford, and the marquis of Lanſdowne, the latter of whom delivered an elaborate harangue on the ſtate of the country, and the cauſes of that ſtate. It was in his peculiar ſtyle; ſomewhat excurſive and ſpun out, but containing much ſound ſenſe, and much political and economical knowledge, not unfrequently embelliſhed by real eloquence. After deſcanting in an animated ſtrain upon public credit, which he termed the ſoul of England, and conſidered as depending upon ſecurity combined with punctuality, he proceeded to enquire into the origin of the evil which had befallen us in the ſtoppage of the bank. He did not believe that it was occaſioned as ſome imagined either by the wickedneſs or incapacity of the miniſter, or by exaggerated alarms. No miniſter would be wicked or fooliſh enough to bring himſelf into ſo embarraſſing a predicament; nor could he ſee any reaſon to think that the miniſter could be indifferent to the ſtate of his country. With reſpect to the other head, it appeared to him that the attempts to invade England and Ireland furniſhed deciſive evidence that invaſion was ſomething more than a mere bugbear. No: the misfortune had ariſen from a combination of cauſes. Two of the moſt prominent of theſe were, firſtly, the inordinate increaſe of expenſe, of places and eſtabliſhments in every corner of the empire

pire, which was carried to ſuch an extent that waſte and extravagance were reduced to a ſyſtem; and next, the want of unity and correſpondence among the different branches of office, in conſequence of which the treaſury had no controul, as it ought to have, over the ſubordinate offices, each of which projected its own ſchemes, and thruſt its hand at pleaſure into the pockets of the nation. So far was this carried that every man, in every one of our foreign ſettlements, had his own adventures, plans of fortification, and projects for ſquandering money upon. It was, however, the duty of the firſt lord of the treaſury to let no man but himſelf have acceſs to the public purſe, and his lordſhip blamed the miniſter for retaining office without holding the power which he ought to poſſeſs. Another part of the evil which we felt, he attributed to the remittances which had been ſent abroad, and he laughed at the aſſertion that ſending millions after millions out of the kingdom did not make us any the poorer.

Conſidering the ſtoppage of payment as having brought us to a momentous criſis, which could not be contemplated without a ſhudder, and where one ſingle error might be ruinous, he, nevertheleſs, was willing to repoſe the utmoſt confidence in the probity and ability of the bank. A ſecret committee to examine their affairs he thought to be the beſt, but he was decidedly averſe to its giving any opinion. All beyond an examination of the funds and engagements of the bank would be unneceſſary and improper. Every thing that looked like force he would object to; and he, therefore, regretted that the order of council had not "recommended" to the bank, inſtead of "required" of it, to ſuſpend its payments in ſpecie. This requiring was unknown to the Engliſh law; it was an importation from France, and was connected with the idea of terror. This firſt miſtake muſt be repaired. But, ſhould there be any attempt to uſe force, we were gone as a people. If you attempt, ſaid he, to make bank notes a legal tender, their credit will periſh. They may go on for a time, their fall may be ſlow, but the reſult is certain. No art, no ſkill, no power, can prevent them from falling to a diſcount. Bank notes, he reminded his hearers, reſted ſolely upon opinion; differing in this from the aſſignats, which held forth the national domains as a ſecurity. Yet, how often had it been eloquently contended that, even with the ſecurity, aſſignats were a worthleſs ſubſtitute for a metallic currency. Contenting himſelf with alluding forcibly to the miſchiefs which country banks might produce, he enlarged upon thoſe which would enſue from an over emiſſion of the bank paper. One monſtrous evil ſpringing from it would be, that a door would be opened to boundleſs extravagance, and to the purſuit of the moſt frantic ſchemes. The jobbing in bills and money would be another. Adventurers of all deſcriptions would ſtart up, the precious metals would diſappear, and every article would bear two prices, one for money, and one for paper. The third, and not the leaſt, would be the danger to be apprehended from forgery. His lordſhip, however, ſeems here rather to have had in mind the danger

ger which might arife to the character of the notes, than to have foreſeen the horrible waſte of human life which has ſince taken place, and which has occaſioned, in almoſt every reflecting being, ſo much aſtoniſhment and diſguſt at the conduct of thoſe who have done nothing to prevent it. In concluſion, the noble marquis recommended ſtrict economy and a ſincere love of peace, by attending to which he was convinced that public credit would be recovered, and the country be reſtored to all its priſtine vigour.

The lord chancellor and lord Grenville having briefly explained, that it was not the intention of the miniſters to force the circulation of bank notes, the queſtion was put, on the duke of Bedford's amendment, which was rejected by a large majority, there being only twelve votes for it, and ſeventy-eight againſt it.

In the commons the debate had a more animated character. The ſpeech with which the chancellor of the exchequer prefaced his motion for the appointment of a committee was conciſe; he, no doubt, being certain that opportunities enough would not be wanting to enter fully into the diſcuſſion of this important ſubject. He now merely ſtated the neceſſity of the committee being a ſecret one, limited in its object; aſſerted the ſolidity of the bank; complimented the people for the good ſenſe and fortitude which they had ſhown on this occaſion; and announced that it was intended to give the public ſecurity not only for the outſtanding claims on the bank, but alſo for ſuch additional iſſues of paper as it might be deemed adviſable to ſend forth.

Such an event as that which was now brought under the conſideration of the houſe was well calculated to rouſe into action all the powers of Mr. Fox. It drew from him a long and animated harangue. Laying it down as an undeniable principle that the order of council was a meaſure which had deſtroyed the credit of the bank, he proceeded to animadvert upon the meaſure itſelf, the manner in which it had been carried into effect, and the criminality of the miniſter by whom it was adviſed. It was, he ſaid, a thing wholly unprecedented in the annals of this country. Amidſt all the calamities, all the diſgraces, of former periods, many of which had been ſufficiently ſevere and humiliating, we had at leaſt one ground of comfort in the ſanctity of the national credit. Though depreſſed by loſſes and afflictions, the miniſters could ſay to the parliament, each member could ſay to his conſtituents, "the public faith has been preſerved." But now we were deprived even of this laſt ſource of national conſolation, this laſt prop of national honour.

Had the meaſure itſelf been compelled by a ſtern and invincible neceſſity, ſtill he contended that the mode of effecting it was the worſt which could have been choſen; the moſt pernicious in its principle, the moſt perilous in its effects. It would not eaſily be eraſed from the memory of man, nor from the pages of our annals, that, whatever might be the vaunted theory of our conſtitution, one word from the king could operate to deſtroy one half of

of the property of the country. If the preſſure of circumſtances rendered it neceſſary to take ſuch a hazardous ſtep it ought to have been taken by the parliament. Such a power, it might be ſaid, would be dangerous in any branch of the legiſlature, but ſurely the danger was greater from the quarter in which it had now been exerciſed.

The notice publiſhed by the bank, ſubſequently to the iſſuing of the order of council, removed all doubt with reſpect to the nature and extent of the meaſure; and the directors perhaps deſerved thanks for their explicitneſs on this occaſion. Thoſe gentlemen declared that they would continue their diſcounts to the merchants in paper, and would alſo pay the dividend warrants in paper. It was, he aſſured the houſe, no affectation in him to declare that it made him nervous to contemplate the probable effect of this proceeding. This, ſaid Mr. Fox, is nothing leſs than ſaying, that you ſo heavily feel the preſſing exigencies of your ſituation, that you are compelled to overlook the covenants of law, the obligations of honour, and to apply for a reſource to the great and hitherto ſacred depoſit of national wealth. It is a plain violation of contract; it is a poſitive tax on the funds; and, as far as regards the principle, the miniſter may as well at once confiſcate the funded property for the uſe of the ſtate. Could there, it was aſked by the orator, could there be any one ſo ignorant as to ſee a difference between refuſing to pay in ſpecie, and refuſing to pay at all? It was true that the dividends were ſtill paid in paper, and paper had been formerly given in payment of them, but the paper formerly given was inſtantly convertible into caſh. Did any man believe that, at this moment, he would receive in the city a thouſand pounds in caſh for a thouſand pounds in paper? No: and the breach of contract was conſequently manifeſt.

On the queſtion of guaranteeing the ſecurity of bank notes, he confeſſed that he had changed his opinion, and that he now thought that it had better be withheld. Every ſanction given by the public to the credit of individuals, though for a time it might be attended with ſome advantages, would, he ſaid, ultimately be found to be injurious, and even deſtructive.

For enquiry to the fulleſt extent he forcibly called; it being, he declared, abſolutely neceſſary that no circumſtance relative to the cauſe of the ſtoppage ſhould be kept concealed. Above all, the conduct of the chancellor of the exchequer ought to be ſtrictly inveſtigated; for on him, in this caſe, reſted nearly the whole of the reſponſibility. According to his view of the tranſaction, Mr. Pitt, in addition to his former demerits, had violated the law of the land, and inflicted a deadly wound upon the public credit. The neceſſity of the meaſure muſt indeed be well aſcertained before he could be juſtified. It muſt alſo be ſhewn that this was the leaſt violent mode by which the object could be effected. As to confidence in the miniſter it was an abſurdity to talk of it. The parliament of that day would not, in the midſt of his ſplendid victories, have granted it, on ſuch an emergency as this, to the illuſtrious

trious father of Mr. Pitt, even had he aſked it, which his conſtitutional ſpirit would not have allowed him to do; and what they would have denied to his wiſdom, eloquence, and glory, would the parliament of this day grant to the ſon, who had been guilty of a ſeries of the groſſeſt blunders, who had failed in all his calculations and promiſes, who had gone on from year to year upon ſhifts and expedients, who had paid no attention whatever to the remonſtrances which had been made to him, or the warnings which he had received; who, in one word, had diſgraced himſelf and ruined his country.

"We have for a long time," ſaid Mr. Fox, "had a confiding houſe of commons. I want now an enquiring houſe of commons. I ſay, that with an enquiring houſe of commons, even although it ſhould be an indifferent one with regard to talents, and with a miniſter of very ordinary capacity, we ſhall be able to do more for the ſervice of the people of this country, than with a houſe of commons compoſed of the beſt talents that ever adorned a ſenate, and a miniſter of the firſt abilities would be able to do, if that houſe ſhould implicitly confide in that miniſter. If, therefore, I have in an uniform tone called for enquiry, and the houſe has been as monotonous, as certainly it hitherto has, in confiding, it is not wonderful that we are in our preſent condition. I ſay, that without our inquiring into the cauſe of their calamities, the people neither will be, nor ought to be, ſatisfied. I ſay further, that the houſe ought, for the ſake of its credit with the public, to inſtitute a full enquiry upon this matter, for the authority of an enquiring houſe of commons is much greater than that of a confiding one."

In the call for a full enquiry, Mr. Fox was joined by the members of the regular oppoſition, and by ſome who generally gave their ſuffrage to the miniſter. Among the former were Mr. Hobhouſe, Mr. Martin, Mr. W. Smith, lord Wycombe, Mr. Huſſey, Mr. Curwen, Mr. Brandling, Mr. Baſtard, and Mr. Sheridan; among the latter were Mr. Pollen, Sir John Sinclair, and Sir William Pulteney.

The remarks of the latter claſs were but few in number. Sir John Sinclair ſuggeſted that it would be neceſſary to make bank notes a legal tender, unleſs which ſtep were taken he was perſuaded that one half of the public might be ſent to jail, and the other half would afterwards become bankrupt. Sir William Pulteney hinted his fears that the meaſure was intended to be permanent, and reaſoned, at ſome length, upon the principles of banking, and the impoſſibility of preventing the exportation of ſpecie and bullion.

By the members in oppoſition the miniſter was bitterly cenſured, as the author of the evil which had befallen the bank. It was ſaid to be in vain for him to deny that he had compelled it to commit an act of inſolvency. Why had he not, it was aſked, paid the bank what the government owed it, inſtead of forcing it to become a bankrupt? The ſort of partnerſhip which in fact exiſted between the government and the bank was deprecated as a compulſive and unjuſt one; it being a partnerſhip with an inſolvent government, which required a ſolvent

a ſolvent company to bolſter up its ruined finances. It was predicted that bank paper muſt inevitably fall into diſcredit, and the predictors feared that it would ſuffer the fate of aſſignats and mandats. Connected with this would be the rapidly raiſing of the price of proviſions, which would bring on ſuch a train of miſery, as was ſcarcely to be conceived. As to the partial enquiry, which was now propoſed, it would do harm inſtead of good, as it would only tend to excite the ſuſpicions and fears of the people. The houſe, it was urged, ought not to aſſent to any ſuch mockery, but to act with firmneſs, probe the wound to the bottom, and put an end to the waſte and miſmanagement which had ſo long prevailed. Without this there was no hope for the country, no chance of its ſalvation.

An amendment to the original motion was moved by Mr. Sheridan. It was "that the committee ſhould alſo enquire into the cauſes which produced the order of council, and inveſtigate the circumſtances and the neceſſity from which it aroſe." This amendment he recommended in a ſpeech of blended pleaſantry, ſatire, and argument, in which, however, the argumentative part had little more of novelty than was conferred on it by the change and the graces of language.

The original motion was ſupported by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, Mr. Dent, and others. The ſplendid philippic of Mr. Fox againſt him, Mr. Pitt paſſed by unnoticed; conceiving, perhaps, that the charges were too vague to be entitled to an anſwer. He confined himſelf to touching upon two or three points, in the ſpeeches of other members, on which it ſeemed to be neceſſary for him to explain or remark. In anſwer to Sir William Pulteney, he ſtated, that nothing could be further from his thoughts, than that the order of council ſhould have a durable operation. To the immediate enlargement of the enquiry he objected, becauſe an expeditious deciſion was wanted on the propriety of continuing the order, and becauſe an examination of the cauſes of it could be conducted with greater advantage after a pauſe of reflection. He denied that he had drained the bank of its ſpecie, and by ſo doing brought on its preſent embarraſſments, and he deemed the plan of directly raiſing a loan, to pay off the advances, to be a meaſure which would be unproductive of benefit, as it could not ſupply the bank with a ſingle additional guinea in caſh.

The amendment being put to the vote was negatived, by two hundred and forty-four noes againſt eighty-ſix ayes. The original motion was, of courſe, adopted.

Mr. Fox then moved a reſolution, "that it is the duty of this houſe to enquire into all the cauſes which have produced this extraordinary meaſure." This being agreed to, without a diviſion, he gave notice that he ſhould, next day, move for a committee to carry it into effect.

The appointment of the committee, which was diſcuſſed on the following day, was a ſubject of great altercation, and gave riſe to a debate of conſiderable length, ſometimes enlivened by wit and humour, and ſometimes darkened by invective and angry retort. In

purſuance

purſuance of his notice, Mr. Fox moved that a committee ſhould be appointed, to enquire into the cauſes which produced the order of council. Diſclaiming any wiſh to indulge in petty cavils, or to enter into minute and verbal criticiſms, he affirmed that ſuch a committee as he called for was abſolutely neceſſary, the committee already voted for not being competent to enquire into the cauſes which produced the order, but only into the neceſſity of its continuance. Now, though the iſſuing of the order might have been cauſed by highly criminal conduct, it might, nevertheleſs, be prudent to continue that order when once iſſued. The two queſtions were, therefore, quite diſtinct. But that the cauſes, whatever they were, ſhould be known, was of the utmoſt importance. While the houſe remained in ignorance of them, it was impoſſible to aſcertain to whom criminality attached, what was our real ſituation, what remedy could be applied, or what we had to fear from the recurrence of ſimilar events. In a moderate tone, but with pointed meaning, he objected to the nomination by ballot, and called upon the miniſters, if they thought that none but their friends ſhould be members of the committee, at leaſt to expreſs their opinion by vote, and allow it to be debated whether the perſons named were ſuch as ought to be choſen.

The motion was ſeconded by general Walpole, who accuſed the miniſters of having occaſioned the alarm which they now blamed, and of being ſolely reſponſible for the ſtoppage of the bank.

The propoſition of Mr. Fox was oppoſed by the chancellor of the exchequer, who was of opinion that both enquiries ſhould be gone through ſucceſſively by the ſame committee. No advantage could, he ſaid, be gained by a different mode of proceeding. The ſame papers muſt be uſed, the ſame perſons muſt be ſummoned, on each enquiry. But how could the ſame papers and the ſame perſons be before two committees at once? What reaſon could there be for not referring both enquiries to the ſame committee, a committee to whom no objections could be ſtarted, ſince their names were not yet known? This aſſertion having occaſioned loud cries of "hear, hear," from the oppoſition, he added, with rather a whimſical aſſent to their inſinuations, "at leaſt whoſe names are not yet before the houſe." A ballot he was reſolved, he ſaid, to inſiſt upon, becauſe it was eſtabliſhed by precedent, and becauſe perſons choſen in any other mode would be referees and arbitrators, and not a committee regularly choſen.

As the miniſter had, on the preceding evening, appeared to be diſinclined to allow the committee to inveſtigate every part of the ſubject, Mr. Sheridan charged him, in pointed terms, with groſs tergiverſation, for now advocating what he had ſo recently oppoſed. Then, arguing on the mode of chuſing the committee, he ſtated that Mr. Pitt had formerly no objection to a committee by nomination; he having himſelf propoſed one on the regency queſtion. Of the mode by ballot Mr. Sheridan expreſſed his utter diſlike; declaring it to be nothing elſe than a rank juggle. In proof of what

what he asserted, he produced the list of the committee which was now to be appointed, and, as he read over the names, he accompanied them with ludicrous remarks. This treasury list had, he said, been publicly handed about in the lobby, and no small disgust had been excited by such a shameless proceeding. The names were indeed respectable ones, because the treasury influence, which dictated them, made it a part of its finesse to have a packed jury somewhat creditable, lest the abuse should be too glaring, and fail in its deception.

This produced a protracted and uninteresting debate, mingled with a large portion of sarcasm and criminating insinuation, in which the proceeding was vindicated by Mr. Windham, lord Hawkesbury, Mr. Wilberforce, Dr. Laurence, and others; and censured by Mr. Grey, Mr. Curwen, Mr. Nicholls, and Mr. Courtenay, the one party contending that it was an instance of presumption in the ministers, and an insult to the house; the other party as strenuously asserting that such lists were perfectly harmless, that they were justified by the example of the gentlemen in opposition, and that it did not follow, because the ministers intimated their wishes as to the persons to be chosen, that the members were at all restrained in the freedom of choice. With respect to the names which had now been read, they had been confessed to be highly respectable, and what more could be desired? To cant of their superior purity, and to bring charges of corruption was, it was said by the friends of Mr. Pitt, the manner in which the minority had commonly thought proper to revenge themselves on the majority. This was the cant with which they endeavoured to impose upon the public, and which, if it were worth while to try the experiment, might be retorted upon themselves. But, in fact, the charge of corruption against such a body as the house of commons was in itself ridiculous in a supreme degree.

A long, and, as usual, an able speech from Mr. Fox closed the debate. The impropriety of a choice by ballot was his principal theme; but he likewise once more brought to bear all the arguments which he had before adduced upon the other topics. The presumed guilt of the minister, the terrible state of the country, and the necessity of thorough enquiry, formed, of course, the perpetually recurring burthen of his song. On a division, his motion was rejected by 141 noes against 67 ayes.

Mr. Sheridan then moved that Mr. Fox should be added to the committee. The house divided upon this, and it was negatived by 144 noes against 53 ayes.

One consequence arising from the stoppage of the bank was so obvious that it could not escape the notice of even the most careless observer. This was the difficulty, or rather impossibility, of paying small sums, now that a stop was put to the circulation of specie. The distress and confusion which this must cause, especially among the lower classes, it was absolutely necessary to avert. Accordingly, in the course of the first of the debates which have just been narrated, Mr. Wilberforce Bird enquired, of the chancellor of the exchequer, whether the rumour were true, that the bank intended

to iſſue notes for ſums of one and two pounds. Mr. Pitt replied that ſuch a meaſure was contemplated, but that, it being doubtful whether the bank could legally iſſue notes under five pounds, it was his intention to move for an act to give them the power of ſo doing.

A bill to this effect paſſed rapidly through both houſes, and with few remarks upon it. The retention of the words "payable on demand," was conſidered by Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Grey, as involving in it a manifeſt contradiction, the bank being reſtricted from paying in ſpecie. Mr. Fox thought that the bank might be ſued upon them, unleſs a ſpecific act were paſſed to indemnify it; and Mr. Sheridan was of opinion that it would be more adviſable not to make the notes payable till the expiration of a certain period. To this it was anſwered, that it would be inconvenient to uſe any other than the original form; that the reſtriction law would apply to theſe as well as to the notes for large ſums; that every one knew the condition on which they were iſſued, and that, if Mr. Sheridan's ſuggeſtion were adopted, they would no longer be on a par with the other notes of the bank.

Supplementary to this meaſure, another was adopted, on the motion of Mr. Wilberforce Bird. By two acts, of the 15th and 17th of George the third, all perſons were prohibited from iſſuing promiſſory notes under the value of five pounds, and all ſuch notes were declared to be void. Theſe acts Mr. Bird now propoſed to ſuſpend for a limited time, as, unleſs this were done, it would be impoſſible for country bankers and manufacturers to carry on their buſineſs under the preſent circumſtances. His original plan was to except the metropolis from the ſuſpending bill, but, on the ſuggeſtion of Mr. Pitt, he relinquiſhed the exception.

No oppoſition was made to the bringing in of this meaſure, but the neceſſity of it was much lamented. It was ſaid to be a great evil, which could be tolerated only that a ſtill greater evil might not enſue. After all, it was to be feared that theſe notes would become mere aſſignats. Great advantage would, perhaps, be taken of the ignorance of the multitude, and much fraud and miſchief might be the conſequence. The miniſter was alſo heavily blamed, for not having given proper previous notice of the late ſtoppage to the manufacturing towns, and a gloomy picture was drawn of the ſituation to which many of them were reduced by the ſcarcity of money. Bath and Norwich were particularly mentioned as inſtances of the diſtreſs which had been occaſioned.

When the bill was read a ſecond time, fears were expreſſed that diſturbances might be cauſed, by the poorer holders of the bills being, in ſome caſes, unable to obtain payment of them. To this it was replied, that ſummary means of enforcing the payment within three days were provided by the act. The efficacy of this was, however, doubted, as it might be attended with trouble and expence. It was at length agreed that the penalty of non-payment within three days ſhould be twenty ſhillings, in addition to

coſts,

coſts, which ſum might be levied by diſtreſs. A ſuggeſtion that, as a ſecurity, the iſſuers of notes ſhould depoſit property to the amount of them, was not adopted. The bill was then paſſed, without any diſſent except that of Mr. Bryan Edwards, who argued that, by multiplying the quantity of paper, it would increaſe the very evil which cauſed the diſtreſs of the country. Its duration was at firſt limited to two months, but was ſubſequently extended.

By theſe meaſures, and by the ſpeedy iſſue of a large copper coinage, and of ſtamped dollars, the deficiency of the circulating medium was, in a great degree, ſupplied. With the ſmall notes began, however, an extenſion of crime, and of conſequent judicial vengeance, which, were there no other cauſes for regret, would more than ſuffice to render the ſtoppage of the bank a memorable and melancholy event.

Two reports were brought up from the committee of the Commons, on the 3d and 7th of March. The firſt of theſe ſtated that the committee had examined, up to the 25th of February, the ſtate of the debts and property of the bank, and that it found the debts to amount to 13,770,390*l.* and the aſſets to 17,597,280*l.*, not including a ſum of 11,636,800*l.* of permanent debt, which was due from the government. There remained, therefore, a balance of four millions in favour of the bank. Since the 25th of February, conſiderable iſſues, both in bank notes and government paper, had been made, but without any diminution of the balance, as correſponding ſecurities had been received for thoſe iſſues.

The ſecond report merely declared that it was neceſſary to continue, for a time to be limited by parliament, the meaſures which had been taken in purſuance of the order of council.

The report of the Lord's Committee was preſented on the 6th, and was in ſubſtance the ſame with thoſe reports which were laid on the table of the commons. It, however, went a ſtep further than they did, as it aſſigned a reaſon for the recent drain of caſh from the coffers of the bank. That drain it declared to be owing, in great part, to demands from the country, which had rapidly increaſed, and which, in all probability, would have encreaſed ſtill more rapidly, had a ſtop not been put to them by the order of council.

On the day of the bringing up of this report, which terminated the functions of the committee, the duke of Bedford moved that a ſelect committee, of fifteen peers, ſhould be appointed, to enquire into the cauſes for iſſuing the order of council. On this occaſion he ſpoke with more moderation than he uſually diſplayed. The committee which was now extinct had not, he ſaid, inveſtigated the cauſes in which originated the neceſſity of the order. Thoſe cauſes, which he was diſpoſed to find in the miſconduct and profuſion of the miniſters, it was proper that the houſe and the country ſhould know. To diſcover them, however, the committee, whether ſecret or ſelect, ought to be openly appointed: for every one was aware that, when it was choſen by ballot, it was commonly compoſed of the friends of the miniſter, who certainly were not perſons from whom

was to be expected an impartial judgment of his conduct. The duke of Norfolk and the earl of Guildford joined him in his objections to the ballot.

A ſecret committee was preferred by lord Grenville, and, after ſome contention, it was agreed that the committee ſhould be a ſecret inſtead of a ſelect one. When, however, his lordſhip moved that it ſhould be choſen by ballot, the duke of Bedford declared that he could not ſuffer the motion to be carried without expreſſing his ſtrongeſt diſſent. Such a mode of making a choice he conſidered as nothing better than a mockery and an inſult, in which not even the ſemblance of decency was preſerved. Was there any one hardy enough to defend the mode of chuſing committees by ballot? Let him look into the ballotting glaſſes, and ſee what they contained. In them might be found twenty liſts, all in one hand writing, the managers of this farce not caring even to ſave appearances. And of what names were the liſts compoſed? Of the cabinet miniſters! Men appointed to be the judges of their own acts! Of what uſe could it be to nominate perſons to enquire into meaſures of which they were themſelves the authors? Were not the miniſters aſhamed of their conduct, and what infatuation was it to attempt by ſuch quackery, to deceive the country!

After a warm debate, in which the ballot was defended by lord Grenville and earl Fauconberg, the propoſition for chuſing the committee in that manner was carried; there being only eight votes againſt it, and 47 in its favour.

As ſoon as the laſt report of the commons' committee was on the table of the houſe, the chancellor of the exchequer moved that they ſhould be taken into conſideration at an early period. When the day arrived, and before the buſineſs of it commenced, the members of the oppoſition brought forward various motions connected with the ſubject. Mr. Tierney firſt moved for an account, with the dates, of all the outſtanding ſums advanced for the public ſervice by the bank, with the amount of intereſt due thereon. This being granted, he next called for a comparative ſtatement of the increaſe or decreaſe of diſcounts by the bank, in the week ending on the 4th of March, and the week ending on the 24th of February. To this motion the chancellor of the exchequer was hoſtile. It would, he ſaid, tend to divulge the private tranſactions of the bank, and thereby prove injurious to public credit. There was, beſides, no inſtance of the houſe of commons having demanded an account of the bank diſcounts to private individuals. Lord Hawkeſbury agreed with him in thinking that ſome of the information thus procured it might not be proper to lay before the public; and he added that compliance with the motion was not needful, the committee having ſtated that the amount of the diſcounts had made little difference in the general ſtate of the bank affairs.

Mr. Tierney, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Fox, remained unconvinced by this reaſoning. They ſaid that the paper was not moved for from motives of impertinent curioſity, but to obtain the neceſſary information as to the comparative

rative diſcounts of the two ſpecified weeks. It was generally believed that they had been puſhed to an enormous extent, and that accommodation had been granted to every perſon who was in the leaſt diſpoſed to be clamorous. Whether this belief was true or falſe it was important to know. If the bank really had the ſolidity which was attributed to it, the publicity of its proceedings could do it nothing but ſervice. Mr. Fox ſuggeſted, as a ſecond reaſon for giving the information which was demanded, that the continuance of the order might poſſibly be affected by the difference in the diſcounts. If they had increaſed, then the neceſſity for continuing the order was ſtrengthened; if they had decreaſed, then, on the contrary, the neceſſity was diminiſhed, and the operation of the order ought to be limited to a ſhorter time.

This motion was negatived; but another, for an account of exchequer bills iſſued on the authority of the act for raiſing the eighteen million loan, was agreed to.

Before the houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee, Mr. Sheridan roſe to make a few obſervations upon ſome parts of the two reports. The firſt point upon which he touched was the ſtatement of the property belonging to the bank; and here he contended that the ſum of eleven millions, forming the capital ſtock of the bank, ought not to have been repreſented as a debt; it being in fact nothing more than an annuity of 330,000*l.* per ann. the principal of which could not be claimed for nearly twenty years, and conſequently could not be rendered available. Then, adverting to the debt of nearly ten millions, which the government owed to the bank for advances, and which formed a large part of the ſecurity for the money owing by the bank to the public, he remarked on what he conſidered as the extraordinary conduct of the miniſters in this affair. Inſtead of paying their creditor, they had rather choſen to authorize him to leave his creditors unpaid, and had offered to guarantee his ſufficiency, provided that he would ſuffer his funds to be enquired into. In ſuch a caſe, an individual would ſay, why do you not pay me what you owe me, and I can then ſatisfy all claims without your interference? He blamed the government for not having kept the loyalty loan open, to raiſe twelve millions more, for the purpoſe of paying the bank. The ſhock to public credit would then have been avoided. Having cenſured the bank, becauſe it had not done its duty, by trying all methods to ſatisfy the claimants upon it, he concluded by giving notice that he ſhould, on the following day, move that immediate ſteps be taken to pay the money advanced to the government by the bank directors.

The houſe then went into a committee to conſider the report. This being done, the chancellor of the exchequer roſe to move for leave to bring in a bill to confirm, and continue for a limited time, the reſtriction on iſſuing ſpecie by the bank of England. He prefaced his motion by a ſpeech, the exordium of which was principally occupied in aſſerting the ſolvency, and even the richneſs, of the

bank; a queſtion which he held to be now entirely ſet at reſt. Controverting the opinion of Mr. Sheridan, reſpecting the eleven millions of capital ſtock, he maintained that, though that ſum was not immediately demandable, it was as much a ſecurity to the bank creditors as any other that the bank poſſeſſed, and was indeed one which ſtood upon the ſafeſt of all foundations, the parliamentary faith of the kingdom, and the whole property of the country.

Having hinted the propriety of indemnifying the government for iſſuing the order, glanced at the notice of Mr. Sheridan, and thrown out doubts of its utility, declared that it would be proper to refer to the committee which had already ſat the enquiry into the cauſes of the order, proteſted againſt leſſening the number of bank notes, announced his intention to relinquiſh the plan of propoſing to give the government ſecurity to them, and aſſerted the ſolidity and extent of the reſources of the country, he concluded by moving for leave to bring in his bill.

In anſwer to Mr. Pitt, the queſtion of the ſtoppage was once more diſcuſſed by Mr. Fox, with much fulneſs and animation. One part of his ſpeech was the ſubject of conſiderable difference of opinion. He maintained that the directors of the bank ought to do nothing inconſiſtent with the intereſt of the proprietors for whom they acted. When they looked to the public intereſt, inſtead of that of the proprietors, they quitted their proper ſphere. Let the functions of the bank and of the parliament be kept diſtinct, and both would be exerciſed to the national advantage.

It was, on the contrary, broadly affirmed, by the ſolicitor general, that the bank was not inſtituted merely for the benefit of the proprietors. "It was, he ſaid, inſtituted, as every other corporation was, for public purpoſes and benefits. The benefit of the holder of ſtock was an inferior object. The bank, from the very nature of its charter, was bound to accommodate the nation; and, therefore, when it was urged that the bank had a duty to the holder of ſtock, it ſhould be remembered that they had a duty alſo to the public, which, on an occaſion of public emergency, it was eſſential that they ſhould perform. If they did not perform the public purpoſes for which they were inſtituted, the power which created might alſo deſtroy them. All their original power was granted to them for public purpoſes, and upon every principle upon which they were created, they might alſo be deſtroyed, if they were guilty of any thing that amounted to a breach of that public duty. The bank, therefore, muſt aſſiſt the government of the country. He apprehended it to be their duty ſo to do when any occaſion required it, and he apprehended it to be particularly their duty in the preſent inſtance."

On ſome other points he alſo maintained poſitions which became the objects of ridicule or reproof. He dwelt much on the peculiar advantages of paper, and ſeemed to think more lightly than is common of the importance of ſpecie, in doing which he echoed the previouſly expreſſed ſentiments of lord Hawkeſbury; and he reprehended the ſpeaker in oppoſi-

tion,

tion, for forgetting that the army and navy were as much public creditors as the holders of bank notes were, and creditors to whom it behoved us to be attentive, ſince, from their ſituation, payment in caſh was more particularly required to them than to any other deſcription of men in the country. He likewiſe contended that the capital ſtock of the bank was not only an available part of its property, but that it was worth conſiderably more than its nominal value. Were it ſold, at the preſent market price, it would, he ſaid, produce between fifteen and ſixteen millions.

In a copious ſtrain of wit, Mr. Sheridan ridiculed the preference which was given to paper over ſpecie. He treated leſs ludicrouſly and leſs indulgently the aſſertion that the army and navy had a claim prior to that of the ſtockholders: and he gave no quarter to the doctrine that the bank was eſtabliſhed for the benefit of the government. Such groſs and palpable abſurdity about the bank could, he ſaid, have been uttered only by one who had never read a ſingle ſyllable of the conſtitution of that body. The threat of deſtruction, however, which had now been thrown out to the bank, was a pretty ſtrong one, and a little more intelligible than any which had before been uſed to it. The purpoſe of it could not well be miſtaken. As to the enormous value which the ſolicitor general had fixed upon the capital ſtock, Mr. Sheridan concluded that it aroſe from the learned gentleman not recollecting that, in this bank ſtock, four per cent. dividend had been added to the original three per cent. intereſt.

After ſome further obſervations, of the ſame tenor, from Mr. Fox and Mr. W. Smith, the motion for leave to bring in the bill was carried without a diviſion.

The chancellor of the exchequer then moved that the ſecret committee for enquiring into the affairs of the bank ſhould be revived. Mr. Fox oppoſed this, and Mr. Grey intreated that his own name might be omitted. The houſe divided upon the queſtion of revival, which was carried by 174 ayes againſt 65 noes.

Mr. Sheridan then renewed his motion for adding the name of Mr. Fox; but this was negatived by 157 votes againſt 60.

Before, however, the bill came under diſcuſſion, Mr. Sheridan, on the 10th of March, brought forward the motion of which he had given notice. Its great object was to reſtore the bank to a ſtate of ſolvency, by obtaining from the government the re-payment of the large ſums which it had borrowed from that corporation. Another object was to prevent the government from again procuring ſuch enormous loans as it had lately raiſed from that company. To accompliſh this latter purpoſe, he propoſed to re-enact the clauſe, in the act of king William, which provided that, under penalty of forfeiting three times the amount, the bank ſhould not make any advances to the government, except on funds already granted by parliament; a clauſe which, three years before, had, he affirmed, been unwiſely repealed, by a clauſe artfully introduced into an exchequer loan bill. Still further to bring back the bank to the tenor of its original inſtitution, he alſo

ſuggeſted that it was abſolutely neceſſary to revive another clauſe, which prohibited it from ever owing more than the amount of the debt which was due to it from the government.

That far leſs alarm than might have been expected had been occaſioned by ſuch a momentous event as the ſtoppage of the bank, Mr. Sheridan readily admitted; but this very circumſtance he conſidered as a ſerious ſymptom of the danger of our ſituation. By the reſtriction the bank was enabled to enlarge its diſcounts, and, ſo extreme was the want of money among all claſſes, that the accommodation thus afforded to them induced them to overlook the fatal conſequences which would ultimately enſue. It was an opiate, which deadened the feelings for a while, but increaſed the cauſe of the diſeaſe. It for a time ſilenced alarm, and lulled apprehenſion aſleep. The houſe, however, ought to be on the watch, and to take care not only not to deceive the public, but not to deceive itſelf. It ought not to be lulled into a falſe ſecurity, nor accept this temporary accommodation as a bribe to reconcile it to the miſchiefs with which the meaſure was fraught. In his opinion, if the order of council continued in effect even a month, the ſtate of the country would be ſuch as to admit of no relief. A remedy muſt now be applied, or all would be loſt; for the breach which credit had ſuſtained was one which would widen every hour, and would ſoon be irreparable.

To a legiſlative ſanction of the late order he, therefore, declared himſelf to be averſe, becauſe, among other reaſons, if the reſtriction were once legally eſtabliſhed, habit would join with neceſſity to reconcile men's minds to it as a permanent ſyſtem, our efforts to put the bank on its proper footing would be greatly relaxed, and things would every hour grow worſe, till the poſſibility of re-fixing credit on its former baſis was gone for ever. It was better, then, to connive than to ſanction. If, too, the bank paper were to be made a legal tender, as there ſeemed to be ſome idea of making it, that paper would ſhare the fate of the French aſſignats. It would be depreciated, a larger quantity would be iſſued, and ruin would cloſe the ſcene. Confidence alone induced men to take paper, and no expedient would be crowned with ſucceſs till confidence was again reſtored, and currency was again given to the old ſaying of "as good as the bank."

After having made ſome obſervations on the manner in which the committees had reported upon the affairs of the bank, Mr. Sheridan proceeded to enforce the neceſſity of ſetting the bank at eaſe in its pecuniary concerns, by repaying to it the whole, or a conſiderable part, of thoſe ſums which it had advanced to the government. He did not doubt that it would be eaſy for the miniſter to raiſe the ſum which was wanted for that purpoſe; he would not think ſo ill of the country as to believe that, in ſuch a caſe, an appeal to it would be reſiſted; and, if its advances were repaid to it, the bank might continue its diſcounts fairly, and with its own ſubſtance. As matters now ſtood, it did not ſeem right and proper that, at the very moment

moment when the houſe was diſcuſſing its ſolvency, the bank ſhould give an increaſed accommodation by diſcount, far beyond the extent of its former liberality. He concluded by moving a reſolution, "that it is highly expedient, as well for the honour of his majeſty's government, as for the re-eſtabliſhment of public credit, that the ſpeedieſt meaſures ſhould be taken for the payment to the bank, of the ſaid advances, or a conſiderable part thereof."

Upon this reſolution the previous queſtion was moved by the chancellor of the exchequer. After having animadverted on Mr. Sheridan's diſlike of legalizing the order of council, and defended the conduct of the ſecret committee, he firſt touched upon the propoſition for limiting the iſſues of the bank within the ſum of twelve millions; a propoſition of which, though he did not enter into a diſcuſſion of it, he manifeſtly diſapproved. A limitation, which was beneficial at the commencement of an undertaking, might not, he ſaid, be ſo under different circumſtances. It was a queſtion whether, after the bank had ſubſiſted during a century, and, by a judicious diſtribution of its capital, had cauſed ſo much general proſperity, and created ſo much new capital, any mercantile principles required the obſervance of the ſame caution that had been ſalutary at the beginning. At any rate, were there not other ſecurities, beſides thoſe of the government, equally good, or at leaſt more available, on which the bank might extend its operations?

The plan of Mr. Sheridan he deſcribed as a plan to limit the circulation of paper, in order to call forth the caſh; or, in other words, to remedy a ſcarcity of caſh by creating a ſcarcity of paper. It was, he owned, a point of great delicacy to determine the beſt mode of again bringing into circulation a ſufficiency of ſpecie. To bring it back all at once he believed to be impoſſible. It could only be done by gradual ſteps, and a combination of means. Still, he allowed that there were ſome great limiting principles, by which a paper currency ought to be regulated; the two chief of which were ultimate ſecurity, and a due apportioning of the quantity iſſued. Whenever a country was ſurcharged with it, undoubtedly it became a ſerious evil. But, in the preſent caſe, there was no redundance, and, therefore, he could not conſent to reſtrain the bank from aſſiſting the commerce of the kingdom by an enlargement of its diſcounts. He admitted, however, that it might not be improper to put ſome limits to its power of making advances to the government. With reſpect to the repayment of the debt due to the bank by the government, he contended that it would not be productive of the benefit which was expected. The ſcheme was quite inadequate to its intended purpoſe. The bank owed thirteen millions, and were the government to repay five millions it would not enable that corporation to liquidate all the demands which might poſſibly be made. Beſides, the money could not be obtained in a day, and conſequently could not relieve preſent diſtreſs, and enable the bank to reſume its accuſtomed operations. He was, nevertheleſs, compelled to

admit that the meaſure might have a gradually beneficial tendency, and, of courſe, to a certain extent, might be proper; but he thought that it would come under conſideration much more naturally when the report of the committee had been ſubmitted to the houſe. At the ſame time, with a degree of petulance which ſhewed that he was annoyed by the motion, he declared it to be a pity that, inſtead of coming forward with propoſitions which tended to depreſs the public ſpirit, and increaſe the embarraſsments that unhappily exiſted, the honourable gentleman did not think it his duty to encourage the people, and to call forth their patriotiſm and zeal.

The concluding remarks of the premier called forth an animated reply from Mr. Fox. Had we not, he ſaid, already had enough of that childiſh kind of deception of which the miniſter was ſo fond, and to which he wiſhed Mr. Sheridan to lend his aſſiſtance? Were we ſtill to go on like children, and ſuppoſe that, becauſe we ſhut our eyes, others would not ſee? Had not the honourable gentleman himſelf been forward enough in what he called heartening the country? Had we been brought to our preſent grievous ſtate by any want of ſplendid harangues on the magnitude of our reſources? It was time that the people ſhould no longer be lulled into a falſe and fatal ſecurity, that this ſyſtem of deluſion ſhould be abandoned, and that we ſhould boldly look our danger in the face! At a moment when our credit, which was our chief ſupport, was, to ſay the leaſt of it, ſhaken, and when it was found to be neceſſary to introduce a compulſory paper currency, he who talked of heartening the country ought to be held reſponſible for all the future evils which might befal it.

By reſtricting the advances of the bank to the government, Mr. Fox was of opinion that immediate relief to the bank would be procured, as it would increaſe the confidence of the people in that body; a confidence which was now ſhaken by the idea that the directors were too compliant with the wiſhes of the miniſters. The repayment of even five millions would alſo operate in the moſt beneficial manner. It would prevent many demands from being made upon the bank which would otherwiſe be made. No one expected that the bank or the government could pay all their debts in ſpecie. It would be ſufficient to enable the bank to anſwer all the probable demands upon it, which would be conſiderably narrowed by the effect of the aſſociations, and by other cauſes. But this, it was ſaid, might be a matter of future diſcuſſion. That it might be of uſe was admitted: why not, then, give to the country a pledge of its immediate adoption? Beſides it would be more politic to do it by a reſolution of the houſe, than to leave it to form a part of the miniſter's plan of finance. The inactivity and miſplaced confidence of the houſe had been the cauſe of the ſhock which credit had ſuffered; and he, therefore, wiſhed to ſee the houſe have the merit of recovering that credit by its vigilance and activity.

To the extenſion of the paper currency, as being pregnant with danger, Mr. Fox declared himſelf to be adverſe. It would inevitably

bly lead to depreciation. In fact the paper was depreciated already, or whence the run upon the bank? Had paper been of equal value with cash, no such run would have occurred. That to lessen the quantity of paper might occasion some inconvenience was true, but we were now reduced to a choice of evils, of which, in his judgment, a reduction of paper was the least. Looking at it in another point of view, as a compulsory paper currency, he remarked that the longer such a currency continued, the greater was the risk of its being depreciated. I call it, said he, a compulsory currency, for, though I do not know whether it is intended to make it compulsory between individuals, it is already made compulsory between two great individuals, the government and the bank. Declining to give any opinion now on the expediency of extending the compulsion to private individuals, he threw out a suggestion that they might perhaps venture to make an exception of the public creditor, and to pay him in cash.

"I cannot," said he, "sit down without earnestly entreating every member, coolly and deliberately, to consider the question,—whether the deficiency of cash at present existing ought to be supplied with paper; or, rather, whether it ought not to be corrected by diminishing the quantity of paper in circulation; and whether, instead of looking to an extended commerce for the restoration of our credit, we ought not first to restore our credit that we may be afterwards enabled to extend our commerce? If there is one maxim which I have been accustomed to believe as more certain than another in the philosophy of politics, it is this, that the resources of a commercial country depend upon its credit, and that to look for commerce after credit is extinct, is to look for an effect without a cause."

The debate was closed by Mr. Sheridan, who gave a brief answer to the objections which had been started. The idea that his motion would tend to injure commerce, by abridging the circulation of paper, he treated with ridicule; contending, on the contrary, that the interests of commerce would be benefited by the success of his motion. If the bank were to be repaid the ten millions which the government was indebted to them, was it not obvious that they would be able to increase their liberality to trade? But the measure was said to be not so improper as ill-timed. Indeed! Was not the moment of pressure from public calamity the time for public relief? But the fact was that the minister had formed a regular plan to establish a forced paper currency. He had doomed the country to all the horrors of a compulsory paper circulation, and the house tamely acquiesced in the destruction of all that ought to be held sacred. Three or four millions had been issued since the stoppage of payment, and how far it was meant to push this system, it seemed to be of little moment to enquire.

The house having divided on the previous question, it was carried by a hundred and eighty-three voices against forty-five; the motion was consequently lost.

CHAP. VII.

Bill to continue the Order in Council brought in. Queſtions put by Mr. Fox. The ſecond reading oppoſed by Mr. Hobhouſe and others. Mr. Grey alludes to advances recently made to the Emperor. Reply to him. The Speaker leaving the chair oppoſed by Mr. Nicholls. The Indemnity to the Bank oppoſed by Mr. Fox and other members. The government charged with exerciſing an undue Influence over the Bank. The Clauſe of indemnity ſupported by Mr. Pitt and others. Mr. Pitt denies any interference in the Affairs of the Bank. The Oppoſition ſtill expreſs their doubts. Mr. Fox contends that Dividend Warrants ſhould be paid in Specie. Debate on the duration of the Bill. Speech of Sir William Pulteney. He hints at a Plan capable of producing great benefit. Speech of Mr. Fox. Diſpute on the extenſion of a Paper Circulation. Speech of Mr. Pitt. Reply of Mr. Fox. Debate on the Clauſe to iſſue Specie for paying the Army. The Chancellor of the Exchequer charged with ſiniſter Intentions. Angry altercation upon this occaſion. Another Debate on the duration of the Bill. Pleaſantry of Mr. Sheridan. Mr. Fox moves for the Bill to expire on the firſt of May, inſtead of the twenty-fourth of June. The Motion negatived. Clauſe inſerted as to how far Bank Notes ſhould operate as a legal Tender. Clauſe reſtraining the Advances of the Bank to the Government. Mr. Nicholls moves a Clauſe to limit the Debts of the Bank. It is rejected. Debate on a Clauſe allowing the Bank to repay three-fourths of any Caſh which it might receive. It is oppoſed by Mr. Fox, defended by Mr. Pitt, and others, and adopted. An Addition moved by Mr. Sheridan, and negatived. Motion of Sir William Pulteney, to obtain the Opinion of the Bank Directors, is negatived. Clauſe rejected relative to Diſtreſs for Rent. Clauſe moved by Sir William Pulteney, is rejected. A Clauſe moved by Mr. Fox is inſerted with an Amendment. Laſt debate on the Duration of the Bill. Attack of Sir William Pulteney on the Bank. The Bill is paſſed. It is ſent to the Peers, and paſſes there without a debate. Motion of Mr. Sheridan for a Committee to enquire into the propriety of further Grants to the Emperor. His ſpeech. Mr. Pitt's reply. The Motion is negatived. Reports of the Secret Committees preſented to the two Houſes. They are made the ground-work of an Attack upon the Miniſters. A ſeries of Reſolutions againſt the Miniſters moved in the Lords by the Duke of Bedford, and in the Commons by Mr. Grey. Summary of the Reſolutions. Violent Speech of the Duke of Bedford. He attacks the Report of the Committee. Sharp replies of Lord Grenville, and others, to his language reſpecting the miniſterial Lords, and the Committee. Speeches of the Earl of Liverpool, Lord Grenville, and Lord Auckland. The previous Queſtion is carried on the Reſolutions. Speech of Mr. Grey. Reply of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Reſolutions are rejected. Sir William Pulteney moves for leave to bring in a Bill to eſtabliſh a new Bank. Excellent Speech from him upon this ſubject. Speech of Mr. Sheridan. The Motion is negatived. A Bill brought

brought in to extend the Period of the Reſtriction. It is paſſed without any debate.

THE bill to confirm and continue the meaſures taken in purſuance of the order in council, and to indemnify the bank for its obedience to that order, was brought in, by the chancellor of the exchequer, on the thirteenth of March. Its progreſs through the houſe was ſlow, it being frequently interrupted by numerous objections, which were ſometimes urged with conſiderable warmth of language. When the ſecond reading was moved, Mr. Fox remarked that there ſeemed to be no proviſion to oblige the government to receive notes in payment of the taxes. He wiſhed to know, alſo, how far the meaſure was intended to operate upon the intercourſe between individuals. That it ſhould have no ſuch operation was a thing extremely to be deſired. But he could not, he ſaid, forbear pointing out to the houſe the painful ſituation in which every individual in England was now placed. There was ſcarcely a man, whatever might be his affluence, who did not owe ſomething; and, as matters now ſtood, every man who could not pay his debts in caſh was liable to be arreſted at the will of his creditor. Upon bankers this would bear with particular weight. Yet, bad as this was, the only remedy which could be reſorted to would be more deſtructive than the evil to which it was applied. He likewiſe expreſſed a hope that the bill would remain in action only for a ſhort period; and that, while the reſtriction continued upon caſh payments, ſome limit would be ſet to the iſſuing of bank paper.

Mr. Fox did not oppoſe the ſecond reading; but this was done, with more or leſs vehemence, by ſir John Sinclair, Mr. Hobhouſe, and Mr. Bryan Edwards. The firſt of theſe gentlemen was of opinion that the bill ought not to be hurried on, as the bank directors and proprietors had not yet conſulted on it; and he declared that, till the houſe was in poſſeſſion of the reaſons which had influenced the conduct of the directors, he ſhould reſiſt that part of the bill which indemnified the bank. On the latter point his ſentiments were echoed by Mr. Bryan Edwards. By Mr. Hobhouſe the whole meaſure was objected to, as an act of depredation on the public creditor, which ought to be ſtrenuouſly contended againſt at the outſet, leſt, encouraged by ſucceſs, the plunderer ſhould proceed with his ſyſtem of pillage. It was, he ſaid, his belief, that the bank would never recover that credit which it once enjoyed. Whenever it reopened, however diſtant the time might be, people would ruſh to exchange their notes for ſpecie, reſolved never more to be the victims of that deluſion by which they had ſo ſhamefully been cheated.

To the ſecond reading Mr. Grey gave his aſſent. As being cloſely connected with the bill, he, however, touched upon the ſubject of a ſum of money, to the amount of 120,000l. which, only ſix days before, had, he ſaid, been iſſued in exchequer bills, to be paid in ſpecie by the bank, to the agents of his imperial majeſty. In this he was joined by Mr. Tierney. Surely

at

at ſuch a time as this, ſaid they, the houſe would impoſe ſome reſtrictions upon the miniſters, who, in proportion as the public affairs became more deſperate, ſeemed to act with more deſperation. It was alſo, they remarked, a ſingular circumſtance, that theſe exchequer bills, at the moment of their being iſſued, were ſold at a diſcount of three and a half per cent. by the emperor's agent. Some explanation ought to be given, why the bills were thus depreciated, and whether the loſs was to fall upon this country, or upon his imperial majeſty.

To the queſtion reſpecting the diſcount upon the bills no anſwer was given. To the comments on the continuance of the remittances it was anſwered, that they were a part of ſums formerly voted by the houſe, and that it was not to be ſuppoſed that the parliament would reſcind or contradict its own grants. They were intended to take up bills drawn abroad, and regularly accepted here; and nothing ſhort of a phyſical impoſſibility to pay could juſtify the refuſal of payment. But it was not true, either in argument or in fact, that the emperor could not be aſſiſted any other way than in caſh. There were other means of making remittances, without any caſh whatever; and one proof of it was, that theſe very bills were not to be paid in caſh.

The chancellor of the exchequer ſeems to have been convinced of the propriety of liſtening to the ſuggeſtion of ſir John Sinclair; for the committee on the bill was poſtponed two days, in order to give time for a meeting of the bankers and others.

When, on the twenty-ſecond of March, the order of the day was read, for the houſe to reſolve itſelf into a Committee, the motion for the ſpeaker leaving the chair was oppoſed by Mr. Nicholls. Had the bill, he ſaid, had no other object than to protect the bank againſt thoſe debts which it had contracted previouſly to the twenty-fifth of February, he would have acquieſced in it. But the caſe was widely different. As the bill now ſtood, there was no limitation of the bank iſſues, which might be poured forth to any extent; no limitation to the ſums which the miniſters might ſecretly and ruinouſly obtain, when aided by the bank directors. Thus every check was removed in two quarters. He could not conſent to ſubſtitute permanently a paper in the room of a metallic currency, and to convert the bank into a manufactory of aſſignats, leaving thoſe aſſignats at the diſpoſal of the miniſter. The reſult of all this would be, as in France, that the paper would be depreciated, commodities purchaſed with it would riſe in price, double expenſes would be incurred by the nation, an enormous debt would be contracted, and, in the end, the new and old debt would be deſtroyed together, and the public creditors would be plunged into irretrievable ruin.

On the other ſide it was alleged that theſe arguments, even ſuppoſing them to be valid, were no arguments againſt going into a committee, ſince it was to the committee itſelf that the diſcuſſion of them belonged. The ſpeaker then left the chair, and the bill was read paragraph by paragraph.

On the firſt paragraph, that which

which granted an indemnity to the bank, a long debate arose. It was opposed by Mr. Fox, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Pollen, Mr. Bastard, lord George Cavendish, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Sheridan. In addition to all that had before been urged respecting the fatal effect of the stoppage, all which was once more arrayed against the minister, they contended, with reference to the clause of indemnity, that there was no ground laid to justify them in giving their assent to it. The former committee had, they said, only reported that the order of council having, in the first instance, been obeyed, it was now prudent to continue and confirm it. But the committee which was directed to enquire into the necessity for issuing that order, and consequently for the obedience which had been yielded by the bank, had not yet given in its report. Till that report was before the house, it would be absurd to indemnify the bank for an act which might, perhaps, eventually turn out to be a criminal one; and which, on the face of it, was undoubtedly so. In fact there was but too much cause for looking on the conduct of the bank with a jealous eye; that body having evidently been too subservient to the will of the minister. Besides this, there was, they affirmed, another sound reason for rejecting this clause. If what the ministers said were true, the clause was useless; the bank being already sufficiently protected by the associations in its favour.

As a striking proof of the censurable influence which the government exercised over the bank, it was asserted that when the bankers recently wished to obtain an issue of fifty thousand guineas, they did not apply to the bank, but to the chancellor of the exchequer; and through his intervention the issue was made. It was also declared that he had been applied to, in the same manner, relative to an extension of the bank discounts, and that, through his interference alone, the discounts were enlarged. Could any man believe, said Mr. Fox, that it was possible for public credit to stand against such transactions? If the chancellor of the exchequer, as would perhaps be pleaded, gave his advice only as an individual, I cannot, said the orator, help thinking, after all that has happened, that the bank has been unwise in its choice of a counsellor; but if he advised as a minister, what must Europe think of the credit of a country where the king can order the bank to accommodate particular persons?

The clause was supported by the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Elford, the attorney and solicitor general, Mr. Dundas, and other members. They contended that the circumstance of the report of the select committee not having been delivered, ought not to preclude the adoption of this clause. The simple question to be decided was, whether the bank, having acted in conformity with the orders of the government, and with the subsequent opinion of a committee of that house, ought not, in equity, to be secured from the penalty which legally attached to its obedience. It was another question whether the ministers were to blame, and with that the clause had no connection whatever. Those who voted for the clause would still have their judgment free to decide upon the report of the committee.

mittee. They might cenſure the miniſters, if they thought there were grounds for ſo doing, but, as far as regarded the bank, the houſe was, in ſome degree, pledged to preſerve it unharmed from the conſequences of its having acted in compliance with the order of council.

That, further than to give his opinion as an individual, he had at all interfered with reſpect to the increaſe of diſcounts, the chancellor of the exchequer denied in the moſt poſitive manner. It was true that the diſcounts had been liberally increaſed, and that he had expreſſed himſelf ſtrongly in favour of this meaſure, as being calculated to diminiſh difficulties, aſſiſt commerce, relieve public credit, and facilitate the re-opening of the bank; but this was the head and front of his offending; the bank had acted unſhackled, and at its own diſcretion. To his veracity on this point, Mr. S. Thornton, Mr. Manning, and Mr. Luſhington bore witneſs; all of them conſidering it as a ſort of inſult that the bank ſhould be imagined to be under the ſlighteſt degree of miniſterial controul. With reſpect to the iſſue of guineas it was, the chancellor of the exchequer ſaid, equally true that it had taken place. But the manner in which it was brought about had been erroneouſly deſcribed. Bound down, by the order of council, from paying away its ſpecie, the bank had conceived it to be a duty to apply to the council, for authority to iſſue the ſum which the bankers wanted, and that authority was given. With the diſtribution of the money he had had nothing to do; that having been wholly arranged by a committee choſen from among the bankers themſelves.

Though this ſtatement was confeſſed to be ſomewhat more ſatisfactory than had been expected, it was remarked that there was much cauſe to regret that the merchants and bankers had contracted a habit of looking up to the miniſter on ſuch occaſions. As, however, the bank had, in this inſtance, conſidered the miniſter in no other light than that of a mere individual, it were to be wiſhed that they would continue to do ſo. But, perhaps, there was more reaſon to fear that this would not be the caſe; that, on the contrary, the advice of a miniſter would ſtill be a ſort of command; that, whenever he gave counſel, his wiſdom would be leſs regarded than his power; and that, as he had ſhewn his power by taking away all the caſh of the bank, it would be thought an act of imprudence to diſſent from his opinion. Whether an extenſion of diſcounts would be beneficial, depended, it was ſaid, upon circumſtances to which ſome perſons did not appear to pay a proper attention. If the government paid the bank what it owed, and if the fatal connection between them were broken off, then, indeed, commerce might advantageouſly receive all the ſuccour of which it ſtood in need. But if the old ſyſtem were to be perſevered in, and the bank were to iſſue paper with no other limit than the demand for it, abſolute inſolvency muſt, ſooner or later, be the certain and terrible reſult.

A hint which, in the courſe of his ſpeech, the chancellor of the exchequer dropped, as to the policy of extending to individuals the ſame protection which was given to the bank, ſeems to have called

called forth ſome obſervations from ſir Francis Baring. He complained that individuals were expoſed to hardſhips from which the bank was exempted; and he alſo expreſſed his fears that bank paper might be depreciated, in conſequence of foreign merchants drawing upon this country bills which were payable only in gold and ſilver. A ſimilar effect had, he ſtated, been produced in Spain, and it was an object of the firſt importance to guard againſt it here.

The queſtion being at length put, the clauſe was carried, without a diviſion.

When the ſecond clauſe, forbidding the bank to iſſue caſh, came under diſcuſſion, Mr. Fox declared that he would move for an exception with reſpect to dividend warrants, and alſo that the bank ſhould be prohibited from making any advances to government by which, during the continuance of this act, the exiſting debt ſhould be increaſed. The chancellor of the exchequer replied that he ſhould object to the introducing of any ſuch clauſe of exception. The only preciſe ſtipulation with the public creditor was, that the public dividends ſhould be paid at the bank. The dividends were uſually paid in bank notes; and, beſides, if the preſent temporary embarraſſment compelled a ſuſpenſion of caſh payments, it was not reaſonable that the receivers of dividends ſhould be the only perſons who were not to bear a part in the general inconvenience.

This doctrine was conſidered by Mr. Fox to be of a very alarming kind; and the meaſure of paying the public creditor in bank notes, which were not convertible into caſh, he thought deſerved the name of a fraud. This, he ſaid, was the fulfilment of the event predicted by Hume. When the government lays its hands on the ſums provided for the payment of the public creditor, the government, not the bank, is the debtor; and the refuſal of payment is the act, not of the bank, but of the government. Sir William Pulteney, too, concurred in the opinion that, ſtrictly ſpeaking, the refuſal to pay in gold and ſilver was a fraud, gold and ſilver having been bargained for by the public creditor; but even fraud itſelf muſt be ſubmitted to, when there was an abſolute impoſſibility for the ſtate to avoid it. Mr. Fox did not perſiſt in preſſing his amendment.

The next ſubject of debate was the time which ſhould be fixed for the duration of the law. It was obſerved, by ſir William Pulteney, that, as the bill was now worded, it did not appear that the bank was ever to return to payments in ſpecie. All that alluded to this ſubject was a clauſe, which gave power to the parliament to alter or amend the ſtatute during the preſent ſeſſion. This was far too indefinite to ſatisfy the holders of bank paper. In his judgment a very early term ought to be choſen to terminate the ſuſpenſion of caſh payments, after which, if the bank could not go on, it ſhould bring its dealings to a cloſe. But even a diſtant definite period would be better than a period which was not defined. If by the mode in which he was now proceeding, the miniſter thought that he could long ſupport the credit of any paper, he groſsly deceived himſelf. Paper that could not at any moment be

converted into ſpecie would ſoon depreciate. It was not merely at home that we ought to look for the effect of the meaſure. We ſhould alſo caſt our eyes abroad. We ſhould examine what would be the effect on the price of foreign articles. Did any man in his ſenſes believe that, if the ſtoppage of payments in ſpecie were perſiſted in for a continuance, the price of thoſe articles would not be raiſed by the merchant? And would not this be an evil of ſerious magnitude?

Connected with his hint of putting an end to the bank, ſir William Pulteney more than once threw out another, that he was in poſſeſſion of a plan which, in the courſe of a month, a little month, would infallibly remove all the difficulties which were now experienced. Sir John Sinclair gave his teſtimony to the truth of this aſſertion. The two members, however, though attacked with ſome ſarcaſtic remarks, declined for the preſent to explain the ſcheme. What it was the reader will ſoon be told.

Mr. Fox concurred in the opinion that the period of the reſtriction ought to be limited, and that to a ſhort date. What limits it was meant to aſſign did not yet appear; but the further they were extended the greater would our difficulties be; and ſanguine indeed that man muſt be, who thought that the credit of the country would not be ruined if the bill continued for ſix or eight months. There were ſome perſons, he ſaid, who confeſſed that this evil could not be removed during the war. He agreed with them; but he doubted whether it could be removed even in peace, unleſs that deſirable event ſhould take place very ſoon. Every hour that it was delayed diminiſhed our chance of being delivered from the calamity. We were now on the brink of a dreadful precipice, and one falſe ſtep might plunge the country into a gulph whence it never more would riſe.

By the attorney general it was contended that the parliament could not, at this moment, prudently fix the duration of the reſtriction, and that it was ſufficient for it to reſerve to itſelf the power of altering the bill in the courſe of the ſeſſion. The chancellor of the exchequer, however, though not without evident doubt and heſitation, named the 24th of June, as the day on which it then ſeemed to him the bill ought to expire.

Much of the debate was occupied by a diſpute reſpecting the propriety of extending the circulation of paper. It was maintained, by Mr. Pitt, that, if the ideas of his opponents were to be adopted, it would tend to increaſe our embarraſſments, by ſtill further leſſening the quantity of our circulating medium. To him it appeared, that to give ſupport and vigour to our manufactures and commerce offered the beſt chance of bringing ſpecie and bullion to the bank; and that the moſt effectual way of producing this eſſential benefit was by a prudent iſſue of bank notes. The quantity could, he thought, be eaſily reduced at a future period.

It was replied, by Mr. Fox, that no doctrine could be more erroneous than this. The error lay in conſidering paper as a real circulating medium. In fact, paper was no ſuch thing. The precious metals

metals were the circulating medium, and paper was nothing more than the ſign of them. It was abſurd to ſuppoſe that paper could with impunity be poured forth at will, when no equivalent for it exiſted in ſpecie. Paper muſt always be ſecondary to the precious metals, and its exiſtence muſt depend upon credit; that credit ſpringing from the idea that the paper did not exceed in amount the fund of ſpecie which it repreſented. It could be ſubſtituted for gold and ſilver only by convention or by force. If by convention, the ſubſtitution was null, becauſe the reſt of the world were not parties to it; if by force, thoſe who uſed force muſt ſubmit to the fatal conſequences which had been felt by every country that had reſorted to the deſperate trial of a forced paper money. "To affirm that paper differs in its nature from every thing elſe, and that it is valuable in proportion as it is plentiful and not as it is rare; and that the abundance of it will incline people not to hoard their guineas, but to carry them to the bank; are propoſitions ſo inconſiſtent with ſound reaſoning, that I am aſhamed," ſaid Mr. Fox, "to be compelled to refute them, and to lay down principles which are ſo merely elementary that they are as clear as any of the ſimpleſt propoſitions of mathematical ſcience."

When, after an adjournment of three days, the committee reſumed its ſittings, an angry debate took place on a clauſe which was propoſed by Mr. Pitt, to authorize the iſſue of ſpecie for the purpoſe of paying the army. It was noticed by Mr. Fox with diſapprobation, as giving the military an unfair preference to the public creditor; and it was more warmly attacked by Mr. Whitbread, who intimated that the miniſter thought it proper to ſatisfy men who had arms in their hands, and perhaps meant to employ thoſe men in arms to ſilence the murmurs of thoſe who were unarmed.

This charge ſeems to have rouſed the miniſter into momentary anger, and accordingly, with the uſual infelicity of angry men, he replied in a manner which laid him more open to the ſhafts of his enemies. Having, not without reaſon, complained that ſuch accuſations were highly injurious as well as unfounded, he aſked whether the public creditor, the country, the conſtitution, would be ſafer, whether Mr. Whitbread himſelf, and thoſe who ſat round him, would be ſafer, if we had an army without pay, inſtead of an army which was regularly paid? The clauſe was grounded upon public neceſſity, and had for its object the public ſafety. He inſinuated, too, that thoſe who raiſed ſuch objections could not be the friends of peace and order.

This, which was in truth a confeſſion that the army was, or at leaſt might become, a dangerous body to the ſtate, was commented on by Mr. Fox, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Sheridan, as being language of the moſt alarming and unconſtitutional kind. The law ſaid that the public creditor muſt be paid, even before an army could be raiſed; but it now appeared that the army was to take precedence of the public creditor. At this rate, any part of the public funds might hereafter be appro-

 priated

priated to the payment of the army, for it muſt lead to this if the neceſſity ſhould ariſe. With ſuch a mode of reaſoning as theirs, and ſituated as the country was in conſequence of their miſconduct and extravagance, Mr. Fox declared that he was by no means eaſy to ſee the miniſters poſſeſs ſuch a dreadful engine of power as an army thus paid, in caſe their own perſonal fears ſhould induce them to call it out to reſiſt internal commotions. Mr. Sheridan, however, thought that it would be a libel upon the military, to ſuppoſe that they would lend their aid to the plans of the miniſter; and he ſarcaſtically remarked that he knew of but one man in the houſe who would not be perfectly ſafe without military protection.

After a brief reply from Mr. Pitt, who, in a more temperate tone, diſclaimed any ſiniſter deſign, the clauſe was agreed to, without a diviſion.

Another debate took place on the clauſe limiting the duration of the bill. Declaring himſelf to be quite at a loſs what time to propoſe, the chancellor of the exchequer at laſt mentioned the 24th of June, as being the earlieſt day that it would be proper to adopt. This diſtant date was, however, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed. It was ſaid that the longer the reſtriction was continued the worſe the ſituation of the bank would be, and that it ought not to be extended beyond a month. Much pleaſantry was, on this ſubject, diſplayed by Mr. Sheridan, who typified the bank as an old lady in the city, of long ſtanding and great credit, who had unfortunately fallen into bad company from the weſt end of the town, and made a ſlip, which, conſidering the blandiſhments and arts of her ſeducer, was not altogether inexcuſable. There was, he ſaid, ſtill a hope that, by breaking off the connection immediately and for ever, the old gentlewoman might recover her reputation. To haſten as much as poſſible this deſirable event, Mr. Fox moved that the 1ſt of May ſhould be inſerted in the bill, inſtead of the 24th of June. This amendment was ſtrongly ſupported, by ſeveral members, but was, at length, rejected, by 218 noes againſt 88 ayes. In this debate ſir William Pulteney was a frequent ſpeaker, and he more than once took occaſion to deſcant on the many and certain advantages that would reſult from the plan which he had formed.

On the following day, the report being brought up, and the amendments read, the chancellor of the exchequer moved a clauſe, which was adopted, enjoining collectors of the revenue to receive bank notes in payment, during the continuance of the reſtriction.

The next clauſe was one of importance, and it excited much diſcuſſion, which, however, was calmly carried on. Deſirous to avoid making bank notes a poſitive legal tender, and yet to prevent individuals from being ſubjected, as they otherwiſe might be, to ſerious inconvenience, Mr. Pitt, as the beſt medium between the two extremes, propoſed that if any man offered a bank note in payment of a demand, that offer ſhould do away the effect of a perſonal arreſt in the firſt inſtance, leaving the other part of the proceſs of law to go on in its ordinary courſe. The bank

bank note would thus ſtand as a ſecurity to the creditor, and would ſave the debtor from the diſgrace and expence of arreſt, and the trouble of procuring bail. This clauſe the bankers, he ſaid, conſidered to be quite ſufficient to ſhield them from thoſe diſagreeable conſequences to which, without the protection that it afforded, they might perhaps be expoſed.

No one objected to the principle of the clauſe, though there were various opinions as to its extent and efficacy, and it was conſequently received without a diviſion. Some ſurpriſe was expreſſed that the bankers, liable as they ſtill were to haraſſing ſuits at law, were ſo eaſily ſatisfied. Mr. Dent was the only member who expreſſed a wiſh that bank notes ſhould be made a legal tender. Mr. Huſſey, in common with others, was decidedly hoſtile to this, and ſuggeſted a plan for rendering available, in circulation, the whole maſs of the funded property.

Mr. Fox having moved a clauſe, forbidding the bank, while the reſtriction was in force, from iſſuing caſh by way of loan to the government, for any foreign power, Mr. Pitt gave his aſſent to the principle, but thought that it required ſome qualification. Very ſerious miſchief might, he ſaid, enſue, from the government being ſuddenly deprived of this ſource of raiſing money upon exchequer bills. He, therefore, propoſed to introduce an exception, conferring the power of iſſuing money to the amount of 600,000l., but that only on the credit of exchequer bills already authorized by a vote of the parliament. The clauſe was admitted, with the addition of this exception.

A clauſe of no ſmall importance was then propoſed by Mr. Nicholls. It was to limit the amount of the debts which the bank might be allowed to contract during the continuance of the preſent bill. What ſhould be the ſum he was willing, provided that it were not unreaſonably large, to leave to the ſuggeſtion of the chancellor of the exchequer. Previouſly to the failure of the bank there was, he ſaid, a natural limitation of the iſſue of bank paper, becauſe, if more was iſſued than was wanted, the redundant portion would ſpeedily be ſent back for caſh. That natural check was now removed; and, therefore, a legal one muſt be ſubſtituted; otherwiſe the bank was converted into a mint, which might coin bills without bounds, and without the poſſibility of reſtraint. It had been urged, that the bank would make a moderate uſe of its unlimited power, but this was not a ſecurity on which it was prudent to rely. The French government was at firſt moderate in its iſſues of aſſignats; neceſſity, however, ſoon compelled it to be profuſe. The houſe would in vain declare that at ſuch a period the bill ſhould expire; it would be impotent to enforce its own enactments. When the bill was once paſſed, it muſt continue till the bank could pay its creditors in caſh; and to enable it thus to pay its creditors, it was in the higheſt degree neceſſary to prevent it from encreaſing the amount of its debts.

Mr. Pitt having intimated that further advances to government were laid under reſtrictions, Mr.

Nicholls replied that open and direct loans were certainly prohibited, but that it was ſtill poſſible for the miniſter to obtain money from the bank covertly and indirectly. The miniſter might open a loan, and his friends might fill it, relying that, through his intervention, they ſhould obtain money from the bank, either on the diſcount of bills, or by a pledge of their ſcrip.

This implied charge againſt the bank was conſidered by Mr. Thornton, one of the bank directors, to be unwarrantable and unbearable. No miniſter, no authority on earth, ever had, he affirmed, or ever ſhould have, any controul over the directors in the accommodation which they gave to individuals by diſcounting. They acted with perfect freedom. They were alſo, he ſaid, the beſt judges of what iſſues of paper ought to be made, and the clauſe was, therefore, unneceſſary. This was likewiſe the opinion of Mr. Manning, another director.

This poſitive contradiction was met by one as poſitive from Mr. Nicholls. It was, he maintained, a notorious fact that the diſcounts were a matter of favour; the influence of the miniſters over the directors was equally an unimpeachable fact; and he did not heſitate to ſay, that, by that influence, all the parties were ſtained with criminality.

By Mr. Fox it was remarked that, after what had happened, the high language of the directors was not quite decorous, and that aſſuredly they were not the moſt proper perſons to judge what limits ought to be put to the iſſue of their paper. He thought that there obviouſly ought to be a limitation, though he was rather in favour of a large than a ſmall one.

The queſtion being put upon the clauſe, it was carried in the negative. The houſe then adjourned for four days.

This delay was for the purpoſe of giving time to the miniſter to conſult with the bank and the bankers, upon the ſubject of a clauſe, which allowed the bank to repay, in caſh, three fourths of any ſum which might be depoſited with it, in caſh, during the continuance of the bill. When this clauſe was brought up, by Mr. Pitt, who ſtated that the bank and the bankers thought it likely to be of great advantage to the bank and the public, Mr. Fox expreſſed his diſapprobation of it in forcible terms. The bill itſelf, he ſaid, could be defended only by a principle which could not be limited; namely, that of neceſſity. Now, the neceſſity which had once occurred, might occur again. Suppoſing that this clauſe were agreed to, there was no real ſecurity that the pledge which it gave would be more inviolable than former pledges had been; and he was averſe from decoying men to bring their caſh to the bank on the faith of a promiſe which would perhaps be broken.

It was objected to by Mr. Tierney, with equal vigour, though on ſomewhat different grounds. He deſcribed it as being founded neither on common honeſty nor common prudence. To ſay that the clauſe was approved of by the bankers, was, he ſaid, quite needleſs; for they would profit handſomely by it, at the expence of their cuſtomers. Under this clauſe, a banker might take to the bank a thouſand guineas

guineas belonging to a cuſtomer, draw out ſeven hundred and fifty of them whenever he pleaſed, and refuſe to pay the owner of them in any thing but paper. It was alſo another forcible argument againſt it, that it gave to the city bankers the power of embarraſſing the bank whenever they choſe, by making large demands upon it; a circumſtance which was of no improbable occurrence, as he had good authority for ſaying that there was not at preſent a very good underſtanding between thoſe two parties.

The clauſe was defended by the chancellor of the exchequer, alderman Curtis, Mr. Dent, and Mr. H. Thornton. It was urged by Mr. Pitt, that the caſe which Mr. Fox had put was an extreme one, from which it was not fair to reaſon generally. It did not follow that, becauſe the government had once been obliged to ſtop payments at the bank, that the ſame thing muſt again occur. How could the clauſe be called a decoy to lure the money of individuals within the reach of the government? Did not every monied man know all the circumſtances of the caſe as well as Mr. Fox did; and was it to be imagined that they would run into danger with open eyes? The plain intent, the obvious action of the clauſe was, to encreaſe the means of gradual accumulation. Every man who had money would feel the inconvenience of keeping it hoarded by him, and would therefore depoſit in the bank as much as he could ſpare from his preſent wants. The conſequence of this would be to keep the general principles of banking alive, upon a ſeparate fund.

The other ſpeakers vindicated the clauſe more copiouſly, but on nearly the ſame principles. Mr. Thornton added, that it would produce another beneficial effect; that of in ſome meaſure affording to the bank a criterion to judge when it might ſafely reſume its payments. By obſerving whether the guineas, paid in under this clauſe, were called out in great quantities or not, the directors would be enabled to form a tolerably accurate judgment upon this ſubject. As to the idea that the bankers would make money of the guineas of their cuſtomers, or would refuſe to pay thoſe guineas to the rightful owners, it was conſidered, both by Mr. Thornton and Mr. Dent, as one which had not the ſlighteſt foundation.

Theſe aſſertions were combated by the original oppoſers of the clauſe, particularly by Mr. Sheridan, who ridiculed the thought that bankers ſcorned to make intereſt out of the money of their cuſtomers. This was, he ſaid, a plan by which the bankers might turn to advantage three fourths of the gold of their cuſtomers, and put in jeopardy the remaining fourth. It was alſo exceptionable, inaſmuch as it gave a preference to bankers over merchants and others. Mr. Tierney likewiſe declared that the natural operation of it would be, to bring almoſt all the caſh in the kingdom within the gripe of the bankers.

Though the oppoſition diſliked the clauſe, they did not preſs it to a diviſion, and it was conſequently received. Mr. Tierney, however, when the report of the bill was read, moved, as an addition to the original clauſe, that "nothing in it ſhould extend to any caſe where-

in a banker who might have been held to ſpecial bail, ſhould not have made an affidavit, that he did not, at the time of arreſt, poſſeſs the whole, or three fourths, of the caſh for which he had been arreſted." This was oppoſed by Mr. Pitt, as being againſt the principle of the bill, ſince it would give power to one perſon to ſweep off all the caſh in a banker's hands. It was, therefore, negatived.

Conceiving, he ſaid, that if the government were allowed to interfere with the bank, without the conſent of that corporation, it would be putting into their hands a moſt dangerous authority, ſir William Pulteney now moved that "the bill ſhould have no effect, unleſs the directors ſhould certify to the ſpeaker, on or before the third reading, that the reſtriction was impoſed at their ſpecial inſtance and requeſt." The houſe divided upon this clauſe, which was negatived, by 86 againſt 35.

A clauſe had already been offered, by alderman Combe, to make bank notes a ſufficient tender to prevent a diſtreſs for rent; but it had been withdrawn at the requeſt of the chancellor of the exchequer, in order to give time for a mature conſideration of its tendency. After a ſufficient delay it was re-propoſed by Mr. Wilberforce Bird. Its equity was obvious, but had not influence enough to procure its adoption. It was thought to be unneceſſary, becauſe a diſtreſs was not likely to be enforced where bank notes were forthcoming; it was ſaid to be impolitic, becauſe it made bank notes ſtill further a legal tender. The chancellor of the exchequer and the ſolicitor general were its principal opponents. The latter was of opinion that it ought not to be adopted, the tenant having the remedy of replevin, in caſe of being diſtrained upon. It was truly anſwered, that the remedy was a coſtly one, that the poor might be ſeverely haraſſed, and that the protection which was denied to them had been granted to the rich. The clauſe was negatived.

Determined, if poſſible, to aſcertain the fact, reſpecting which he ſeems to have had ſtrong ſuſpicions, whether the ſuſpenſion of caſh payments was a meaſure originating with the government or the bank, ſir William Pulteney, on the third reading of the bill, moved a clauſe, the object of which was, to require the bank directors, within a certain ſhort period after the paſſing of the act, to come forward and declare whether they wiſhed the reſtriction to continue. If they did not, then it ſhould immediately ceaſe. If the meaſure on which the houſe was now debating originated with the bank, he held their charter to be forfeited, and, though he did not wiſh to deprive them of that, he avowed that he wiſhed to deſtroy their monopoly. The clauſe was oppoſed by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, and was negatived by 79 voices againſt 42.

When the bill came to its laſt ſtage, Mr Fox propoſed a clauſe, which he had already announced, "to enable the bank to pay in caſh ſuch parts and proportions as it ſhould think proper, before the expiration of the act, upon its giving three days' notice, to the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, which notice ſhould be publiſhed in the London Gazette, and poſted up at the royal exchange."

He

He explicitly declared that the purpoſe of this clauſe, as of that propoſed by ſir William Pulteney, was to diſcover whether the bank's refuſing to pay in caſh was the effect of the prohibition, or of its own choice. He did not, he ſaid, wiſh to uſe any harſh phraſe, but it did ſeem to him that there had been, between the government and the bank, ſomething like a juggle as to whom the reſponſibility ſhould be borne by.

Mr. Pitt did not directly oppoſe this clauſe, but he dextrouſly introduced an amendment, which defeated the intention of the original mover. On the ground that the clauſe, in its preſent ſhape, would impoſe a ſevere hardſhip on the bank, he moved that ſuch payments ſhould be from caſh accumulated in the bank ſince the 26th. of February. The houſe divided upon this amendment, and it was carried; there being 103 for it, and 31 againſt it.

Every thing was now done, except inſerting the date of the period when the bill ſhould expire. On this occaſion Sir William Pulteney moved to ſubſtitute the 6th. of May inſtead of the 24th. of June. He took this opportunity to diſcloſe his own plan, and to make a ſevere and well managed attack on the conduct of the bank. His ſcheme was to put an end to the bank monopoly, and eſtabliſh a ſecond bank, and this, he contended, might be accompliſhed, with infinite advantage to the public, and not only without injury, but even with eſſential benefit to the preſent bank. It ought to be a part of the inſtitution of the new bank that it ſhould not be allowed to apply to the government to ſhield itſelf from the claims of its creditors. The inordinate influence which the bank had now obtained, not merely over the manufacturing and commercial portion of the country, but likewiſe over the executive government, was, he ſaid, both degrading and perilous. If that body oppoſed itſelf to the meaſures of the government, its power was in his opinion ſo dangerouſly great as to controul the laws, and to prevent the continuance of the war, even though that continuance was deſired by the wiſhes of the nation. On the other hand, its power was equally dangerous if thrown into the hands of the government; and it could, from time to time, make advances which were injurious to the real intereſts of the country. The fall of ſtock, at this moment, he conſidered to be mainly owing to the power which the bank poſſeſſed; a power which might eventually compel us to the ſigning of an ignominious peace. It was diſgraceful to the miniſters thus to ſuffer the government to lie at the mercy of a corporate company, and not ſooner to have reſiſted and ſhaken off the yoke.

The amendment was ſupported by Mr. Fox, who, however, diſſented in ſome points from the opinion of the ſpeaker whom he ſeconded.

The chancellor of the exchequer declined to enter into any diſcuſſion of the honourable baronet's plan; but he oppoſed the amendment, as fixing the limitation at too early a period. Mr. S. Thornton having endeavoured to vindicate the bank from ſome of the charges againſt it, the queſtion was put that the original words ſhould be retained

retained in the bill, and it was agreed to without a diviſion. This memorable bill was then paſſed, on the 9th of April, and was ſent up to the lords. In the houſe of peers it excited no debate, and was read there for the laſt time on the 1ſt of May. Thus was completed a law which, though enacted profeſſedly for a duration of leſs than three months, has already exiſted nearly a quarter of a century, and has produced more important conſequences than, perhaps, any other ſtatute that ever was framed.

While it was going through its final ſtages, Mr. Sheridan once more brought before the houſe the frequently conteſted topic of granting aſſiſtance to the emperor. As ariſing out of, and linked with, the diſcuſſion on the bank, the debate muſt find a place in this chapter. Having previouſly called for the neceſſary papers, he moved, on the 4th of April, "that this houſe ſhall reſolve itſelf into a committee of the whole houſe, to enquire whether it can, conſiſtently with its duty, and regard for the eſſential intereſt of the country, under the preſent circumſtances, permit a further loan or advances to be made to his imperial majeſty."

With the importance of the ſubject he appeared to be deeply impreſſed, for, in language rather hyperbolical, he declared that there never was one brought before parliament, which excited more anxiety in the public mind; or to the prompt deciſion of which the public looked with more impatience. In his opinion it involved nothing leſs than the queſtion whether we were to be ſaved or ruined, and the enquiry into it did not admit of a moment's delay. This being his belief, it is not to be wondered at that he exerted all the force of his eloquence, to win the ſuffrages of his hearers. Novelty of reaſoning, however, no one could expect. All the regular arguments, ſo often urged, ſo often replied to, were again brought forward to prove that nothing could be hoped from perſeverance in the conteſt, that it was a flagrant waſte of money to ſubſidize the emperor, that he had not performed any of his pecuniary engagements, that he ought to make exertions in his own behalf, and that the ſituation of the country was lamentable, and would grow worſe, even to irretrievable ruin, unleſs a change of ſyſtem were immediately adopted. With reſpect to the bank, the miniſter was accuſed of having obſtinately perſiſted in draining it of its money to ſend abroad, in ſpite of earneſt and repeated remonſtrances; of having, in the ſpeech from the throne, deceived the parliament by falſe repreſentations, at the moment when the bank was on the eve of bankruptcy; and of having aggravated his guilt, by abuſing alſo, in council, the unſuſpecting temper of his majeſty with untrue ſtatements of the cauſe which rendered neceſſary the order for ſtopping payment, that cauſe not being, as he pretended, the demand for ſpecie in conſequence of the fears of invaſion, but the gradually growing and inevitable reſult of that conduct againſt which the bank had ſo long and ſo fruitleſsly remonſtrated. Mr. Sheridan wound up his ſpeech by ſeverely reprobating, as the doctrines of pride, inſolence, and ignorance, the new and ſtrange doctrines that the parliament was not the parliament of the people, but

but of the king, and that the people had nothing to do with the laws except to obey them; and he conjured his auditors to remember that they were reſponſible to the people, and to ſhow, by their vote of that day, that they really thought ſo, and would act accordingly.

At the outſet of his defence, the chancellor of the exchequer animadverted on the inconſiſtency, as he deemed it, of Mr. Sheridan, in aſſerting, that the caſe did not admit of heſitation or delay, and then moving for a committee, which motion was in fact, nothing more than an ambiguous attempt to make the houſe indirectly pronounce an opinion with reſpect to a ſubject on which, as the committee of ſecrecy had not yet reported, the commons had not information enough to enable them to paſs a full and fair deciſion. The aſſertion that the advances to the emperor had occaſioned the ſtoppage of the bank he met by a poſitive denial of its correctneſs; and he backed his denial by ſtating, that, while thoſe advances were making, the quantity of caſh in the bank was encreaſing, and that, during the whole of the time the balance of exchange was in favour of this country. The very extenſive remittances to Ireland, and the local alarms, were, he maintained, the real cauſes of the drain of caſh from the bank. That he had been aware of the approaching difficulties of the bank he alſo as poſitively denied. To the gloomy picture which had been drawn of our ſituation he oppoſed one more brightly coloured; and he contended that we were not only able to aſſiſt the emperor, but that ſound policy called on us ſo to do; it being the cheapeſt mode of defence to which we could poſſibly reſort. Could it, he ſaid, be imagined that our ſecurity would be greater, our apprehenſions diminiſhed, our credit more likely to revive, when all the means of our enemy were concentrated againſt us, than when ſo large a part of thoſe means was employed in the continental war? Certainly not; and the perpetual, though fruitleſs, attempts of the enemy to lure his imperial majeſty to a ſeparate peace furniſhed a ſufficient and irrefragable proof that, even if gratitude and good faith were forgotten, wiſdom would dictate to us to continue firmly united with ſuch a conſtant and valuable ally.

After a long and eloquent ſpeech from Mr. Fox, a reply to Mr. Pitt, from Mr. Sheridan, and a few remarks from Sir William Pulteney and lord George Cavendiſh, the houſe divided on the motion, which was negatived by a great majority; the ayes being 87, the noes 266.

The queſtion now reſted till after the eaſter holidays. The reports of the ſecret committees having then been preſented to the two houſes, they were ſpeedily made the baſis of a vigorous attack on the miniſters. In the houſe of lords the lead was taken by the duke of Bedford; in the houſe of commons by Mr. Grey. The former moved a ſeries of twenty reſolutions upon the ſubject; the latter a ſeries of nineteen. Both ſeries were, of courſe, in ſubſtance the ſame *. They deſcribed as impo-

* For the firſt ſeries of reſolutions, See Appendix to the Chronicle, p. * 217.

litic

litic the act of 1793, which removed the reſtraint impoſed upon the bank in lending money to the government; they heavily cenſured the large and clandeſtine remittances which had been ſent to the emperor; and, enumerating the remonſtrances and repreſentations which the bank directors had made, they accuſed the chancellor of the exchequer of having occaſioned the painful and dangerous neceſſity of ſuſpending the payment of caſh at the bank. "It appears to this houſe" ſaid the concluding reſolution moved by the duke of Bedford, "upon an attentive examination of the evidence reported by the ſecret committee, upon a minute peruſal of the correſpondence between the governor and directors of the bank of England, and the chancellor of the exchequer, in the years 1795, 1796, and 1797; and after a thorough review of the whole circumſtances of the caſe, that the neglect of the chancellor of the exchequer in diſcharging or ſufficiently diminiſhing the amount of the ſums advanced to government by the bank of England, his perſeverance in directing treaſury bills of exchange, to an amount unexampled, to be paid, at the bank, his frequent promiſes, and conſtant breach of thoſe promiſes, to reduce their amount within the ſum of 500,000*l*, and the enormous amount of his remittances to foreign princes in loans and ſubſidies, were the principal and leading cauſes which produced the neceſſity for the order of council on the 26th. of February laſt." The cloſing reſolution of the ſeries moved by Mr. Grey was "that it appears to this houſe, upon the moſt attentive conſideration of the circumſtances above ſtated, that the chancellor of the exchequer has been guilty of a criminal inattention to the public intereſt, and a high breach of duty, by which the credit of the country has been materially impaired."

The motion of the duke of Bedford was brought forward on the 15th of May, and his ſpeech was replete with more than his wonted bitterneſs againſt the miniſters, particularly the chancellor of the exchequer. After warning his hearers that unleſs they expreſſed a decided diſaprobation of the conduct of the government, they would implicate the character of that houſe and of the country, he proceeded to ſtate that he had, from the beginning, ſtrongly doubted the truth of the pretext aſſigned by the order in council for the ſtoppage of payment at the bank. That pretext was the drain of caſh occaſioned by the alarm of invaſion. But, if the fear of invaſion were the cauſe of the run upon the bank, why did not that run take place at the commencement of the ſeſſion, when the alarm was more ſtrongly felt? His doubts were converted into certainty, when he recollected the various inſtances of incapacity and duplicity of which the miniſters had been guilty, and when he ſaw them deluding the public with a mockery of enquiry, carried on by themſelves, in conjunction with their known and zealous ſupporters. It was this which induced him to move for another committee, with extended powers. They had not thought proper to oppoſe this motion, but, as they had before done, they had taken care to have a committee compoſed of their own friends, with a due proportion

portion of the members of the cabinet. From such a committee as this, he owned that he had expected little that could throw a light on the subject; but fortunately he had been disappointed, the committee having had to examine men of the first respectability, all of whom agreed in sentiment, and having likewise had to inspect written documents, which did not leave the shadow of a doubt as to the inferences which ought to be drawn from them.

But, though his grace acknowledged that important truths had been elicited by the investigation, he was by no means disposed to give any credit to the investigators themselves. On the contrary, he treated them with unbounded asperity. The great suject of his complaint and reproof was a paper, with the title of a summary of the chief points, which they had annexed to their report. This paper he seemed disposed to charge with all possible sins both of omission and commission. To say that he disagreed with many parts of it, was, he declared, a feeble term to express his disapprobation. It abounded in gross misrepresentations, in shameful attempts to conceal what ought to be known to the house, and in assertions which were unwarranted by fact. This paper, he said, misstated the circulating medium of the country, by denying that bills of exchange formed any part of that medium, which was notoriously wrong; it gave a false account of the remittances made to the continent for carrying on the war; it pretended to include in those remittances the imperial loan and the sums advanced to the emperor, whereas they were in truth excluded, thus making an error to the extent of five millions and a half; it reasoned erroneously as to the state of exports and imports; and it omitted all the most material parts of the evidence, namely, those which related to the correspondence between the bank directors and the chancellor of the exchequer, upon the danger of his continuing to send money abroad, and of their continuing to make advances to the government. Of this evidence it would, indeed, have been difficult to give a summary, for no sentence of it could be expunged without expunging a charge against the minister.

Having remarked upon some other points in the summary, and upon others in the report, his grace commented copiously upon the statements and remonstrances which had been made by the bank to the chancellor of the exchequer, which were the ground-work of his motion, and he wound up his speech by a severe philippic against the administration, and a vehement appeal to his hearers. There was, in reality, more of passion and declamation in his language than dignity and eloquence. The ministry he branded as oppressors of the poor, and plunderers of the rich, and their supporters as the despicable agents and venal partisans of a corrupt and detestable faction. To those despicable agents and venal partisans he, however, held out one hope of redeeming their characters. It remained, he said, for them to decide whether they would pass a censure upon the unprincipled conduct of the ministers, or whether they would attempt, vain and fruitless as he could assure them the attempt would be, to screen

ſcreen thoſe miniſters from the juſt condemnation which awaited them. If they gave the vote for which he called upon them, their paſt miſdoings might be attributed to error, but if, in defiance of the plaineſt proofs of criminality, they perſiſted in ſupporting a weak and incapable miniſtry, which had violated every principle of rectitude, and outraged the rights of the people, the plea of error would no longer ſerve them; they would participate in their guilt, and eventually in their diſgrace. Now, therefore, was the time to ſhow that they were not regardleſs of every thing beyond the paſſing hour; that their children and poſterity were not wholly out of their thoughts; that they had ſtill a ſpark of Britiſh ſpirit in their boſoms; and that they were yet virtuous enough to acknowledge their faults, and brave enough to ſhake off the fetters of corruption.

It was not to be ſuppoſed that language like this would be paſſed over in ſilence by thoſe againſt whom it was aimed. The duke of Athol reprobated it in pointed terms, declaring that it was ſuch as the noble ſpeaker would not have thought himſelf warranted to uſe in any private company in which he was preſent, and which ought not to be endured in that houſe, as the ſame reſpect and decorum were due to their lordſhips in general, whatever might be the political ſentiments of each individual. By lord Grenville it was ſaid, that however fit ſuch groſs invectives might be for his grace's hearers in Old Palace Yard, or elſewhere, they were extremely unfit to be uttered in parliament, or indeed in any other aſſembly of honourable men. It was, however, no new thing for the noble duke to aſſume it is an undeniable fact, that all the virtue, talents and patriotiſm, to be found in both houſes, was confined to the ſcanty number of friends with whom he acted, and that the majority of both parts of the legiſlature, and even the majority of the people of England, were devoid of all principle, actuated by the baſeſt and meaneſt motives, and abject and venal ſlaves of his majeſty's miniſters. Nor did lord Grenville ſuffer the violent attack upon the committee to remain unnoticed. No man before had ever, he ſaid, ventured to treat a report of a committee of noble lords of the higheſt rank, and of the firſt character, with ſo much indecency. The charges, however, recoiled back upon him who made them.

The motion was oppoſed by lord Grenville, the duke of Athol, lord Auckland, the earl of Kinnoul, and the earl of Liverpool, the latter of whom moved the previous queſtion. The noble earl contended, that far from deſerving the cenſure which had been ſo profuſely caſt upon it, no committee could act more candidly, or more impartially; that the ſummary annexed to its report was drawn up with perfect fairneſs; that the chancellor of the exchequer had never deceived the bank; that neither the advances made by the bank, nor the remittances ſent to the emperor, could have produced an injurous effect, the former being leſs in amount than they were in 1780, and the latter being ſo comparatively ſmall that it was abſurd to ſuppoſe they could have had any influence on our immenſe circulating

ting medium; that, in the laſt four years of the war ending in 1763, a larger ſum was ſent to the continent than during the four years of the preſent war, and that, therefore, it was idle to imagine that, with a yearly balance of trade in our favour to the amount of ten millions, we could not afford to do what we did without injury thirty years ago; that it was recognized to be found policy to keep the enemy occupied abroad; and, laſtly, that the ſtoppage and diſtreſs were partly to be attributed to alarm, and, ſtill more, to the encreaſed demand for diſcounts, to carry on numerous and expenſive ſpeculations, in canals, docks, and other great works of a ſimilar kind. This encreaſed demand his lordſhip aſcribed to the prejudicial operation of the law of the twelfth of queen Anne, which was thought to prohibit diſcounts at more than five per cent. The conſequences of this act were obvious. In time of peace, when intereſt was low, monied men were willing to lay out their money in diſcounting, but in time of war, when perhaps by other means twelve per cent might be made, they turned their capitals in that direction, and this neceſſarily occaſioned a great demand for diſcounts. In his opinion this law, which was diſapproved of by lord Mansfield, ought to be repealed, and money left to find its level like other commodities.

Arguments of nearly the ſame tenor were uſed by the other peers on the ſide of the miniſtry. To enforce what lord Liverpool had ſtated, with reſpect to the advances to the emperor, lord Grenville denied that there was one ſingle fact to prove that thoſe advances had either cauſed a run upon the bank, depreſſed the exchanges, or in any way injured the credit of the country. On the contrary, the exchange roſe in our favour during the advances; and, eſtimating the whole public circulation at nearly one hundred millions, it was ridiculous to ſuppoſe that it could be affected by ſubtracting from it ſuch a ſum as nine hundred thouſand or a million pounds. While on this head, he noticed, with due cenſure, the ſtrange idea which had gone forth, that the miniſter had promiſed to make no advances to the emperor without the concurrence of the bank; a promiſe which, as he juſtly obſerved, would have been nothing leſs than a ſurrender of the functions of the government into the hands of the bank. Nothing ſo preposterous was done; and, in fact, Mr. Raikes himſelf, in his evidence, had clearly proved that there never was an idea of fettering the miniſter with reſpect to private remittances to the emperor, or to any other quarter.

By lord Auckland it was maintained that the run upon the bank was not occaſioned by any of the cauſes aſſigned for it by the party in oppoſition. It was partly cauſed by alarm, which had induced individuals to hoard, but much more by the increaſed demands of commerce, manufactures, and internal improvements. As to the propriety of the large advances from the bank to the government, which had ſo miſtakenly been a ſubject of complaint, he ſtrongly aſſerted it, on the ground that, to have raiſed the money by loan, a capital of twenty millions muſt have been given

given for the ten which were borrowed, and additional taxes, to the annual amount of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, muſt have been impoſed upon the people. If, therefore, the ſum could be obtained from the bank, without reducing it to the neceſſity of limiting its diſcounts, the meaſure was obviouſly dictated by prudence. Perhaps the diſcounts might, in a ſmall degree, be diminiſhed by the advances; but it was his belief that the ſame drain of caſh would have taken place, had the advances to the government been on a more contracted ſcale.

The earl of Guildford was the only peer who ſpoke in favour of the reſolutions. His arguments were ſimilar to thoſe which had been uſed by the duke of Bedford. The previous queſtion being at length put, it was carried, without a diviſion, on the whole ſeries of reſolutions.

The debate in the other houſe was but languidly ſupported, few members taking a part in it, and the reſult was the ſame as in the peers. In bringing forward the motion Mr. Grey anticipated the little ſucceſs with which his exertions were likely to be crowned, and declared that nothing but his public duty could have induced him to ſtand forward in the painful and invidious ſituation of an accuſer. On the queſtion of the neceſſity for the order of council he expreſſed his diſſent from the opinion of the reſt of the committee; he being ſatisfied that, even ſuppoſing the drain of caſh to have continued at its greateſt rate, the bank could have gone on paying for a week longer, in which time expedients might have been found to procure further ſupplies. So ſtrong was, he ſaid, his conviction of the miſchievous tendency of the interference of the government, that he thought the inconveniences which might have ariſen from refuſing to act upon the order, were more eaſy to be repaired than the fatal conſequences which might be expected to ariſe from the government being permitted to intermeddle, for the purpoſe of ſuſpending the functions of the bank. Then turning to the cauſes of the ſtoppage, he traced them chiefly to the chancellor of the exchequer, whoſe conduct he minutely criticiſed, though with a ſcanty portion of new argument or illuſtration, and whom he charged with having deceived the directors, and violated the repeated promiſes which he had given to them. Had the advances made by the bank to the government been repaid, it was certain that the ſtoppage of caſh payments would not have occurred. On the remittances to the emperor he ſpoke in as deciſive a tone; affirming that from them ſprung a part of the miſchief, and that Mr. Pitt had bound himſelf to the bank not to make them, unleſs circumſtances ſhould materially alter. The ſpeech cloſed with a diſquiſition upon the true principles of banking, and of public credit, and with a bitter attack upon what he denominated that "ſyſtem of unremitting malevolence which commenced with his majeſty's reign," to the continuance of which profligate ſyſtem he aſcribed all the numerous evils which the country had ſuffered, and all thoſe ſtill more formidable evils to which it was then expoſed.

Aſſuming

Assuming as an indisputable fact that the order of council was a prudent and indeed indispensable measure, the chancellor of the exchequer proceeded to controvert the reasonings of Mr. Grey. That the advances from the bank to the government had not been paid as rapidly as he wished, and as he had promised that they should be, he willingly admitted; but he affirmed, on the other hand, that his promises had been given with perfect good faith, and that the performance of them had been prevented by unforeseen and unavoidable circumstances. But that those advances were considered by the bank directors as being prejudicial to the corporation to which they belonged, was, he said, disproved by their own conduct; they having agreed to continue them in July, after having remonstrated against them in the preceding November. While speaking on this branch of his subject, he denied that the legal construction of William and Mary prohibited the bank from making advances; and he equally denied that the repealing bill of 1793 was introduced into the house in a clandestine manner. It was, on the contrary, introduced by a resolution of the committee appointed for the express purpose, and the resolution was recorded on the journals of the house. With respect to the remittances to the emperor, he maintained that he had given no such pledge as was gratuitously attributed to him; that the evidence adduced on that head was futile and contradictory; and that it was in fact impossible for him ever to have thought of binding up the government from taking those steps which might be necessary for the safety of the state.

Far from believing that the bank ought to narrow the issue of its paper, Mr. Pitt argued that i ought to lend a liberal assistance to the trade and commerce of the country. Neither would he agree to the doctrine that banks should always keep money sufficient, in case of an ill-founded alarm, to pay the whole of their notes. This would at once put an end to the principle upon which banks had always been conducted. Reverting to the cause of the stoppage, he argued that it had no connection whatever with the sending of money out of the country. According to his view of the subject, it was partly to be traced to a diminution of the quantity of country bank paper, the consequence of which was a demand for cash, or some other substitute. Now, as the notes of the bank of England afforded to the holder an easy opportunity of converting them into cash, it was manifest that the decrease of country bank notes would have a tendency to drain the bank of its specie.

After an eloquent speech from Mr. Fox, which, however, was necessarily little more than a repetition of that which had already been so often urged, the previous question was moved, by Mr. H. Thornton, on the first resolution. It was carried by 206 ayes, against 66 noes. The other resolutions, except the final one, were then negatived without a division. This, which proposed a vote of censure on Mr. Pitt, was put to the voice, and was rejected by a majority of 146; there being 206 against it, and only 60 in its favour.

The laſt diſcuſſion connected with this important and fertile ſubject took place on the 30th of May, when ſir William Pulteney made a motion, which he had ſome time before announced, and which, on more than one occaſion, as we have already ſeen, he had deſcribed as likely to be productive of the moſt beneficial conſequences. His motion was for leave to bring in a bill for the eſtabliſhment of another bank, ſhould the bank of England not reſume its payments in ſpecie on the enſuing 24th of June. Whatever difference of opinion there might be, as to the plan itſelf, it could not be denied that he developed and defended it in a very able and elaborate ſpeech, which diſplayed extenſive information, and a very high degree of argumentative power.

In his opinion it was probable that the bank would not reſume its payments at the period which was fixed for its ſo doing; and, in that caſe, it would have forfeited its right to a monopoly, even if it had not already done ſo. On ſome parts of its conduct, particularly on its capricious and miſtimed narrowing of its diſcounts, and on its having neglected to purchaſe gold in order to keep up its credit, he paſſed a ſtrong cenſure. In the latter inſtance, the directors had, he ſaid, proved themſelves to be ignorant of their buſineſs, and incompetent to the management of their affairs. It was their duty to provide bullion, even at a loſs; but, in fact, no loſs needed to have been incurred, had they taken proper meaſures. They complained, and juſtly, of the high price of gold in Portugal, where it was 4*l.* 8s. 6d. an ounce; and they were ſo uninformed as not to know that at Hamburgh it might be procured for 3*l.* 1s. 6d. an ounce.

The bank monopoly he indeed conſidered as no better than a premium for indolence and neglect; and as being at once injurious to the ſtockholders, and dangerous to the public and the government. The effect of it was felt in a thouſand inſtances; and the evils which it might inflict, in time of war, by withdrawing the circulating medium, and by other means, was beyond all calculation. Government ſecurities peculiarly experienced its fatal influence; for it was a reſult as unerring as the action of the atmoſphere on the barometer, that, when the bank diminiſhed its diſcounts, the value of government ſecurities declined in proportion.

The proper remedy for all this was, he affirmed, the eſtabliſhment of another bank. Scotland, he reminded the houſe, had two banks; the competition there had been beneficial, not injurious, to the old bank: and there was no reaſon to doubt that advantages ſtill more important might ariſe from the coexiſtence of two banks in this country. They would operate as a check upon each other, and thus prevent careleſſneſs, extravagance, and miſmanagement; while, on the other hand, they would afford a more perfect and copious accommodation to the mercantile and manufacturing claſſes. There could, he was convinced, be no fear of a ſufficient capital not being raiſed for the purpoſe: and he did not believe that an increaſed iſſue of paper would at all tend, as ſome had

had ſuppoſed, to raiſe the price of proviſions. On the firſt point, he urged the facility with which two loans had this year been raiſed; and on the ſecond, he quoted the authority of Adam Smith, and ſtated the fact that proviſions had never been at ſo low a price in Scotland, as when the moſt paper was in circulation. Relying on theſe arguments, he, therefore, recommended his plan to the attention of the houſe; declaring, however, his readineſs to abandon it, in caſe the bank ſhould reſume its payments on the 24th of June, or at any period not long ſubſequent to that date.

The motion did not give riſe to much debate. Sir Francis Baring hoped that the bank would reſume its payments on the appointed day, and thought that the erection of a new bank would materially impede that object; in which opinion the ſolicitor-general concurred. Mr. Manning alſo hoped for the recommencement of payments, and ſtated that money was continually coming into the bank from various quarters, and that, although the bank was reſtricted from paying in the ſpecie of the realm, any perſon might be paid the amount of any bank note, in foreign coin. Mr. S. Thornton vindicated the conduct of the directors, aſſerted that bullion was four guineas per ounce at Hamburgh, and denied that the precedent of two banks in Scotland was applicable to England, there being a great difference in the nature of the Scotch and Engliſh banks.

The moſt formidable opponent was, however, the chancellor of the exchequer, who, while he complimented the talents and information of the honourable mover, was decidedly hoſtile to the motion. It would, he thought, not be conſiſtent either with prudence, or equity, for the houſe to avail itſelf of the ſituation of the bank, that ſituation, too, being ſanctioned by parliament, to deprive the bank of the benefit of its chartered rights.

The motion was ſupported by Mr. Sheridan, who had hitherto been hoſtile to the ſcheme of a new banking eſtabliſhment. The ground on which he now ſtood forward in its behalf was, that it did not appear, from what he had that night heard, that any idea was really entertained that the bank would reſume payments in caſh. If the bank did not open on the 24th of June, he ſaw no reaſon to believe that it would open at all. It was, he ſaid, a farce to call that a bank which was never meant to give for paper any thing but paper; and it was ridiculous to expect that paper would ever inſpire confidence upon any other principle than that of its convertibility into caſh.—Againſt the doctrine which had lately been taught, that the bank ought to be looked upon as inſtituted chiefly for the purpoſe of aſſiſting the government, he ſtrongly proteſted. The bank, on the contrary, ought to think of nothing but paying the notes which it iſſued. While it was linked with the government, the diſtreſſes of the government would always be the diſtreſſes of the bank; diſtreſſes at leaſt as far as regarded the public. The bank proprietors indeed might be enriched by the very ſyſtem which ruined the public. If the ſyſtem of ſubſerviency to the government were to go on, the bank never could return to

payments in ſpecie; it muſt continue for ever to exchange one paper for another; ſo that it would have five per cent. for giving its opinion, for it was nothing more, upon the ſolvency of the government; and thus, ſuppoſing the company to owe ten millions upon their preſent paper, they would, by the operation of compound intereſt, realize to themſelves the whole of that property in the courſe of fourteen years. Bank notes, however, even though the bank ſhould not give ſpecie for them, he did not expect to ſee at a diſcount. The immenſe ſum collected in taxes would, he argued, keep them at par, while they continued to be received at the exchequer, and thus the load of our debt kept up the credit of our notes; but where, at length, the ſyſtem muſt end, it was not difficult to gueſs.

On a diviſion, Sir William Pulteney's motion was loſt, there being 50 votes againſt it, and only 15 in its favour.

The prediction that the bank would not re-commence its payments at the appointed period, a prediction which, as we have ſeen, was frequently made in the courſe of the debates on this ſubject, was but too well verified. A few days previous to the 24th of June, the chancellor of the exchequer brought in a bill to continue, with ſome regulations, the reſtriction act till the end of one month after the commencement of the next ſeſſion of parliament. Though much leſs difficulty than might have been expected, and than many had foreboded, had, he ſaid, ariſen from the change which had recently occurred, yet he owned it to be extremely deſirable that the bank ſhould reſume its accuſtomed functions. A great improvement had, he aſſerted, taken place in the affairs of the bank; but, the reſtriction having once been impoſed, more than uſual circumſpection ought to be obſerved in removing it, leſt by a premature ſtep the bank ſhould again be placed in a hazardous ſituation. It would not, he thought, under all the circumſtances, be prudent to allow the bank to open on the 24th of June; and, therefore, he called upon the houſe to give its ſanction to the bill which he now propoſed.

The ſeſſion was far advanced, and conſequently the houſe was but thinly attended; and, beſides, the public mind was in a great meaſure reconciled to a ſtate of things which ſeemed to be productive of no prejudicial effects. The bill for the continuance of the reſtriction excited, therefore, almoſt as little remark as if it had been a turnpike bill, or any other trivial act. The only obſervation which was made was upon a clauſe by which the bank was to have the liberty of renewing its payments ſooner than the time ſpecified, by giving a notice deſcribing the kind of demand which it intended to pay. This was objected to, as putting it into the power of the bank to extend favour to ſome perſons, in preference to others. It was, however, adopted, and the bill was paſſed.

CHAP.

CHAPTER VIII.

Debates relative to our Weſt and Eaſt Indian Poſſeſſions. Addreſs moved by Mr. W. Smith for a Copy of the Colonial Laws relative to Slaves. Meaſures adopted by the Friends of the Slave Trade to ward off an Abolition. Mr. Ellis moves an Addreſs to his Majeſty, to give Directions to the Governors of the Weſt India Iſlands to recommend to the Colonial Aſſemblies to take ſuch Steps as may lead ultimately to an Abolition. Arguments uſed by Mr Ellis. He thinks it impoſſible to prevent Smuggling. Suppoſed Cauſes of the Mortality among the Negroes. He aſſerts that the Colonial Aſſemblies are favourable to the Negroes. Meaſures propoſed by him. Mr. Barham ſeconds the Motion. Speech of Mr. Bryan Edwards. His bold Aſſertions reſpecting the Colonial Legiſlatures. Mr. Dundas alſo ſupports the Motion. The Motion is oppoſed by Mr. Wilberforce. Strong Arguments urged by him againſt it. He ſtates the Danger of continuing the Importation of Slaves. The Motion is ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. W. Smith, and others. Pointed Speech of Mr. W. Smith. The Motion is carried. Mr. Wilberforce moves for leave to bring in a Bill to Aboliſh the Trade. He is vehemently oppoſed by Mr. Ellis, Mr. Sewel, Colonel Gaſcoigne, Mr. Barham, Sir William Young, and Mr. Bryan Edwards. Arguments advanced by them. The Motion is ſupported by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and many other Members. It is, however, rejected by a Majority of ſix. Mr. B. Edwards moves for a Bill to prevent Slaves from being ſold for Debt. It is paſſed. The Colonial Aſſemblies take no notice of it, though they had been aſſerted to be anxious for it. The Slave Carrying Bill revived. Mr. W. Smith moves for, and obtains, an Act to regulate the height between the Decks of Slave Ships. St. Domingo, Mr. St. John moves an Addreſs to his Majeſty, to withdraw the Troops from that Iſland. He attacks Miniſters ſeverely. Mr. Dundas vindicates the Conduct of himſelf and his Colleagues. His Attack on Mr. Burke. Speech of Mr. Fox. Speech of Dr. Laurence. The Motion is rejected by a large Majority. Declaration of Mr. Dundas with Reſpect to the Cape of Good Hope. Act paſſed for enlarging the Stock of the Eaſt India Company. Bill to allow the Company to adminiſter Oaths, rejected. Act to regulate the Trade of Foreign Countries with India. Speech of Mr. Dundas. Motion of Mr. Biddulph on the Indian Judicature. Act relative to Indian Judicature. Penſion Clauſe oppoſed by Major Metcalf. Vindicated by Mr. Dundas. Indian Budget brought forward by Mr. Dundas. Second Budget brought forward by him towards the Cloſe of the Seſſion.

TO call forth a ſplendid diſplay of talent from the ſpeakers, and to excite a powerful attention in the hearers, is but ſeldom the lot of colonial ſubjects. Even eloquence itſelf on ſuch themes moſtly fails to rouse the languid attention of thoſe mem-

bers to whom it is addreſſed. This ſeſſion of parliament did not form an exception to the general rule. In the debates which took place relative to our Eaſtern and Weſtern poſſeſſions there was little that was entitled to the name of eloquence.

The deteſtable ſlave-trade was ſtill the moſt prominent of the Weſt Indian topics. The firſt motion which was made on it was by Mr. W. Smith, as a neceſſary preliminary to other meaſures. He moved an addreſs to his majeſty, requeſting that he would give orders for laying before the houſe copies of the different acts for the regulation of ſlaves, which, ſince the year 1788, had been tranſmitted from the colonies, for the ſanction of his majeſty. This propoſal was agreed to; as, indeed, a ſimilar one had been in the preceding year, but without having been obeyed.

It was late in the ſeaſon before any thing further was done. Mr. Wilberforce intended to introduce once more his motion to aboliſh the traffic; but he was induced to delay it, by the circumſtance of Mr. C. Ellis having given notice of his deſign to ſuggeſt a plan which would prove beneficial both to the ſlaves and the proprietors. As Mr. Wilberforce did not know how far this new ſcheme might interfere with his own, he conſented to wait till it was diſcloſed.

The fact, as to Mr. Ellis's plan, ſeems to have been, that, though ſucceſsful in parliament, the friends of the trade found themſelves regarded by a great majority of the public with much diſguſt and indignation; as men devoid of all feeling, who cared not what miſery they cauſed, or what blood they ſpilt, provided their avaricious deſires were ſatisfied. To do this away, it was neceſſary to ſuggeſt ſomething, which while it would, in effect be a mere nullity, would appear to manifeſt a benevolent ſpirit. They at length hit upon a project, and a goodly project it was. It conſiſted in recommending to the wolves to treat the ſheep in future with more kindneſs than they had hitherto done. Had not the happineſs, and even exiſtence, of millions been connected with the queſtion, ſuch a propoſition might have been received with only a laugh of ſcorn.

On the ſixth of April, Mr. C. Ellis moved that "an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, to requeſt that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions to the different governors of the Weſt India Iſlands, to recommend to their reſpective councils to take the proper ſteps for encreaſing the population, ſo as thereby to diminiſh the neceſſity of importing negroes from Africa, and ultimately to lead to the total abolition of the ſlave-trade; likewiſe to adopt meaſures for promoting the moral and religious improvement of the negroes in the Weſt Indies; and for ſecuring to them their rights by a proper adminiſtration of juſtice; and to aſſure them that this houſe will be ready to co-operate with them in accompliſhing theſe deſirable ends."

The ſlave-trade itſelf Mr. Ellis had not at this moment hardihood enough to defend; but he took eſpecial care to ſtate that he acted on grounds wholly oppoſite to thoſe upon which the friends of the abolition proceeded: a degree of caution on his part which was wholly

ſuperfluous.

ſuperfluous. He thought that the evil, for he did admit it to be an evil, had been rooted ſo long, that it would be dangerous to eradicate it haſtily. In his opinion, an immediate abolition would be ruin to the colonies; and, as we were bound to guard the intereſts of the colonies, he logically concluded that we ought to allow them to proceed on their preſent ſyſtem for an unlimited period. In ſupport of this doctrine, and as a concluſive argument againſt an inſtant abolition, he urged that if the traffic were prohibited it would not ceaſe; it would only be directed into an unlawful channel. Whereever there were ſtrong temptations to violate a prohibitory law, it would be difficult to enforce its obſervance. In the preſent caſe there would be temptations of the ſtrongeſt kind to evade a prohibition, and, however rigorouſly penal the law might be made, it certainly would be evaded. Such reaſoning as this, on which Mr. Ellis laid much ſtreſs, might with equal juſtice be applied to any law that could be propoſed, whatever might be the ſubject of it. There is no doubt, that on all occaſions, criminals will rather chuſe to evade than to obey the laws.

The large failure of population in the Weſt India iſlands, Mr. Ellis traced to two cauſes; the lax ſyſtem of morals, and the diſeaſes of the negroes. For the latter of theſe a remedy would, he thought, be found in the progreſſive amelioration of morals, and in the ingenuity of medical men, who might diſcover methods of cure which were yet unknown. His noſtrum for the removal of the firſt of theſe cauſes conſiſted in civilizing the blacks, and teaching them morality. From the civilization of Africa he expected little; but he was more ſanguine as to the civilization of the ſlaves. The preſent lax ſtate of morals among the negroes aroſe he ſaid, from no defect in their diſpoſition; but from the prejudices which they had imbibed when young. The religion which they profeſſed was a corrupt heatheniſm or mahometaniſm, which gave them extremely incorrect ideas, eſpecially of marriage. This he propoſed to cure by the gradual action of inſtruction and improvement. Encouragement to early marriages, marks of diſtinction to the deſerving, and of degradation to the criminal, and care and attention to children in their infancy, were among the means which he deemed worthy of being adopted. Sunday ſchools might alſo, he imagined, be inſtituted with good effect, at which the ſlaves might learn the true principles of religion, and correcter notions of morality. Mr. Ellis was obviouſly not aware that to begin by teaching morality to the ſlaves was to begin at the wrong end. No ſolid reform could be hoped for in them, till their maſters had been taught to repreſs thoſe licentious paſſions which, as is well known, make one vaſt brothel of each of the iſlands. With reſpect to the quantum of inſtruction which was to be given at the ſchools, Mr. Ellis was ſolicitous to circumſcribe it within as narrow limits as poſſible. He did not, he ſaid, wiſh to be conſidered as meaning that it would be proper to enlighten the ſlaves with any other ſpecies of knowledge than that which was ſtrictly requiſite

for the improvement of their morals. That is to say, in plain Engliſh, that, becauſe their propenſity to robbing and murdering would moſt probably be gratified at the expence of the proprietors, he would have them taught to believe that robbery and murder are crimes.

Mr. Ellis was not ignorant that for the great decreaſe of population two other reaſons had been aſſigned; exceſſive labour, and want of proper food. He, however, denied their exiſtence, and he ſupported his denial by ſuch proof as was uſual with the planters. His denial, he ſaid, was grounded on immediate ſources of information to which he had acceſs, and on the teſtimony of others to whom he thought credit was due. This credible teſtimony was no other than that of the planters themſelves. He himſelf was a Weſt India proprietor. The charge of want of food he rebutted by obſerving that there was a law by which every proprietor was obliged to keep a certain portion of ground in cultivation, according to his number of ſlaves; and to this he added, that the markets of Jamaica were ſupplied by the produce which the negroes raiſed. He forgot, however, to ſay that the latter caſe was a tranſient exception to the general rule; and that, as far as regarded the former, though there certainly exiſts in Jamaica a law which orders one acre of land to be ſtocked for every ten negroes, the law has been ſo entirely diſregarded as to have become nothing more than a dead letter. With reference to the accuſation of cruelty, which had been urged againſt the planters, he contended that it could not be true, becauſe cruelty was contrary to their intereſt: an argument the weakneſs of which is evident. In addition he ſtated that the colonial aſſembly of Jamaica had, ſince 1788, taken up the cauſe of the negroes, and made regulations in their favour. It had paſſed the conſolidated act, which was framed with a due regard to the rights and happineſs of that claſs of men; it had eſtabliſhed courts of protection in their behalf; and if it were pleaded that probably the negroes did not enjoy the benefit of thoſe courts, he would anſwer that it was fair to preſume that the ſpirit which had inſtituted thoſe courts would guide their adminiſtration. This ſophiſtry might perhaps anſwer the purpoſe of deluding ſome of thoſe hearers of Mr. Ellis who knew not that the boaſted colonial regulation were not really made for the good of the blacks, but ſolely that they might, on an exigency, be urged in bar of any ſerious meaſures propoſed by the Britiſh legiſlature; and that, conſequently, thoſe who framed them, never made, nor meant to make, any other uſe of them than their advocate was now making. Thoſe acts ought, in truth, to have been entitled acts to deceive the legiſlators of the mother country.

There was one point in the ſpeech of Mr. Ellis which, as being connected with a ſubſequent proceeding in the houſe, and with the real character of the planters, requires particular notice. By a law, of the fifth year of George the ſecond, negroes were rendered liable to be ſold at the ſuit of their maſter's creditors; or more correctly ſpeaking, that law ſanctioned

ed the cuſtom of the colonies. The repeal of this ſtatute Mr. Ellis repreſented, and juſtly ſo, as indiſpenſable for the improvement of the ſlaves. According to his ſtatement, the aſſembly of Jamaica had been anxious to attach the negroes to the ſoil, and had been prevented only by the operation of the act of the fifth of George the ſecond. If that obſtacle were once removed, they would haſten to alter that part of the colonial code which was founded on the ſame principle.

The cloſe of this ſpeech was not calculated to excite very ſanguine hopes of the ſpeedy termination of the trade. It occurred to him that two objections might be urged againſt his plan; namely, that he had fixed no time for its completion, and that the quantity of uncultivated territory would protract the period of the abolition. To theſe objections his reply was any thing but ſatisfactory. He had not, he ſaid, fixed any time, becauſe it was impoſſible; and as to the ſecond objection, the remedy was in the hands of the legiſlature, which, if it reſtricted the cultivation of the iſlands, ought, in fairneſs, to indemnify the colonial proprietors for the loſs which they would thereby ſuſtain. Than this claim, ſo often and ſo prominently put forward by the friends of the traffic, nothing could be more groundleſs, and it may even be ſaid, more daringly impudent.

Such a motion no partisan of the trade could heſitate to ſecond; and, accordingly it was ſeconded by Mr. Barham. He choſe, indeed, to conſider it as tending to an ultimate abolition; and he declared his previous hoſtility to have been directed, not againſt the object of the abolitioniſts, but againſt the means by which it was ſought to be attained, which were in their very nature inefficacious. His language on this head is worthy of remark. It could, he affirmed, be clearly proved that a contraband ſlave-trade could not be prevented by the united efforts of the whole navy of England, ſeconded by the aſſiſtance of all the cuſtom-houſe officers employed in the country; for a cargo of ſlaves might be landed in as many hours as it would take weeks to land merchandize in general. Such was his aſſertion, and it ſtrikingly contraſts with the aſſertions of others of the ſame party, who have ſince maintained that the difficulty of carrying on an illicit trade rendered it unneceſſary to adopt any further precautions.

The ſame ſide of the queſtion was taken by Mr. Bryan Edwards, lord Hawkeſbury, ſir W. Young, and Mr. Dundas. In the ſupporters of this cauſe there was nothing more remarkable than their hardihood in making ſtatements which were in violent hoſtility with notorious facts, and even with common ſenſe itſelf; and their practice of reſorting to a kind of recrimination, in order to juſtify thoſe abuſes which were the ſubject of complaint. On this occaſion, Mr. Bryan Edwards fully availed himſelf of both theſe modes of proceeding. Aſſuming a high tone, as if the infamy of the trade and the cruel treatment of the ſlaves had not been recorded facts, he talked of the much injured character of the planters, and the foul aſperſions which had been heaped upon them. Then, forgetting that thoſe who receive are not leſs criminal than thoſe who ſteal, he ventured to affirm that his

his friends had no ſhare in the guilt or the profit of the traffic. They were, he ſaid, not at all to blame. The trade did not originate with them. It was a trade as old as the reign of Elizabeth, carried on by Britiſh capital, in Britiſh ſhips, by Britiſh ſubjects, and under the ſanction of the Britiſh government. As, however, it might have been objected to him that, in ſuch a caſe, the Britiſh parliament had a right to aboliſh the trade, he anticipated the objection, by declaring that he did not diſpute the right, but the practicability of its exerciſe. Two things he held to be indiſputable; firſt, that no abolition could take place without the conſent of the coloniſts, as, unleſs parliament could chain the winds, and give laws to the ocean, ſlaves would be ſmuggled into the iſlands; and ſecondly, that the planters, if they were properly treated, would agree to any practicable meaſure that humanity could wiſh to aboliſh the traffic. On the latter point he went ſo far as to aſſure the houſe that, from his knowledge of the members of the colonial legiſlatures, he had no doubt that, if the plan now ſuggeſted by Mr. Ellis were agreed to, the colonial aſſemblies would themſelves put an end to the importation of negroes. In concluſion, Mr. Edwards adverted to thoſe perſons who had cenſured the colonial laws, and anſwered them by an attempt to recriminate. They ought, he conceived, to look firſt at home, and on their own ſtatute book they would find enactments of the moſt arbitrary kind. In proof of this he referred to ſome acts of Edward the ſixth, which related to the poor. There was, however, this important difference between the two caſes, though it would not have been convenient to Mr. Edwards to notice it; that our laws had become a dead letter, having been ſilently repealed by the wiſdom and humanity of the age; while thoſe of the coloniſts, on the contrary, were brought into full and daily action.

The rear of the colonial advocates was cloſed by Mr. Dundas. He deemed the conſent of the colonial aſſemblies to an abolition abſolutely neceſſary; doubted whether Great Britain could prevent ſlaves from being imported into Jamaica, without making a breach in the colonial connection; and pleaded that this country having ſometimes refuſed to regulate the trade when it was requeſted ſo to do by Jamaica, the colonies were juſtified in refuſing their concurrence to the meaſures which were now propoſed.

The motion was ably combated by Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, lord Carysfort, Mr. Ryder, and Mr. W. Smith.

Mr. Wilberforce ſtood firſt in oppoſition to the plan, which he conſidered as merely illuſory. To ſanction it would, he ſaid, be little ſhort of retracting the ſolemn pledge which the houſe had twice given. He contended that there was on the part of the planters not the ſhadow of a wiſh to bring about an abolition; but that they were, on the contrary, reſolved to perſiſt in importing till all the lands were in cultivation. Now, in Jamaica, not more than two-fifths of the ſoil were yet in that ſtate. Even ſince the reſolutions of the houſe of commons, the colonial legiſlatures had declared that they would not

put

put an end to the trade; and, this being known, it was idle to talk of their willingneſs to aſſent to an abolition, either by gradual or any other means. Their humanity had ſlept ſoundly ever ſince the vote of the houſe, and he feared that nothing would rouſe it but a deciſive act of parliament. In fact, he had ever thought that vote diſadvantageous to the cauſe; as by means of it the friends of African ſlavery had ſucceeded in reducing the point to a queſtion of practical and temporary expedience. That to continue to import was as unneceſſary as unjuſt, Mr. Wilberforce proved from ſtatements which manifeſted that, with proper care, the negro population might be kept up to its full amount. The doctrine that, though the guilt and the profit of the trade were entirely Britiſh, the conſent of the colonies muſt, nevertheleſs, be obtained for ending it, he treated with juſt contempt. Nor did he give more quarter to the hopes which were deluſively held out, of an improvement in the ſituation of the ſlaves. No ſuch improvement could, he affirmed, take place while the traffic was continued. Deeming it uſeleſs again to appeal to juſtice and humanity, he ended by an appeal to feelings of a leſs dignified kind. He warned his hearers that the ſafety of the Weſt Indies imperiouſly required that the trade ſhould ceaſe to exiſt. The principles of policy as well as of equity were incompatible with ſlavery; and by perſiſting in the diſgraceful and perilous practice of tearing the natives of Africa from their homes, and crowding the iſlands with men who muſt be ardent for revenge, the planters might at length arrive at a period when rivers of blood would be cauſed to flow. Natural cauſes muſt inevitably produce natural effects; and neither this nor any other country could have any reaſon to hope that providence would interfere to ſhield it from the conſequences of injuſtice.

Much of the ſame or ſimilar argument was employed by the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Ryder, and Mr. Fox. The chancellor of the exchequer ſtrongly expoſed the fallacy of the reaſoning that, becauſe ſmuggling might be carried on, the trade ought to be permitted; and that while our own ſtatute books contained any obnoxious laws we ought not to cenſure the laws of the colonies. Mr. Fox declared that, if laws to prohibit the trade were as ſtrictly enforced as the revenue laws, ſmuggling would be as difficult in the one caſe as in the other. It had been argued that, if we deſiſted from the trade, it would be taken up by the French. This he did not believe; but, ſhould they do ſo, we were not to be juſtified by their miſconduct. If they did act with ſuch baſeneſs, it would confirm the titles of murderers and plunderers, which had ſo often been given to them by the majority of the houſe; for the trade was undoubtedly a trade of diſhoneſty, rapine, and murder. With much feeling, Mr. W. Smith reprobated a ſuggeſtion which had been ſtarted, that it would be politic to import a greater number of females; and he indignantly aſked whether the legiſlature would grant a premium for taking thoſe who were at once the leaſt able to reſiſt and to endure injuſtice? Would they promote the ſeizure of more wives from their huſbands,

husbands, more daughters from their fathers? As to the colonial laws, it would, he said, assist us in forming a judgment of them, to recollect that in Barbadoes, not many years since, and, for aught he knew at that moment, the penalty on a master who should kill his slave under circumstances of cruelty was the sum of fifteen pounds colonial currency.

Mr. Ryder was decidedly in favour of an immediate and total abolition; and, therefore, moved to leave out those words of the motion which spoke of "ultimately leading" to the discontinuance of the traffic. He objected to them, because they insinuated that this proposition was to be a substitute for the other. There were, he said, other words which he could wish to see expunged; but with no change whatever could he agree to the propofal.

His amendment was seconded by Mr. Hawkins Browne, but was negatived without a division. The original motion was then put to the vote, and carried; the ayes being ninety-nine, and the noes sixty-three.

Though this discouraging address was adopted, and though Mr. Wilberforce had now little hope of immediate success, he did not discontinue his benevolent exertions. On the fifteenth of May he moved for leave to bring in a bill to discontinue the slave trade within a limited period, and that the house do now resolve itself into a committee to consider the motion. So thin an attendance as he then saw, on such an important question, he deeply lamented. He did not, this time, think it necessary to travel over the beaten track of argument. In a tone of honourable indignation, he exclaimed, that were the house once brought to a sense of what it owed to humanity, to justice, to religion, no arguments from him would be requisite to convince it of the propriety of abolishing this horrible traffic. To him it seemed astonishing, that the subject should so often have been discussed without producing the desired effect. It appeared that in proportion as the understanding of members of parliament had been enlightened with respect to this shameful trade, they had suffered their hearts to be hardened against affording relief. That the resolution of the house had not been enforced, would, he feared, be considered by foreign states as a disgrace to our national character; and he, therefore, called on the house, as it valued that character, as it valued its honour, to atone for this flagrant neglect of duty. The late address he represented as wholly useless, as the planters would never take any steps in favour of the slaves till they were prompted to them by motives of interest; which motives they would not have till the abolition rendered impracticable any further importation of negroes. The continuance of the slave trade could only be supported by intolerable selfishness: but in this country every thing had been made to yield to a commercial spirit, and he believed the country to be suffering from that spirit having been carried too far.

The friends of the traffic were not backward in its defence. Mr. Ellis, Mr. Sewel, colonel Gascoigne, sir William Young, and Mr. Barham, strenuously opposed the

the motion. Their arguments were such as they had formerly urged; reinforced, however, with a fresh addition of absurdity. As was to be expected, the recent address was set up in bar to any further steps being taken. Mr. Ellis repeated his assertion, that if the slave trade were abolished, an illicit traffic would be established in the stead of the legal and well-regulated trade which at present existed. Lest this should not be sufficient to convince his hearers, he added that it was improper to argue that the slave trade was injurious to Africa. The members had not, he said, enough knowledge of facts to prove that it was disadvantageous to that country. If the vagrants who committed depredations in this overgrown metropolis were to be periodically exported, he believed there were few who would consider it as a great national calamity. Perhaps Africa received the same kind of benefit from this traffic that England received from Botany Bay. Language like this of Mr. Ellis must surely have been considered by the major part of those who heard it as an insult to common sense, and could only have been prompted by gross ignorance, or a grosser contempt of truth. It was likewise directly at variance with that which he used in moving his address; as he then distinctly admitted that the trade was an evil. Mr. Sewel also contended that the abolition would be succeeded by smuggling; and, in the warmth of speech, he made one unguarded confession, by which he betrayed the secret of the colonial proprietors. The trade would, he said, assuredly cease in the course of time; but that could not be till all the lands belonging to the planters were in a state of cultivation. Colonel Gascoigne argued that the charge of cruelty against the Liverpool merchants was unfair; and, as an irrefragable proof of its being so, he acquainted the house that, even after the slave-carrying bill had expired, those merchants had refused to allow the clearing out of any ship whose captain and owners would not enter into an engagement, with a penalty of a thousand pounds, to fulfil every part of the act. It would have required but little reflection in colonel Gascoigne to discover that this was, perhaps, rather a proof of worldly prudence than of humanity; it having been found that the slave-carrying law was beneficial to their interest, by lessening the mortality. Sir William Young angrily declared that the bill proposed by Mr. Wilberforce was a bill for enacting a revolution in the West Indies, and that he would not live in a country where he should be obliged to submit to such a statute. Mr. Barham maintained that it would be nugatory; and general Tarleton thought that a reform ought not to begin in the West Indies. Mr. Bryan Edwards displayed his wonted facetiousness and strength of reasoning. Like sir W. Young, he declared that the measure would cause an insurrection; he censured Mr. Wilberforce for having listened to false and calumnious stories; and he recommended to his attention a race of blacks as worthy of his benevolent efforts as those of Africa, and whom he might find in the streets of London, under the name of chimney sweepers.

The

The motion was ſupported by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Canning, Mr. Hobhouſe, Mr. Martin, ſir William Dolben, and Mr. W. Smith. It was urged that nothing could be more infamous than a traffic in human blood, and that it admitted of no modification. As to the preſent motion being inconſiſtent with the recent addreſs the fact was denied: they both, it was ſaid, led to the ſame end, though the means might be different. The claim to be indemnified, which had been advanced by thoſe embarked in the trade, was held to be wholly unfounded. Perſons who entered on any trade did ſo under all the hazards which belonged to it; the legiſlature might put an end to that trade whenever the public good required it; and there was certainly no circumſtance in this to take it out of the general rule. The idea that the trade ought not to be aboliſhed till all the lands were cultivated, was treated with deſerved reprobation. To accede to it would, in effect, be the ſame as founding a new negro colony. The trade had continued for a century and a half in Jamaica, and not one half of the colony was yet in a cultivated ſtate. It was obvious, therefore, that to poſtpone the abolition till all the waſte lands in the iſlands were tilled, was equivalent to declaring that no abolition ſhould ever take place. With reſpect to the impoſſibility of preventing ſmuggling, it was anſwered that the example of this country might be expected to do much, and that its vigilance might accompliſh the remainder. Sir William Dolben adroitly turned againſt colonel Gaſcoigne one of his own arguments; by reminding him that the planters and merchants, though they now thought it beneficial, had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the ſlave-carrying bill, and predicted from it as ruinous conſequences as they now predicted from the bill which was propoſed by Mr. Wilberforce. In ſupport of the motion Mr. Fox ſpoke in a highly animated ſtrain, but, with ſomewhat of impolicy, he mingled in his ſpeech many alluſions to peace, the right of reſiſtance, the treaſon and ſedition bills, and other political ſubjects of the day.

On a diviſion the triumph of the friends of the traffic was complete. Hitherto, except in one inſtance, they had not prevailed till after more than one ſtruggle. They were now victorious in the firſt onſet. The queſtion for leave to bring in the bill was negatived by a majority of eighty voices againſt ſeventy-four; and thus tyranny and cruelty were once more left free to oppreſs and torture, with perfect impunity, their unhappy victims.

The ſincerity of the colonial aſſemblies, in their expreſſions of a wiſh to ameliorate the ſituation of the negroes, was very ſoon put to the proof. We have ſeen that their advocates complained that a ſtatute of the fifth of George the ſecond was an obſtacle to their accompliſhing the wiſe and benevolent plan of attaching the ſlaves to the ſoil. On the ſixteenth of June Mr. Bryan Edwards brought in a bill to repeal ſo much of that act as made negroes real aſſets, and conſequently liable to be ſold for the benefit of creditors. He juſtly obſerved, that every humane mind muſt ſhudder at the idea of putting up human beings for ſale like cattle, for the payment of debts: yet

yet this practice, the cruelty of which was revolting, prevailed very generally in the iſland of Jamaica. After the ſufferings which the negro had encountered, on his firſt leaving his country, and on the middle paſſage; and after having, by his induſtry, raiſed a little money of his own; it was a ſevere lot to be taken and ſold, and perhaps ſent to the mines of Mexico. It was to remedy this evil that the bill which he now brought in was intended. With the ſame readineſs to pledge himſelf which he had on a former occaſion diſplayed, he aſſured his hearers that there was no doubt that the example ſet by the houſe of commons would lead the way to the repeal of the colonial laws on the ſubject, and ultimately to the extinction of the practice.

The bill paſſed through both houſes unoppoſed by a ſingle voice. But what, after this, was the conduct of thoſe aſſemblies who had lamented that their humanity was ſhackled by the Britiſh legiſlature? Not only did they not take no notice whatever of this act, but even when the crown, in conſequence of a parliamentary addreſs, earneſtly recommended to them to give it effect by annulling their own confeſſedly vicious enactments, they ſtubbornly perſiſted in retaining them. Of thirteen colonial legiſlatures not one has made any alteration in the laws. Thoſe laws have ſurvived the ſlave trade; and, as they were not framed for purpoſes of deception, they are at this moment in full force.

The ſlave-carrying bill, which was loſt in the former ſeſſion by the want of a ſufficient number of members to form a houſe, was now carried through parliament. Sir William Dolben made an attempt to fill up with the word "four" inſtead of "five" the blank in that clauſe which gave a reward to thoſe who imported with leaſt loſs. In this, however, he failed. General Tarleton and colonel Gaſcoigne declared that they would oppoſe any alterations, and thought it extremely unfair that the bill had been brought forward at ſo late a period. The amendment was rejected, and the clauſe inſerted as it originally ſtood.

The converſation which occurred on this ſubject was, nevertheleſs, productive of one good effect. Mr. W. Smith ſtated that ſhips had failed in which the ſufferers were more crowded than thoſe in the Black-hole at Calcutta. Tonnage was but an imperfect criterion, and he would, therefore, move a clauſe to prohibit the ſailing of of any veſſel which was not of a certain height between decks. This he was adviſed not to do, leſt he ſhould endanger the bill. He prudently followed this advice; but, being determined not to relinquiſh his plan, he brought in a bill to the ſame purport. By this bill the clear height between decks was fixed at four feet one inch; a ſpace which, though miſerably inadequate, was probably more than in many caſes had been hitherto allotted. As ſoon as the bill had gone through the houſe, the propoſer of it gave notice that, in the next ſeſſion, he would move for leave to bring in a bill for extending the height, and making other regulations. In not carrying the meaſure further at this period he acted wiſely; for the ſeſſion was now drawing near to its cloſe, and

and had he ventured too far in his demands, the friends of the trade, who were always on the alert, would, doubtleſs, by delays, or by other means, have ſucceeded in fruſtrating his intentions.

The only other Weſt Indian ſubject of debate was that grave of the Britiſh ſoldiery, the iſland of St. Domingo. On the 18th of May, Mr. St. John moved that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, praying that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions that the troops in St. Domingo ſhould forthwith be withdrawn. The motion was ſeconded by Mr. Fox.

The whole management of the miniſters, with reſpect to the Weſt Indies, was ſeverely arraigned by Mr. St. John. He was of opinion that they had groſsly miſmanaged in all parts of the world; but no where had their miſconduct been more conſpicuous than in the tranſatlantic warfare. In whatever point of view the ſubject was conſidered, it was impoſſible to vindicate them. Thoſe who thought that our object ought to be to reſtore monarchy and deſpotiſm in France, and here he referred to Mr. Burke's letters on a regicide peace, deprecated diſtant expeditions, as a worſe than uſeleſs exertion of ſtrength. But, even allowing colonial enterprizes to be proper, the miniſters were ſtill blameworthy for the meaſures which they had adopted. There never, he contended, had been any hope of our reducing St. Domingo. The coloniſts, with the exception of a few emigrants, were hoſtile to us, and the force which we had to encounter conſiſted of 25,000 effective men, independent of 40,000 revolted negroes. On this deſperate adventure, however, which ought to have been abandoned after the firſt trial, we had continued to laviſh our troops and our treaſure. The bills drawn on this country, from St. Domingo alone, amounted to nearly five millions; the loſs of lives, up to September 1796, was eſtimated at 7500, few of whom had fallen by the ſword of the enemy. The iſland was alſo a fruitful ſource of jobs; one ſplendid inſtance of which was the appointment of an incapable perſon, with a ſalary of 2500*l.* a year, with the title of chief juſtice and firſt preſident. Nor was all this counterbalanced by any advantage. Notwithſtanding we poſſeſſed the harbour of Cape Nicholas Mole, the privateers of the enemy, from Aux Cayes, committed immenſe depredations on our ſhipping; the places which we held did not afford any produce beyond the reach of our cannon; nor were there any imports from that ſcanty portion of the colony which we retained. He, therefore, called on the houſe to ſupply the neglect of the miniſters, by voting the addreſs which he now propoſed.

The defence of himſelf and his colleagues was undertaken by Mr. Dundas. The firſt part of his ſpeech was directed againſt the opinion expreſſed by Mr. Burke, and was replete with intentional ſophiſtry, or unintentional miſreaſoning. Putting entirely out of ſight the widely different character, object, and circumſtances of this war, he laid it down as a rule that no war againſt France was well conducted in which our force was not directed againſt the colonial

lonial intereſts of the enemy, and to the protection of our own. This he conſidered as the beſt and wiſeſt policy; and reſting on it, he conſidered himſelf as authorized to indulge in ſneers upon what he was pleaſed to term "the new fangled ideas of peace and war, which he ſometimes heard broached." In the war of 1756 we had acted on ſuch principles as he now avowed, and the reſult had been confeſſed to be glorious. Still more glorious, then, had been the reſult of the preſent war. Mr. Dundas, it appears, did not ſee that there was no ſimilarity in the two caſes. One obſervation, out of numbers which might be made, will ſhow the fallacy of his argument. In the war of 1756, ſeveral hundred thouſand Frenchmen were not in arms, in the heart of France, againſt the governing power, calling on us for ſuccour, and at hand to receive it. Had ſuch an advantage been offered to him, the Mr. Pitt of that period would not have amuſed himſelf with the conqueſt of a few diſtant and narrow iſlands; but would have ſhaken the Bourbon throne to its very foundation.

Having diſpoſed of Mr. Burke's opinion, Mr. Dundas turned to attack the oppoſition, the members of which he accuſed of inconſiſtency, for having at one time cenſured him for neglecting the colonies, while they now cenſured him on directly oppoſite ground.

The retention of St. Domingo he juſtified by urging, in the firſt place, the value of that iſland to France; its exports amounting yearly to ten millions ſterling; and thus furniſhing the means of maritime ſtrength. To this he added, and he looked on it as a moſt powerful argument, that our poſſeſſion of it was, in reality, the beſt ſafeguard to Jamaica, which muſt be in the utmoſt danger from it while it was in the hands of the enemy; but particularly while the revolted negroes were in arms. If they obtained the aſcendancy he regarded the property of Jamaica as ſcarcely worth one year's purchaſe. Every ſoldier, every ſailor, every ſhip, therefore, that was ſent to St. Domingo was ſent to Jamaica. With reſpect to the mortality, while he admitted its extent, he denied that it was peculiar to the iſland, and he hoped that it would ceaſe. But, even had the climate been naturally deleterious, it did not ſeem to him that we ought to have refrained from ſending forces there. At the Havannah, lord Albemarle, he ſaid, loſt by diſeaſe 5000 men out of 12,000, yet the war in which that conqueſt was effected was acknowledged to be glorious. That great expenſes had been incurred, he confeſſed; but he thought that much might be ſaid in behalf of the officers who incurred them, who might have good reaſons to aſſign; and they would not again be a cauſe of complaint, as the miniſters had given ſtrict inſtructions, to prohibit the civil and military eſtabliſhments, with the exception of the garriſon, from amounting to more than the annual ſum of three hundred thouſand pounds. He wound up his argument by refuting the aſſertion that the colony was unproductive to us. That part of it of which we were poſſeſſed had, he ſaid, produced a million and a half, in 1796, and had employed four hundred veſſels.

The motion was objected to by

Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Bryan Edwards; both of whom, however, were of opinion that the ſyſtem which had been purſued was an erroneous one. To Mr. Wilberforce's judgment it appeared that the beſt policy which we could follow in the weſtern quarter of the world was to concentrate our force, in order to protect our colonies, wherever they were found and untainted.

The charge of inconſiſtency, which Mr. Dundas had made againſt the oppoſition, called forth a brief but maſterly reply from Mr. Fox. Though it was true, that at one time they cenſured the miniſters for ſending too few men, and at others cenſured them for ſending too many, to the Weſt Indies, there was, he ſaid, no inconſiſtency whatever in the language of his party. It was ſtill the belief of himſelf and his friends that, if new conqueſts were to be attempted, ſir Charles Grey was diſpatched with too ſcanty a force. But did this at all appear in contradiction to the idea that no expedition ought to have been ſent to St. Domingo? He next noticed the fallacy of comparing this war with the war of 1756; and aſſerted that, admitting, as the miniſters had originally done, the principle of Mr. Burke, that the republic muſt be deſtroyed, the argument of that gentleman was unanſwerable. The reduction of all the Weſt India iſlands would not have contributed in the ſlighteſt degree to the re-eſtabliſhment of monarchy in France. But the fact was, that the government neither had the policy to adopt Mr. Burke's principle, nor to reject it. They acted upon it ſo far as to rouſe the enthuſiaſm of the enemy, and to make her an armed nation, but they did not purſue it as a chief and guiding object of the war. On the enormous expenſe which had been incurred in St. Domingo, Mr. Fox made ſome pithy obſervations; and he laughed to ſcorn the idea that any diminution of them was likely to be effected. To ſave, therefore, what could yet be ſaved of our troops and our treaſure, he would give his vote in favour of the motion.

The motion was oppoſed, in a luminous and argumentative ſpeech, by Dr. Laurence, who, fully agreeing with Mr. Burke, that we ought at the beginning to have turned our force to a higher purpoſe, was, nevertheleſs, of opinion that it would not at this moment be politic to relinquiſh our conqueſts in St. Domingo. Their intrinſic value, which would have much weight in a negociation; the neceſſity of holding them, to keep in check the depredations of the republican cruizers; the diſgrace that would reſult from the propoſed relinquiſhment, which would only be looked on as an indirect compliance with the enemy's doctrine of treating on the baſis of their laws and conſtitution; and, above all, the ſtigma that would be affixed on our character, by our abandoning to the mercy of the enemy thoſe planters who had thrown themſelves on our protection; were among the chief reaſons urged by the learned member for our retention of the colony. The appointment of a chief juſtice Dr. Laurence ſatisfactorily vindicated; ſhewing that the gentleman who was choſen to fill that ſtation was a man eminently virtuous and able,

able, and that his ſalary was not more than half that which had been allotted to his predeceſſors in office.

After a few words from Mr. W. Smith and Mr. St. John, the queſtion was put, and on a diviſion was negatived by 116 voices againſt 31.

Quitting the concerns of the weſtern hemiſphere we muſt next turn our attention to thoſe of another part of the globe. Our conqueſt of the Cape of Good Hope gave occaſion to an act, which was moved for by Mr. Dundas, to enable his Majeſty to exempt the colony from being liable to the Navigation Laws. This act would not have required notice here, had not much animadverſion, both in this debate and in ſubſequent ones, been excited by a declaration of Mr. Dundas, that he truſted the Cape would for ever be held by this country: a declaration which was conſidered by many members in oppoſition as exceedingly impolitic; ſome contending that the colony was not worth retaining, and others arguing that to reſolve to retain it would be throwing a formidable obſtacle in the way of peace.

With reſpect to our poſſeſſions in the Eaſt, ſome laws were enacted this ſeſſion; but none of them produced any debate of conſequence. Of theſe the firſt in point of time was an act to enable the Eaſt India company to enlarge their capital ſtock from ſix to eight millions. It went through both houſes without any objection being made.

A bill which was introduced in conſequence of a petition from the company, and which was intended to empower them to adminiſter oaths to their ſervants in certain caſes, was not ſucceſsful. It was thrown out on the ſecond reading. The ſolid ground of objection, on which it was oppoſed by Mr. Fox, Mr. Wilberforce, and others, was, that it propoſed to multiply oaths, which were already too much multiplied; that it required perſons to ſwear to obvious falſehoods; and that it would occaſion perjuries on which no puniſhment could be inflicted. In ſpeaking on this ſubject, Mr. Fox ſtated that he had frequently entertained the idea of offering to Parliament ſome general regulation with regard to oaths. In his opinion no man ought to be made to ſwear, unleſs he could be ſubjected to a penalty for ſwearing falſely. Nothing can be more juſt or wiſe than this principle, and it is to be regretted that Mr. Fox never found an opportunity of carrying his wiſhes into effect.

A deciſion of the Court of King's Bench, by which the navigation act was held to extend to the Eaſt Indies, rendered it neceſſary to bring into Parliament a bill, to regulate the trade between foreign countries in amity with Great Britain, and our poſſeſſions in Hindoſtan. The real effect of it was only to place foreigners in the ſituation in which they ſtood before the deciſion was given. It was moved for by Mr. Dundas; and Mr. Anſtruther ſtated that diſpatch was abſolutely requiſite, to avoid unpleaſant conſequences, as all foreign ſhips in our Indian harbours would be liable to be ſeized when the deciſion of the Court arrived. Obvious and needful as the purpoſe of this meaſure ap-

pears to be, it excited much alarm among the ſhip owners; and urgent calls for delay were made in the houſe of commons. When the ſubject was conſidered in the committee, Mr. Dundas ſpoke with ſome acrimony of thoſe who objected to and miſrepreſented the bill. "He had," he ſaid, "been aſked a dozen times, why he gave to foreign nations privileges in trading to India which he withheld from this country." The reaſon was, that he only gave to foreign nations what they had enjoyed from time immemorial, and he could not give the ſame privileges to ſubjects of this country, without repealing the charter which the legiſlature had granted to the Eaſt India company. Had he made an attempt to exclude foreign countries from the commerce of India, what would have been the conſequence? It would have drawn upon us the jealouſy of every power in Europe, which, great as our power was in that quarter of the world, he was not prepared to encounter. He heard that it had been ſtated, at the Eaſt India Houſe, that the company's charter gave them an excluſive right to the trade of India; forgetting that the parliament of Great Britain could not, by any charter it could give, ſuperſede the rights of France, Holland, Portugal, Denmark, and Sweden. But he was really almoſt aſhamed to take notice of ſuch nonſenſe. The bill now before the houſe gave foreign countries no new preference, nor did it rob the Eaſt India Company of any right which they had heretofore enjoyed." After this, the bill was agreed to, without any further oppoſition.

Some changes which had been made in the mode of adminiſtering juſtice in India gave riſe, on the production of the India budget, to ſome remarks from Mr. Biddulph, who called for information. Having failed to obtain any, he ſhortly after brought forward a motion, "for copies or extracts of the correſpondence between the Court of Directors and the Governor General of Bengal, for eſtabliſhing courts of juſtice in India, and the directions which were given for procuring ſuch proceedings." The motion was reſiſted by Mr. Dundas, on the ground that it was in fact unneceſſary, and if carried to its full extent would cauſe no inconſiderable expence; as the papers would be voluminous enough to employ for a long time all the clerks of the company in copying them. Mr. Dundas promiſed, however, to produce all ſuch papers as were really requiſite to enable the honourable mover to form a judgment.

Almoſt at the cloſe of the ſeſſion a bill was introduced relative to the Indian judicature. It authorized the reduction of the number of judges from four to three, on the removal or death of any of the preſent judges; allowed a penſion to a retiring judge, on his having been ſeven years in India, and to a recorder, after a ſervice of five years; regulated the forms of proceeding in a variety of caſes; and prohibited all Britiſh ſubjects from lending to, or raiſing loans for, the native princes.

The clauſe for granting penſions was objected to by Major Metcalf, who was of opinion that the judges ought to ſave from their ſalaries a ſufficiency to render comfortable

fortable their retirement. This idea, and the calculations on which it was founded, were combated by Mr. Dundas with ſarcaſtic humour. He remarked that Major Metcalf had made no allowance for the ſupport of that part of a judge's family which might require a ſeparate eſtabliſhment, or for the education of his children, who might remain behind. On the contrary, he ſuppoſed that a perſon who was appointed to the office of Chief Juſtice was to carry all his family along with him, which did not happen in one out of ten caſes. And when the honourable member got him to India, he ſuppoſed that he was to live to the age of Methuſalem, with the economy of a jew, and in the profeſſion of an uſurer, laying out every penny that he could ſpare at compound intereſt. His own opinion was, that it was highly becoming in the legiſlature to put the Chief Juſtice on ſomething like a proportional footing with thoſe around him. In this country it was a thing invariably underſtood, that when a judge retired from his ſituation, ſome proviſion ſhould be made for him by the public. What reaſon, then, could there be, why an India judge ought not to have a ſimilar proviſion after retiring from the duties of an uſeful and laborious life; and the more ſo, as the expence would not fall upon the public, but was to be defrayed by retrenchments on other parts of the judicial eſtabliſhment?

The clauſe was carried by a majority of 30 out of 33. In the houſe of lords the company oppoſed the bill by council, but it paſſed without a diviſion.

The want of the proper documents prevented any Indian budget from being brought forward in the ſeſſion of 1796; but in the preſent ſeſſion the deficiency was amply ſupplied, by the production of two. The firſt budget was laid before the houſe on the 20th of December, by Mr. Dundas. Referring to the papers on the table for proofs, and declaring his readineſs to give any explanations, he did not, in opening the ſubject, think it neceſſary to do more than merely to ſtate the arrangement which he intended to follow. He ſhould, he ſaid, firſt bring forward ſeparately the reſults of the accounts applicable to each ſettlement; next, the accounts of all the ſettlements combined; then, the ſeparate accounts of the Eaſt India company at home; and, laſtly, he ſhould enumerate them all, combining both the foreign and domeſtic, in order to deduce his general reſult. This mode would enable his hearers to diſcover whether his former aſſertions of the proſperous ſituation of the company's finances were realized; and, conſequently, if practice and experience were found to teſtify on his ſide, whether, upon their conviction of his accuracy, they ought not to be induced to repoſe their confidence in time to come. His ſtatements he divided into three claſſes; the firſt conſiſting of the average ſtatement of the laſt three years; the ſecond, of a compariſon of the eſtimates, and actual amounts of the charges and revenues of the laſt year; and the third, of an account of what expences or diſburſements might ariſe in a future year. He reminded his hearers that theſe ac-

counts came over in the courſe of the ſpring, and if they were deſirous to have an accurate ſtatement of the whole revenues to the lateſt period of the year, he muſt produce another in the courſe of next ſpring, by which time he hoped that the papers would arrive.

Diſentangled from the crowd of calculations, the general reſult of the revenue and charges in India for the year 1794—5, was as follows:

REVENUES.

Bengal - - -	£5,937,931
Madras - - -	1,775,782
Bombay - - -	312,480
	£8,026,193

CHARGES.

Bengal - - -	£3,477,396
Madras - - -	1,769,825
Bombay - - -	697,924
Total charge -	5,944,445
Total revenue -	8,026,193
Net revenue of the three preſidencies,	2,081,748
From which deduct ſupplies to Bencoolen, &c.	74,857
	2,006,891
Which exceeded the eſtimated amount by	£139,147

From this ſurplus revenue of more than two millions was to be deducted the ſum of 484,301*l.* for intereſt of debts at Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, and there would then remain a ſurplus of 1,522,590*l.* to which it was proper to add the amount of the ſales of imports, certificates, &c. being a ſum of 562,177*l.* The whole of this was 2,084,767*l.*, which was applicable to the purchaſe of inveſtments, the payment of commercial charges, and other purpoſes. The inveſtment, however, including charges, in the three preſidencies, was only 1,838,445*l.*; leaving 246,332*l.*, which, he underſtood, had been applied to the buying of rice, and to the profit and loſs account on internal trade.

The general reſult of the eſtimates for 1795—6, was that the net revenue of the three preſidencies was 1,852,573*l.*; of which the part applicable to inveſtments was 1,795,166*l.*; being 289,601*l.* leſs than the preceding year.

He next ſtated that the debts in India laſt year amounted to 7,305,462*l.*; and in the preſent to 6,813,737*l.*, being a decreaſe of 491,715*l.*

491,715*l.* In 1794—5, the debts bearing intereſt were 5,597,299*l.*; in 1795—6 they were 5,328,868—a decreaſe of 268,431*l.* The aſſets in India, conſiſting of caſh, goods, &c. were laſt year 8,807,601*l.*; and in the preſent were 8,867,266*l.*; ſhewing an increaſe of 59,665. Adding the increaſe of aſſets to the decreaſe of debts the company's affairs in India were better to the extent of 551,390*l.*

The home accounts next came under review. The ſales up to the 1ſt of March had, he ſaid, exceeded expectation. The whole ſum of them was 8,158,495*l.* The ſale of the company's goods had been eſtimated at 5,517,500*l.*, but had actually reached 6,588,969*l.*; which gave an exceſs of 1,071,469*l.* On private trade the charges and profit had been eſtimated at 60,000*l* while the actual amount was 148,417*l.*; being 88,417*l.* more than the eſtimate.

The debts at home were 6,946,323*l.* in March 1795; and 7,474,700*l.* in March 1796; being an increaſe of 528,377*l.*

The aſſets at home and afloat on the 1ſt of March 1795, were 10,413,254*l.*; and on the 1ſt of March 1796 were 12,024,312*l.*, which ſhewed this year an increaſe of 1,610,958. Deducting from this the increaſe of debt, the ſtate of affairs at home was better than in 1796 by the ſum of 1,082,581*l.*

On a general compariſon, therefore, of debts and aſſets, Mr. Dundas concluded that, as to thoſe heads, the company's affairs were better than they were laſt year by a ſum of 1,240,490*l.*

Having finiſhed this favourable ſketch of the company's ſituation, Mr. Dundas cautioned the houſe againſt expecting that the account of next year would be equally favourable. There muſt, he ſaid, be a conſiderable diminution in ſome articles, particularly in that of opium, which could not be ſo productive during war. The great thing, however, which muſt prevent the revenue of India from being ſo productive next year, would be the encreaſed charges on account of the military arrangements which had been made in India. The meritorious officers in the company's ſervice had laboured under many hardſhips. They had not the ſame chance as his Majeſty's officers of being put on the ſtaff; they could not return to their own country for the benefit of their health without giving up their commiſſions and loſing their pay—ſo that they muſt chuſe the alternative of dying in an unhealthy country, or of loſing their ſupport—they had often not the means to enable them to return; nor had they any half-pay if they quitted the ſervice. Theſe grievances had long been a cauſe of complaint, and juſtly ſo. They were now completely remedied, and the regulations which had been ſent out had been generally received with ſatisfaction and gratitude. The expence, however, would amount to four millions. Mr. Dundas concluded by repreſenting the company's affairs in every part of India as in a ſtate of progreſſive improvement; declaring that in time of peace the public would fully enjoy the promiſed participation; and recommending an increaſe of the company's ſtock, in preference to raiſing money on bonds, for the purpoſe of enabling

them to carry on their increasing commerce. This recommendation, as we have already seen, was acted upon, and the company's capital encreased from six to eight millions.

A series of resolutions, founded on his statements, was moved by Mr. Dundas. Some doubts, as to the correctness of his estimates, were started by Mr. Hussey and others; but the resolutions were agreed to without a division.

The papers having arrived, the supplementary budget, which Mr. Dundas had promised, was brought forward by him, on the 14th of July. After a brief preface he opened the estimates in the same order as he had before done: the general result was as follows:

REVENUES.

Bengal - -	£5,710,511
Madras - -	2,159,402
Bombay - -	284,959
Total amount of revenue	£8,154,872

CHARGES.

Bengal - -	£3,733,859
Madras - -	2,005,225
Bombay - -	777,973
Total of the charges	£6,517,057

The net revenue of the three presidencies, therefore, was 1,637,815*l.* from which were to be deducted supplies to Bencoolen, &c. 104,154*l.*, and interest of debts 414,750*l.* leaving a sum of 853,791*l.*: to which was to be added 453,605*l.*, the amount of sales, imports, and certificates; making the whole sum applicable to investments 1,307,396*l.* But, as the sum required for that purpose was 2,401,015*l.*, there would be, on this head, a deficiency of 1,093,619*l.*

The debts in India last year were 6,813,736*l.*; this year they were 7,146,083*l.*; so that there was an increase of 232,347*l.* The debts bearing interest had increased 261,274*l.*; and there was an annual increase of interest to the amount of 19,092*l.* The home debts had increased in the sum of 441,759*l.* The assets in India had augmented from 8,867,266*l.* to 8,958,669*l.* being an increase of 91,403*l.*; and at home from 12,024,311*l.*, to 12,476,813*l.* being 452,501*l.* better than the preceding year. Setting the assets against the debts, the debt was now larger than last year by 473,663*l.*

On the whole, the net excess of payments over the actual receipts for 1796—7 he stated to amount to 1,882,965*l.*

Notwithstanding this apparent falling off, some of the causes of which

which he had pointed out in the laſt budget, the company's affairs, Mr. Dundas ſaid, were as favourable as the moſt ſanguine perſon could wiſh, or any one had reaſon to expect. Let the ſituation of the company at preſent be compared with what it formerly was, when their ſolvency was doubtful. In 1786 their debts were four millions beyond their aſſets. In the year 1796 they were better than in 1786 by eleven millions; and he could boldly aſſert that their aſſets exceeded their debts no leſs than ſix millions. If the whole of their affairs were wound up they would receive an annual intereſt of 950,000l. As a proof of the flouriſhing ſtate of affairs in India Mr. Dundas relied upon two facts. One of theſe was an increaſed revenue of 200,000l. on the ſale of ſalt, though the natives paid a leſs price than formerly for that article; the other was a reduction in the cuſtoms of ſeveral articles in the ports of India, through which not only the individual had been greatly benefited, but alſo the revenue of the company, by the extenſion of exports and imports.

Mr. Dundas concluded by moving the uſual ſeries of reſolutions, which were agreed to, without any obſervation.

CHAP. IX.

Proceedings relative to domeſtic Concerns. Mr. Abbot brings forward a Plan for the better Promulgation of the Statutes. He ſtates the Abſolute Neceſſity of the meaſure. Reſolutions adopted by the Two Houſes on this Subject. Mr. Adair again brings in his Bill to relieve Quakers in Tythe Caſes, and to admit their Affirmation on criminal Trials. It is oppoſed by the Solicitor and Attorney General, and finally rejected. Mr. Parker Coke brings in a Bill to authorize the Removal of Cauſes from local Juriſdictions to the County at large. He withdraws it. Mr. Fox moves the repeal of the Treaſon and Sedition Bills. He makes an eloquent Speech on the Occaſion. Reply of Mr. Serjeant Adair. Mr. Fox is cenſured by ſome of the Members. Reply of Mr Fox. The Motion is negatived by a large Majority. Mr. Grey brings forward a Plan for a Reform in Parliament. He accuſes the Houſe of Commons of having groſsly violated its Duties. The Motion is ſeconded by Mr. Erſkine. Speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in reply. He maintains that Parliament has the full Confidence of the People. Cloſing Speech of Mr. Fox. The Motion is rejected by a Majority of a Hundred and Sixty-five. Act paſſed for enabling his Majeſty to ſummon Parliament at fourteen Days Notice. Objections of Sir W. Pulteney anſwered by Mr. Pitt. A Bill brought in by Mr. Pitt for a Reform of the Poor Laws. Account of ſome of its leading Clauſes. It is ſeverely cenſured by Mr. Sheridan, and ſuffered to drop to the Ground by its Framer. Acts paſſed relative to the Export and Import of Corn. Act paſſed to alter the laws of Aſſize. Unſucceſsful Claim of Mr. Luſhington for Reimburſement of the Merchants who had loſt by importing grain. Sir John Sinclair brings in a General Inclo-

ſure

cloſure Bill. It paſſes the Commons, but is rejected in the Lords. Mr. Mainwaring brings in a Bill to prevent Foreſtalling, Jobbing and Regrating. Arguments for and againſt it. Mr. Dundas, Mr. Pitt and others oppoſe it, and it is rejected. Earl Moira announces a Motion for a Committee on the Debtor Laws. It is often poſtponed in conſequence of the Lord Chancellor's Illneſs. Reaſons why the Preſence of Lawyers is prejudicial in ſuch Diſcuſſions. Speech of Lord Moira on bringing forward his Motion. He ſtates the Hardſhips ſuffered from the Laws of meſne proceſs and Execution. The Meaſure is oppoſed by Lord Kenyon. Agitation of his Lordſhip in conſequence of his having received an Anonymous Letter. His arguments againſt Lord Moira's Motion. The Motion is rejected. Cloſe of the Seſſion.

THE reader having, in the preceding chapters, been made acquainted with all that, in the courſe of this ſeſſion, was done by parliament, relative to politics, to military and naval efforts, to finance, and to colonial affairs, there now only remains for us to lay before him a brief ſketch of the moſt prominent of thoſe legiſlative acts and diſcuſſions which were entirely devoted to regulate or amend ſuch objects as are excluſively connected with our domeſtic ſituation. Acts and diſcuſſions of this kind afford, indeed, little ſcope for eloquence and wit, but their effect is deep and laſting, and it is, therefore, the duty of the annaliſt not to paſs them by as unworthy of notice. A law, which perhaps moved ſilently through the two houſes, and conſequently was unnoticed or unknown by the multitude, will often produce more effect upon the public happineſs and welfare than ten of the moſt brilliant victories that ever were achieved.

Among the proceedings of a domeſtic nature, almoſt the firſt in point of time, and though it did not give riſe to any debate, not the leaſt important of them, was the ſtep taken by Mr. Abbot, for the beneficial purpoſe of procuring the ſtatutes to be more extenſively promulgated. That at all times the laws ought to be generally known, ſo that no individual ſhould be able to plead ignorance of the penal conſequences which they attach to his miſconduct, is a truth which does not admit of diſpute. But their complete publicity is doubly needful, when they become more numerous and rigid, and when, from circumſtances of trade, revenue, or police, they render highly criminal, and heavily puniſhable, many actions which, abſtractedly conſidered, have in them little or nothing of moral guilt. Concealed laws are not leſs a ſnare and an oppreſſion than thoſe which, by the doubtfulneſs of their meaning, delude the people into error.

In moving for a "committee to enquire into the moſt effectual means of promulgating the ſtatutes of the realm, and to report their obſervations thereupon," Mr. Abbot ſtated the horrible fact that men were tried, convicted, and loſt their lives according to the tenor of laws, of the very exiſtence of which they were in ignorance. As matters now ſtand, added he, the magiſtrates themſelves do not even know the laws; yet it is certainly true,

true, that magiſtrates there are, who have been frequently obliged to act under the unpromulgated ſtatutes, and this has been done, too, to the great inconvenience, nay ruin, of ſome of his majeſty's ſubjects. Nor did the fault reſt with the magiſtrates: there was no magiſterial perverſion; the evils, palpable as they might ſeem, were the natural effect of a change of times. Formerly, it had, he ſaid, been the cuſtom for the ſheriffs to proclaim in their reſpective diſtricts every new law which was made, and by this practice the country was conſiderably benefited. He did not, however, think it proper to ſuggeſt the remedy to be employed on the preſent occaſion, but left it to the wiſdom of thoſe whom the houſe ſhould appoint.

The motion was ſeconded by Mr. Wilberforce, who fully agreed in all the ſentiments of the honourable mover; and a committee was accordingly choſen.

The reſult of this proceeding was a report, on which was grounded a ſeries of eight reſolutions. The firſt and principal of theſe reſolutions, of which the next ſix were elucidatory, propoſed that, inſtead of printing and diſtributing as heretofore, only 1126 copies of the ſtatutes, 3550 copies of every public and general ſtatute ſhould henceforth be printed and diſtributed. By the laſt reſolution it was ſuggeſted that the revival of "expired ſtatutes, or of all thoſe intended to be revived, ſhould be included in one bill; that the title ſhould expreſs the cauſe of the reviving of ſuch ſtatutes, and ſhould deſignate them, together with the preciſe duration of their continuance." A more effectual cure for the evil complained of might, doubtleſs, have been found; but it cannot be denied that the ſteps now recommended were of conſiderable utility.

When he moved the reſolutions, Mr. Abbot lamented that, in compliance with the wiſhes of ſome perſons, whom he deſcribed as men of much greater parliamentary experience than himſelf, he had been reluctantly compelled to give up his idea of propoſing a reform in the diction of legiſlative enactments. With undeniable truth he affirmed that, of all the ſpecimens which we poſſeſſed of the Engliſh language, parliamentary diction was the moſt perplexed. The operative ſentence, he ſaid, or that for which a clauſe was introduced into a bill, was often hidden in a wilderneſs of words, which never added to, but frequently ſo confounded, the ſenſe, as to render the whole clauſe totally unintelligible; and thus the intention of the legiſlature was many times totally loſt. Indeed, the legal terms of our juriſprudence were liable to this objection, and it was very grievous, inaſmuch as it was repeatedly productive of endleſs confuſion. Sincerely, therefore, did he wiſh that this ſubject might again be taken up, at a future period. The legiſlative and judicial phraſeology of the ſtates of America, though not perfect, came much nearer to perfection than our own, and might, he was of opinion, be advantageouſly taken as a model. In his cenſure Mr. Abbot was only too moderate. Had he ſaid that the clauſes of acts of parliament generally bear more reſemblance to the ſtrings of words, collected by the machine which is deſcribed

described in the voyage to Laputa, than they bear to any thing indicative of reflection, or of a wish to convey a meaning, he would have been amply borne out in his assertion by the notoriety of the fact.

The resolutions were carried, and, having been assented to by the house of peers, were ultimately converted into standing orders.

In the last parliament a bill for the relief of quakers, in certain cases of tythe, had been introduced by Mr. Serjeant Adair, and had passed through the commons, but had been laid aside in the lords, on the ground that the session was too far advanced to give it the requisite consideration. He now once more brought forward the question in the lower house. The first object of this bill, as of the former, was to secure the persons of quakers from an imprisonment which, in some instances, had operated as perpetual imprisonment, in consequence of the conscientious scruples which they entertained with respect to the payment of tythes. As the law now stood, their persons were liable in all tythe demands above the sum of ten pounds: the mode of enforcing such demands by distress on their property not being allowed where the sum was of a larger amount. He proposed, therefore, to repeal the limitation, and thus give the power of levying on the property for claims to any extent whatever. Such a mode was, he observed, the most beneficial which could be adopted for all parties; as it enabled the one to recover his demand, while to the other it prevented expence in resisting that which his conscience compelled him to resist. The second part of Mr. Adair's bill was an addition to his original plan. It was a provision to legalize the affirmation of quakers in criminal as well as in civil causes; a provision which he stated to be highly necessary. The inconvenience of excluding the public and the crown from the benefit of the evidence of quakers had, he said, been felt by himself in a great criminal court, and by all those who were concerned in the administration of justice. In making this necessary change, no boon was granted to the quakers, whose principles led them to shrink from any thing which affected the lives of individuals, and many of whom had, to his knowledge, been glad to shelter themselves, under the restrictions of the act, from appearing in prosecutions where their evidence would have been of advantage to the community. It was the interest of justice which required that the restriction should be done away.

Mr. Adair had flattered himself that this bill would pass through the commons, as the former had done, and that all parties would agree in its principle though they might differ as to the details. In this, however, he was lamentably disappointed. The bill was strongly opposed on its first introduction, and its further progress was carried only by the casting vote of the speaker. When the motion was made for going again into a committee, Mr. Pierrepoint opposed the motion, not by any laboured display of argument or eloquence, but by a sweeping unsupported assertion, that the measure would be productive of the most pernicious consequences. He was backed by the solicitor general, who thought proper

proper to declare his intention of oppoſing it in every ſtage, becauſe it ſeemed to him to be calculated to pick the pockets of one ſet of men, in order to gratify what he was pleaſed to call the pretended ſcruples of another. The maſter of the rolls and the attorney general alſo joined in the clamour againſt the bill; the latter declaring that he had at firſt entertained ſentiments favourable to it, but that mature inveſtigation had induced him to give it his negative. This hoſtility was ſucceſsful, and the bill was thrown out by a majority of 28 againſt 12.

A bill, which promiſed to be of much public utility, was introduced to the houſe of commons by Mr. Parker Coke. It was for the purpoſe of better regulating trials in corporate towns by permitting parties, either in actions, or indictments, to have the cauſes tried in the county at large. The grievances which this bill was intended to remedy had been long felt, and ſome of the higheſt legal authorities had expreſſed an anxious wiſh that a remedy might be provided. It frequently, Mr. Coke ſaid, happened that, in towns poſſeſſing a ſeparate juriſdiction, the priſons were overflowing before the magiſtrates applied for a commiſſion to try the criminals. He alſo urged another reaſon for adopting the meaſure. It was the difficulty in many caſes of finding jurors who would act with perfect impartiality. In a confined neighbourhood a cauſe was in a manner prejudged, by the converſation which took place in every alehouſe reſpecting the party concerned. A fair trial was thus rendered impoſſible.

So far the ſoundneſs of Mr. Coke's argument may be fully admitted. But an aſſertion, which dropped from him in the courſe of his ſpeech, is entitled to little reſpect. At a former period, when men, he ſaid, were better than they now are, it was perfectly conſiſtent with the purpoſes of juſtice to bring men to trial almoſt at their own doors. This idea of the ſuperior purity of paſt times is nothing more than a baſeleſs and vulgar prejudice, the fallacy of which is made manifeſt by the concluſive evidence of hiſtory. This practice of complimenting former ages at the expence of the preſent has always exiſted, and, though it may be highly poetical, it has not a ſhadow of claim to the praiſe of being inſpired by philoſophy. There is, in truth, ſomething ridiculous, or rather, perhaps, diſguſting, in the doctrine that the diffuſion of knowledge is fatal to the intereſts of virtue. This was, however, the ſole inſtance in which Mr. Coke's ſpeculations were marked by ſuch extravagance of error. His bill was generally approved of, and would undoubtedly have paſſed the houſe of commons, had not he himſelf thought proper to withdraw it till the next ſeſſion, in order to afford an opportunity of conſidering it more minutely.

After the ſtrenuous reſiſtance which the oppoſition had, in the laſt parliament, made to the progreſs of the treaſon and ſedition bills, and the deteſtation which they had, on every occaſion, expreſſed of them in public, it was not to be ſuppoſed that they would ſuffer thoſe laws to remain on the ſtatute book without renewing their hoſtility againſt them. Accordingly, at an early period of this ſeſſion, Mr. Fox gave notice that,

after the Chriſtmas receſs he would move for their repeal. As if the very name of them were hateful to him, he did not mention them by their titles, but deſignated them as the "two bills of the laſt ſeſſion of the laſt parliament; bills which were too remarkable to be named more particularly; bills which had produced ſo much ſenſation in the country, and ſo much ſerious alarm to every conſtitutional mind."

It was not, however, till the 26th of May that Mr. Fox came forward with his motion, and it is rather ſingular that he was the only ſpeaker on his ſide of the queſtion. The oppoſition, nevertheleſs, muſtered their uſual ſtrength when the houſe divided.

Great as was his abhorrence of the bills, Mr. Fox did not allow it to ſtimulate him to any undue vehemence of language. His ſpeech was, on the contrary, calm and argumentative; yet in many parts it glowed with the true ſpirit of eloquence. The treaſon bill was the firſt to which he referred; and his leading objection was that it unneceſſarily extended the ſtatutes of treaſons, and carried them to a length which was by no means conſiſtent with ſound policy, either as to its avowed object, or to the tranquillity and conſtitution of the realm. He contended that the memorable ſtatute of Edward the third was ſufficient to prevent the crime of treaſon; that it was a law reverenced by the people for its regard to juſtice; and that every attempt to deviate from it, and to enlarge its operation, ſerved but to detract from its utility. Laws of extreme and uncalled for ſeverity had, he ſaid, no other effect than to excite hatred and ſuſpicion; and, in illuſtration of this, he alluded to ſome of the laws enacted in the reign of Elizabeth, but more particularly to others which paſſed in the reign of the ſecond Charles: laws which he declared were held up by hiſtory to the indignation of mankind.

There was alſo another part of this act which he contemplated with nearly equal diſguſt. It was that part of it which contained the proviſions relative to political libels; proviſions by which, he ſaid, judges were, in caſe of a ſecond conviction, authorized to decree puniſhments of a kind ſo barbarous, as to ſhock the heart of man. On this head he expatiated with infinite energy and feeling. When you look back in our annals, exclaimed he, to the ſentences which have been paſſed, when you reflect on the prejudices to which the frailty of our nature is ſubject, when you think on the poſſibility that, in future times, judges may be as ſervile, as corrupt, or as cruel, as they have been in the paſt, you will perhaps be able to form an accurate eſtimate of the character of a law which gives them the power to inflict a puniſhment ſo dreadful for an offence ſo indefinite and doubtful as that of a political libel. You will then believe with me that the penal infliction of fine and impriſonment is fully adequate to the crime, if crime it be, of publiſhing the moſt extravagant political opinion as to the form of governing a community. He urged that, had this bill been in force a century ago, many men, whoſe talents and virtues had rendered their memory dear and ſacred to the human race, might have been baniſhed to the diſtant and opprobrious ſhores of

Botany

Botany Bay; might have been condemned by the brutal ſentence of an iniquitous judge to the ſociety of a ſet of men whom vice had degraded, and crimes of every degree of enormity had expelled from all rational intercourſe with man. Probably the writings of Locke, which had enlightened and elevated his country, might have doomed him to this horrible exile. Nay, at a much more recent period, was it quite certain that Mr. Wilkes, on his ſecond conviction, might not have been devoted to this terrible fate. Scotland had afforded a mortifying and indubitable proof of the willingneſs of government to give entire effect to this kind of law. He poſitively denied, however, that ſuch was the law of Scotland; and he expreſſed an ardent hope that ſevere retribution would one day viſit thoſe who had dared to go ſo far beyond what was really the law. On the ſubject of the Scotch proſecutions, in 1794, he diſplayed, indeed, more warmth than in any other part of his ſpeech. The ſufferings of Mr. Gerald in particular, he depicted in glowing colours. He, nevertheleſs, candidly admitted that the baniſhed individuals had, in ſome inſtances carried their doctrines to exceſs.

With reſpect to the act for preventing ſeditious meetings and aſſemblies, he argued that nothing could be more impolitic than to narrow the right of petition; which, on the contrary, ought to be as widely extended, and made as eaſy, as poſſible. But ſo much trouble did it, he ſaid, require to comply with the proviſions of this act, where the meeting was not ſummoned by the regular magiſtrate, that it was next to an impracticability to carry the exerciſe of the right into effect. In other inſtances, ſheriffs had the power of rendering fruitleſs all the proceedings which had taken place, and even of refuſing to allow a meeting to be held. What benefit could be expected from ſuch enactments? They could not ſtifle the feelings of men, nor hinder them from communicating thoſe feelings to each other. No. They only compelled them to reſort to ſecret and conſequently dangerous aſſemblies. Ireland was a ſtriking example of the truth of this. Till the privilege of freely expreſſing opinion was inſanely attempted to be controuled by ſevere laws, the number of the diſaffected was comparatively trifling. That this act was to expire in a few years he conſidered as no defence of it, but rather as an inſult. It was an inſult to tell the people that when every thing was ſmooth and calm they might meet to applaud; but that in times of miſfortune they muſt be prohibited from coming together to deplore their calamities, and conſult on the remedy for them. He wound up his argument by reminding his hearers that liberty was ſtrength; and that, conſequently, if we wiſhed to exert all our rational energy, the ſureſt means of calling forth that energy was to render the people contented and free.

The motion was oppoſed by Mr. Serjeant Adair, major Elford, colonel Fullarton, lord Morpeth, Mr. Elliſon and others.

Mr. Serjeant Adair ſtood foremoſt among the defenders of the bills; and his ſpeech was temperate in manner, and replete with argument. He vindicated the two acts

acts on the ſtrong ground of abſolute neceſſity; and ſhewed that they had put a ſtop to theſe machinations which were carried on before their exiſtence. He alſo made it clear that Mr. Fox was miſtaken with reſpect to the ſhackles which the ſedition bill was imagined to impoſe on the right of petition; no conſtitutional meeting being in reality prohibited, or even reſtrained. The ſuppoſed operation of the other act, too, with reſpect to libels, he proved to be an error. The additional penalty did not apply to the general ſubject of libel, but ſtated and defined the particular acts for which it was inflicted. It was againſt that particular kind of ſedition, and that alone, which, if followed by an overt act, would have amounted to treaſon, that the law applied. As to the reprobated ſentences which had been paſſed in Scotland, they were foreign to the preſent diſcuſſion, and he might, therefore, allowably paſs them by in ſilence: but, ſince they had been alluded to, he would aſk whether the perſons convicted in that country had really been tranſported for crimes ariſing out of their exceſſive love of the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution? Was it, he wiſhed to know, ſuch a love that led thoſe men to adopt the language and the forms of that national convention that murdered their king, trampled on the rights of the people, aboliſhed the Chriſtian religion, and ſet at defiance every maxim of humanity and juſtice? Was it ſuch a love that induced them to vote a reſolution of reſiſtance to an act of the legiſlature which formed a part of that conſtitution? Such conduct it was that rendered the two acts neceſſary; and, though he truſted they would one day be repealed, he conceived that the immediate repeal would be an unwiſe and dangerous meaſure.

Similar reaſons were adduced by the other ſpeakers, ſome of whom criticized with much ſeverity the ſentiments and actions of the right honourable mover. Colonel Fullarton declared that, for the laſt four years, Mr. Fox had been labouring to diſgrace the country abroad, and to divide it at home; and Mr. Elliſon added that his obvious object was alſo to bring the parliament into contempt.

After a ſpirited reply from Mr. Fox, in which he inſiſted on many of his previous arguments, and repelled with much point and felicity of language the charges brought againſt him, the queſtion was put, and the motion was negatived by a majority of 208; the ayes being 52, and the noes 260.

For all the calamities under which the country ſuffered there was one remedy which the party in oppoſition never failed to conſider as infallible. This remedy was a reform in the commons' houſe of parliament. Since the debate, however, in 1793, this queſtion of reform had only been touched upon in incidental alluſions. It was now regularly brought forward again by its former advocate Mr. Grey. In his ſpeech he ſeemed to aſſume the character of attorney general of the people of England, and in this character he impeached the houſe of commons of numerous high crimes and miſdemeanours. According to his ſtatement, the houſe had, for a very long ſeries of

May 26.

of years, shamefully violated every one of its duties, and had now not the slightest communion of interest with the country. This alone had been the cause of all the national misfortunes. Instead of attention there had been negligence; instead of enquiry there had been confidence; instead of controul there had been obedience; instead of economy there had been profusion. A reform was, therefore, indispensably necessary.

By the plan which he proposed no more members were to be elected than there now were. The county members alone were to be increased from 92 to 113. In apportioning these he suggested that, instead of two for the county of York as at present, there should be two for each riding, and so in other counties, where the number of members was not commensurate with the population. To put an end to compromises, each county or riding was to be divided into grand divisions, each of which was to return one member. Instead of confining the privilege of an elector to freeholders, he wished to extend it to copyholders, and to all leaseholders who were bound to pay a certain annual rent for a certain term of years. With respect to the remaining four hundred members, it was his plan that all persons who were householders should have a right to vote for them. If possible, no person was to be suffered to vote for more than one member; and, to prevent expence, the poll was to be taken at one time throughout the kingdom. Three years was the period which he thought would be proper for the duration of parliament. Into the subordinate details he did not at this moment think it needful to enter; as he only meant to move for leave to bring in a bill, which should lie over for discussion till the ensuing session.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Erskine, who, in a vehement speech, accused the ministers of being guilty of corruption, tyranny, and many other enormous crimes; and the house of commons of being their willing accomplice.

The lead in opposing the motion was taken by the chancellor of the exchequer. As Mr. Grey had mainly relied on the circumstance of the house of commons not speaking the sense of the people, Mr. Pitt bent much of his argument to prove the falsity of this opinion. He maintained that never at any period had parliament possessed more than it now did the confidence of the people, never spoken more unequivocally their sentiments; and, as an irrefragable proof of this, he adduced the result of the recent elections in the counties and in populous cities. In all of these, after a fair poll, those members had been returned who approved of the measures of government. With regard to the plan itself, he declared that there were many objections to it, one of which was that it approached to the plan of universal suffrage. The experiment proposed was, he said, new, extensive, overturning all the ancient system, and in its room substituting something which was unrecommended either by theoretical or practical advantage. He likewise forcibly contended that, were the plan acceded to, it would not put a stop to schemes of innovation; since, extensive as it was, it was far from sufficiently exten-

ſive to ſatisfy thoſe who looked to nothing ſhort of the ſubverſion of all exiſting eſtabliſhments. They were not to be propitiated by any ſuch half ſacrifices. On the whole, he denied that there was any neceſſity for the ſuggeſted change, or that any change was deſired by a vaſt majority of the people.

The motion was ſupported by ſir Francis Burdett, who, in a vehement harangue, predicted a revolution, by ſir R. Hill, Mr. Milbanke, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Pollen, ſir W. Dolben, and others. It was oppoſed by lord Hawkeſbury, Mr. R. Thornton, ſir W. Grey, ſir W. Young, ſir G. P. Turner, and Mr. Barham. There were, however, ſeveral ſhades of difference in the opinions of its opponents. Sir W. Geary merely diſapproved of the plan, and Mr. Barham, though friendly to reform, thought that it ought not to be undertaken at this period; while lord Hawkeſbury, ſir W. Young, and ſir G. P. Turner, declared their utter diſlike of any alteration that could poſſibly be propoſed.

The rear of the debate was cloſed by Mr. Fox, who had ſeldom diſplayed his wonderful talents to greater advantage than on this occaſion. Every argument that could be urged in favour of a reform was brought forward by him, and placed in the moſt ſeductive point of view. Of the former language of the miniſter, and the change which had taken place in it, he availed himſelf to the fulleſt extent. With reſpect to the plan now before the houſe, he conceived it to be unexceptionable; as it neither went beyond nor fell ſhort of the mark. In his eyes one of its merits was, that it did not go ſo far as univerſal ſuffrage. Againſt the plan of univerſal ſuffrage he himſelf entered a ſtrong proteſt, as conferring on individuals the power of drawing forth numbers, who, without deliberating, would act implicitly on the will of thoſe by whom they were thus arrayed.

On a diviſion the motion was loſt by a majority of 165; the ayes being 91, the noes 256.

Nearly at the cloſe of the ſeſſion, an act was paſſed to ſhorten the notice given for calling the parliament together. Hitherto forty days notice had been neceſſary; the time was now contracted to fourteen days. The bill was brought in by lord Grenville, who conſidered the change as rather tending to amend the conſtitution, and add to the popular weight in the ſcale, than to violate the one, or diminiſh the other. Clauſes were alſo introduced to remove ſome doubts which had ariſen on the true meaning of the ſtatute of queen Anne, relative to the aſſembling a new parliament on the demiſe of the crown.

In the houſe of commons objections were ſtarted to the meaſure by Mr. Wigley, and ſir W. Pulteney. The latter divided the houſe on it in its laſt ſtage, but was left in a minority. He contended that it would put the parliament on the footing of a military force, liable to be called out at the pleaſure of the miniſter; that thus it would prevent men of fortune from deſiring a ſeat; that it would prevent members from going abroad; and that it ought not to have originated with the peers. The futility of theſe objections

jections was shewn by the chancellor of the exchequer, in a brief speech, which, however, combined argument with much inoffensive pleasantry of language and allusion.

Among the multitudinous subjects relative to domestic concerns, which occupy the attention of the legislature, there is, perhaps, no one more important, or more intricate, than that of the poor laws. The burthen imposed by these laws is likewise one of the heaviest which is borne by the public. To do justice to this momentous question requires no common share of information and of sound judgment. It is not one which can be carelessly touched without material injury. We have seen, in the last volume, that, on the rejection of a bill framed by Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Pitt pledged himself to introduce a reform on this head, and obtained leave to bring in a bill; which, however, the pressure of business prevented him from carrying forward. On the twelfth of December he again moved for leave to bring it in, which was of course granted. His intention at present, he said, was only to propose that it should be read a first and second time, that it might go into the committee, where the blanks would be filled up. It would then be printed before the holidays, in order that during the recess it might be circulated in the country, and undergo a serious and mature investigation.

This bill consisted of fifty-three clauses. The most remarkable of them enacted the purchasing in certain cases of a cow or other useful animal for poor persons, to be paid for out of the rates; the establishment of parochial funds, from subscriptions, contributions, and aid out of the rates, to be applied for the relief of sick, infirm, and aged subscribers; and the setting the poor to work, and instructing children, in houses of industry, according to the principle of the 43d of Elizabeth. By the fourth clause it was provided that no person should be excluded from parochial relief on account of the possession of any tenement or cottage, or of any other visible property, if it did not exceed the value of thirty pounds, and consisted of tools, implements, furniture, apparel, or other necessaries. Another clause forbad the removal of a poor individual from the parish in which he resided, on the plea of any temporary disability or sickness of himself or his family. Visitors of the poor were ordered to be appointed by the quarter sessions, to which office members of parliament, justices of peace, and persons in holy orders, were declared to be eligible.

During the recess a few petitions were obtained against the bill. When the report came to be considered, on the 27th of February, Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Sheridan declared their hostility to the measure; the first in moderate terms, the latter with extreme bitterness. Mr. Whitbread only objected to it as complicated; but Mr. Sheridan stigmatized it as so foul that it ought not to be entertained for a single moment. It was, he affirmed, a libel on the rich, and a libel on the industry of the country. The chancellor of the exchequer said a few words in reply, and intimated his intention of shortly fixing a day for the debate. The

conſideration of the report was, however, deferred; and, as Mr. Pitt was afterwards fully occupied with more preſſing objects, the bill was ſuffered to fall to the ground.

The means of ſupplying that deficiency in the ſubſiſtence of the people, which aroſe from the ſcantineſs of the harveſt of 1795, occupied in this ſeſſion, as it had done in the laſt, a conſiderable ſhare of parliamentary attention; though nothing worthy the name of a debate at any time occurred. The exiſting act, to encourage the import and prohibit the export of grain, was continued at an early period of the ſeaſon. At a later period, however, the agricultural proſpects of the kingdom had ſo much improved that another act was paſſed, to repeal that part of it which related to barley, oats, peaſe and beans. On this occaſion Mr. Whitbread ineffectually oppoſed the exportation of barley, on the ground that the brewers had of late been loſers to a great extent by their trade. It had been urged in the committee, by Mr. Coke, that, if the bill did not paſs, the growers of barley in Norfolk would ſuffer materially. To this it was replied by Mr. Whitbread, that the houſe was not legiſlating ſolely for Norfolk, but for the country at large. Yet, in the ſame breath, with a ſtrange inconſiſtency, he contended that barley ought to be excluded from the bill, that the brewers might indemnify themſelves by purchaſing it cheaper.

In the hope of producing ſome benefit to the inhabitants of the metropolis, Mr. alderman Anderſon brought in an act to amend the laws of aſſize. The object of it was to prevent the practices which were notoriouſly uſed to keep up the prices of corn on the day on which the return is made that regulates the aſſize of bread. It was drawn up with much care; and received the ſanction of parliament; but proved as inſufficient as former laws had done to accompliſh its purpoſe.

In conſequence of the recent ſcarcity, large importations of grain had been made by the merchants; the effect of which naturally was to cauſe a fall in the price of corn, by which ſome of them ſuſtained conſiderable loſs. Mr. Luſhington, therefore, moved that a committee ſhould be appointed, to enquire into the amount of their loſſes, and conſider the means of indemnifying them. Government, he ſaid, had encouraged them to ſpeculate, and for that reaſon it was an act of juſtice to relieve them. Mr. Sheridan was the only member who ſpoke, and he contented himſelf with aſking one pointed queſtion. He deſired to know whether, if the laſt harveſt had failed, and the price of corn had riſen, the merchants would have given up to the public any part of their profits? To this Mr. Luſhington would not venture to reply in the affirmative. The committee was appointed; but fortunately it was not guilty of the waſte of the public treaſure which the honourable mover recommended.

With a patriotic view to the augmentation of our agricultural reſources, Sir John Sinclair again turned his attention towards a ſubject in which, during the late parliament, he had been extremely active. On the twenty-ſecond of March he moved that a committee be appointed to enquire into the means

means of promoting the cultivation and improvement of waſte lands, common fields, paſtures and other arable lands which were then unproductive. In the brief ſpeech by which he prefaced his propoſition he ſtated that, in the years 1795 and 1796, we had been under the neceſſity of importing one million of quarters of wheat, which coſt three millions ſterling; and which, having been chiefly paid for in caſh, had contributed to the preſent alarming ſcarcity of ſpecie. The fact of ſpecie having been ſent out of the country for this purpoſe was, however, controverted by ſir William Pulteney, who contended that the payments had been made in bullion, and that the remittances to the emperor had cauſed the ſcarcity of gold. The committee was agreed to by the houſe.

The reſult was a report from the committee, recommending an act to facilitate a general incloſure. In conſequence of ſome objections which the ſolicitor general made to the whole being included in one bill, ſir John Sinclair propoſed two bills. The object of the firſt of theſe was the dividing and incloſing waſte lands, by agreement of the parties intereſted therein; and of the ſecond, the enabling any perſon or perſons who might be entitled to waſte lands, to incloſe and allot the ſame in ſeveralty.

The latter bill was afterwards poſtponed till next ſeſſion by the honourable mover. The former paſſed through the lower houſe, with only a ſolitary remark on it from ſir William Dolben, who diſapproved of the meaſure, on the ground that the price of proviſion was enhanced by enclоſures. In the upper houſe, however, the hoſtility of the lord chancellor was fatal to it. Declaring himſelf favourable to the principle of general incloſure, he, nevertheleſs, thought that this bill ought to be rejected, as being full of abſurdities and impracticabilities, ſeveral of which he pointed out. It was accordingly thrown out, without a diviſion.

With equal benevolence of intention, but with a more doubtful policy, an attempt was made by Mr. Mainwaring to prevent the practice of foreſtalling and regrating live cattle; to which practice he attributed the high price of butcher's meat. On the authority of a committee, which ſate during the laſt ſeſſion, he ſtated that there exiſted three claſſes of men, termed jobbers, regraters, and foreſtallers. It was the buſineſs of the firſt of theſe claſſes to travel over the grazing countries, and buy up large quantities of cattle, which were frequently jobbed over again three or four times before they reached London. Theſe men carried their operations to ſuch an extent as to have the complete controul of the market. One of them had, he ſaid, cleared not leſs than two thouſand pounds in the year 1795, by jobbing in oxen. The regraters were thoſe who went to market early, bought up the cattle, and, after merely leading them acroſs the market, ſold them ſingly to butchers. Foreſtalling he ſtated to be performed by the carcaſs butcher, who went ten or twenty miles from the metropolis to meet the great dealers, of whom he purchaſed one half of the drove, and ſent them to private ſlaughter houſes; by which means there was apparently a ſcarcity of cattle in Smithfield, and the price was conſe-

quently enhanced. He, therefore, moved for a bill to prevent these practices. That, generally speaking, trade ought not to be restricted he was ready to admit; but in the present case the rule, he thought, did not hold; it being, as he conceived, the duty of the house to adopt measures by which the price of such articles might be kept as low as possible.

The motion was seconded by alderman Combe, and leave was given to bring in the bill.

Some objections were made, on the second reading, by Mr. Hawkins Browne and others; but the bill was, nevertheless, committed. It remained dormant nearly a month, and, on the house being at length moved to go into a Committee on it, a strenuous opposition was made to it by sir William Pulteney, who denied that the rise of butcher's meat was caused by forestalling, mentioned various circumstances by which it had really been caused, reprobated statutes which shackled trade, and pointed out the worthlessness of the evidence which had been collected to justify this measure. In his opinion the jobber was an advantage. By trading to a large extent he could do it on less profit, and thus bring the cattle to market cheaper than it could be done by the farmer. If the business of a jobber furnished such large profits as had been asserted, it would soon be overstocked, and would find its own level. The jobber, it was true, might sometimes buy cheap and sell dear; but it likewise often happened the other way: at one time they gained, at another they lost. On the absurdity of one of the clauses, which enacted that no man should sell cattle again till they had been fourteen days in his possession, he made some forcible remarks. This retention, he said, could obviously be complied with only by the rich grazier who could bear the expence, to the prejudice of other dealers and of the public. He, therefore, opposed the speaker leaving the chair, in which he was seconded by Mr. B. Edwards.

The bill was defended by Mr. Tierney, Mr. Bastard, Mr. Mainwaring and others, who, however, urged nothing more in its favour than Mr. Mainwaring had already stated. On a division, a majority of eleven appeared for the further consideration of the bill.

Hitherto it seems to have excited but little attention. Mr. Dundas now, however, set his face decidedly against it. On the day before it was again to be debated, he expressed his hope that there would not be a thin attendance on so important an occasion. When the debate came on he opposed the bill strongly, as likely to be productive of seriously prejudicial effects. Mr. M. A. Taylor followed him, and declared it to be so totally objectionable, and so incapable of being modified, that he would oppose it in all its stages. It would, he said, operate as a restriction on trade and agriculture, and of course tend to enhance rather than reduce the price of provisions.

In consequence of this hostility, Mr. Mainwaring abandoned all that part of the bill which related to jobbing. This sacrifice did not save the rest. On the order of the day being read to take the report into consideration, Mr. Dundas again attacked the bill, and moved that

that it ſhould be read on that day three months. He was joined by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Windham, Mr. Vanſittart and others, who conſidered the meaſure as founded on an obſolete prejudice, ſcarcely more rational than that of witchcraft, and as calculated to produce infinitely ſeverer evils than thoſe which it alleged to exiſt. Little was ſaid in behalf of it by its advocates, and on a diviſion the bill was thrown out by a majority of thirty-nine againſt ſeven.

Undeterred by the failure of his paſt benevolent efforts, lord Moira, at an early period, gave notice of his intention once more to bring before the houſe the ſubject of the debtor and creditor laws. On a ſubſequent day he more fully explained his object. It was not, he ſaid, a temporary inſolvent bill that he meant to propoſe; for ſuch a meaſure he held to be a fraud on the public, and a great evil. It was his object to expunge from the law books what he conſidered as a diſgrace to their pages, and to put on them an improved ſyſtem of legal regulations, which ſhould equally tend to protect the creditor, and to relieve the honeſt but unfortunate debtor.

The lord chancellor being ill, the motion of lord Moira was, at the requeſt of lord Kenyon, repeatedly poſtponed. The noble lord, who pleaded for delay, ſeemed to think it to be of the utmoſt importance that as many of the law peers as poſſible ſhould aſſiſt at the diſcuſſion. It may, however, well be doubted whether, on ſuch an occaſion, the abſence of thoſe peers would not be an advantage. The queſtion of the debtor laws is not a narrow and technical queſtion, which requires only the knowledge of a ſpecial pleader; but is one of general policy, which can be examined, and beſt examined, by an enlarged and liberal mind. The quibbles and ſubtleties of lawyers are more likely to darken than to elucidate a ſubject of this nature. In addition to this, it may juſtly be urged, that there ſeems in a long practice of legal forms, and of dealing in penal inflictions, to be ſomething which has a tendency to harden the heart, as well as to contract the judgment. The diſpenſer of the laws at length acquires a large ſhare of the ſevere inflexibility of the law itſelf. For weakneſs and misfortune he almoſt ceaſes to make any allowance, and is apt to confound them both with hardened guilt. He naturally, too, abhors a change in the object which he has for years been in the habit of venerating as the perfection of human wiſdom. It even appears that there are individuals of this kind, who contemplate the ſtatute till they love it for its own ſake, rather than for the ſake of the object which it was intended to attain; thus acting like the blind and ignorant idolaters, who, inſtead of raiſing their thoughts to the divinity, attach an idea of ſanctity to the wood or ſtone which is deſigned to repreſent him. Such men may with ſucceſs be reſorted to for an explanation of the letter of the law; but its ſpirit muſt be explained by others. That many exceptions to this rule have exiſted, that ſome do exiſt, is beyond a doubt; but the truth of the rule can be diſputed only by the moſt profound ignorance, or the moſt obſtinate prejudice.

As the lord chancellor ſtill re-

mained unable to attend his duty, lord Moira determined no longer to put off his motion. On the twenty-ſixth of March he moved for a committee, to enquire into the practice and effect of impriſonment for debt, and to report thereupon to the houſe. At the outſet of his argument he repeated his expreſſions of diſlike to inſolvent acts, as being a clumſy remedy, never reſorted to without producing a certain inconvenience to trade in general, and material injury to the honeſt creditor. It was, he ſaid, his wiſh to obtain a committee, on the report of which ſome durable amelioration of the preſent ſyſtem might be grounded. Laws, it had been obſerved by lord chief juſtice Coke, ſhould be of ſuch a nature as to ſecure to themſelves the moſt reverential obedience. This, however, was not the caſe with the debtor laws. Into a diſcuſſion of the demerits of the whole of them he declined at this moment to enter; and, in order to ſhew the neceſſity of a reform, referred only to the mode in which arreſts by meſne proceſs, and executions, were conducted. By the former proceſs, the perſon who was the ſubject of arreſt might be thrown into a jail without a debt being proved. He might remain there ſeven months before the declaration of the plaintiff was given in, and five months longer before the ſuit was brought to trial; during which time there was no legal proviſion made for his cloathing and ſuſtenance. Even after a ſucceſsful trial he could not be liberated without ſuing for his enlargement, which required means that perhaps were not in his poſſeſſion. In this reſpect he ſtood in a worſe ſituation than the felon who was accuſed of the moſt atrocious crimes. Theſe facts alone, his lordſhip ſaid, were ſufficient to make manifeſt the propriety of that enquiry for which he called. To give additional ſtrength, however, to his arguments, he proceeded to prove that the law reſpecting executions was no leſs defective, and that it was at once injurious to the debtor and to the creditor. Nor was this all. It was notorious that the vileſt abuſes were committed by attorneys, jailors, and turnkeys, which the law as it now ſtood could not prevent, and which might not even come to the knowledge of the judges, or of thoſe who were authorized to check and to puniſh ſuch abuſes. He, therefore, truſted that the houſe would conſent to his motion for the appointment of a committee.

Lord Kenyon was the opponent of this meaſure. The major part of his ſpeech was, however, occupied by vehement proteſtations of his own innocence, reſpecting a charge which had been made againſt him, in an anonymous letter, of avariciouſly participating in the produce of the extortions practiſed by the turnkeys and other ſubaltern agents of juſtice. With marks of the deepeſt agitation of mind, nay with tears in his eyes, he repeatedly intreated that a committee might be choſen to examine into his conduct. But the peers were of opinion that his known character for probity was a ſufficient refutation of the charge, which was too contemptible for notice. There can, indeed, be no doubt whatever that his lordſhip was incapable of the crime thus attributed to him.

Having

Having given vent to his feelings, he turned to conſider the queſtion; and it may be regretted that all his humanity had been exhauſted on himſelf. The committee which was moved for he conceived to be highly objectionable, as it would bring the whole code of the country into diſcuſſion, and give riſe to new ſchemes and projects without end, that might be the cauſe of infinite confuſion and miſchief. On the authority of Coke, he laid it down as a principle, that where there were not the means of enforcing payment, credit would be ſparingly given. If even the abſurdity were not obvious, of looking back for authorities on the principles of trade to a period when thoſe principles were ſo imperfectly underſtood, it would, on this head, be quite enough to reply to his lordſhip, that Mr. Burke has irrefragably refuted the aſſertion that credit is given becauſe the debtor can be arreſted. Lord Kenyon then added that the law of arreſt, as it now prevailed, had conduced, in an eſſential degree, to the increaſe of commerce and the extenſion of trade; and that if the creditor's ſecurity were weakened, both the one and the other would probably be deſtroyed. This was taking for granted what he ought to have proved. It would undoubtedly have been more correct to ſay that trade and commerce had flouriſhed in ſpite of the laws of arreſt. His next and ſole remaining argument was a truly curious one. It was drawn from the leniency of the bankrupt laws, which were repreſented as extending protection to the honeſt but unfortunate debtor. Such an argument was a cruel mockery of the majority of debtors. It is probable that ſeven-eighths of thoſe who were then languiſhing in priſon for debt were arreſted at the ſuit of tradeſmen, and they were now reminded that, although they muſt ſuffer till they paid the uttermoſt farthing, their creditors had the power of taking refuge from impriſonment under the ſhelter of the bankrupt laws.

After a brief reply from lord Moira, and a few words from the earl of Coventry and lord Kenyon, the motion was rejected by thirty-ſeven voices againſt twenty-one.

Some benefits were, however, conferred this ſeſſion on the perſons whom lord Moira ſought to relieve. An act was paſſed to raiſe the allowance to debtors from fourpence to ſixpence per day; and one of thoſe legiſlative diſgraces called an inſolvent act received the ſanction of both houſes. The lord chancellor was fortunate enough to recover his health in time to exert himſelf, for the laudable purpoſe of confining within as narrow limits as poſſible the operation of the inſolvent act.

The ſeſſion was cloſed on the 20th of July by a ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty thanked his parliament for the exertions which it had made, praiſed the wiſdom and firmneſs which it had ſhewn, and announced his intention of meeting it in the enſuing October.

CHAP. X.

Mutiny in the Fleets. Alarm and feelings of the Country upon this occaſion. Obſervations on the Conduct of the Seamen. Cenſure of the Miniſters. Alleged Origin of the Mutiny. Firſt Manifeſtation of the Diſcontent of the Sailors, in Anonymous Petitions to Earl Howe for an Increaſe of Pay. The Petitions ſuppoſed to be merely meant to excite Alarm. Breaking out of the Mutiny at Spithead, by the Sailors refuſing to weigh Anchor. Committee of Delegates choſen by the Seamen, and an Oath of Fidelity adminiſtered to all the Crews. Petitions of the Seamen to the Houſe of Commons and the Lords of the Admiralty. Statement of their Claims. The Lords of the Admiralty haſten to Portſmouth. Their firſt Anſwer to the Petitions. The Seamen ſtill diſſatisfied. New Claims. Further Conceſſions granted by the Lords of the Admiralty. Interview of ſome of the Admirals with the Delegates. Danger of Admiral Gardner. Lord Bridport's Flag ſtruck by the mutinous Seamen, who alſo make preparations for Defence. A Reconciliation at length effected. The Fleet drops down to St. Helen's, but is detained there by contrary Winds. The Seamen ſtill in a ſtate of Sullenneſs and Irritation. Proceedings at Plymouth. Arts employed to induce the Seamen to Mutiny again. Order iſſued by the Lords of the Admiralty. Second Mutiny in the Channel Fleet. Admiral Colpoys reſiſts the Attempt of the Delegates to board his Ship. Five Seamen killed. Admiral Colpoys made Priſoner, and threatened with Death. Alarm excited at Portſmouth by the ſecond Mutiny. Earl Howe brings down the King's Pardon, and the Act for increaſing the pay. He ſucceeds in bringing back the Men to their Duty. Sailing of the Channel Fleet. Subſequent mutinous proceedings at Portſmouth and Plymouth. Debates in Parliament on the Subject of the Mutiny. Calls made for Information by ſeveral of the Oppoſition Members. Mr. Pitt brings forward a Bill for an Increaſe of Pay to the Sailors. He is ſeverely attacked by Mr. Fox, and Mr. Sheridan; the latter of whom, however, cenſures the Conduct of the Seamen. Reply of Mr. Pitt. Mr. Sheridan propoſes the Appointment of a joint Committee of both Houſes. Remarks of Mr. Pitt. Bill for the Increaſe of Pay paſſes the Commons. Debate in the Lords. Mr. Whitbread brings forward a Vote of Cenſure upon the Miniſters, for their Delay in applying to the Houſe on the Subject of the Mutiny. Reply of Mr. Pitt. Speech of Mr. Fox. The Miniſters vindicated by Mr. Dundas. The Motion is negatived by a large Majority.

THE formidable preparations of our foreign enemies, the ceaſeleſs efforts of faction at home, and the ſhock ſuſtained by public credit, in the ſtoppage of the bank, were circumſtances which, alarming as they were, had a far leſs powerful effect in caſting a gloom over the public mind than another event which occurred in the courſe of this year, and which is now to be related. This event was the mutiny which took place among the ſeamen; a thing ſo unexpected, ſo

ſo ſeemingly unnatural, and even ſuppoſed to be ſo remote from poſſibility, that it is difficult to ſay whether ſurpriſe, grief, or terror, was the predominant feeling which it excited. The good qualities of Britiſh ſailors, and eſpecially their immovable fidelity, had long been the favourite theme of poets, dramatiſts, hiſtorians, and orators, and the delight and pride of their countrymen. When, therefore, theſe very men were ſeen hoſtilely arrayed againſt the government, ſeizing on the ſhips, and blocking up the mouth of the Thames, their defection was felt and reſented by each individual, as being ſcarcely leſs a private than a public injury; it was looked upon in almoſt the ſame light that a treacherous ſtab would be from the hand of an old and cheriſhed friend, in whom a boundleſs confidence had been placed.

That ſome of the complaints of the ſeamen were not without cauſe, it would be uncandid to deny. No excuſe can, however, be offered for the mode which they adopted to obtain redreſs. There was no previous repreſentation, or remonſtrance regularly made by them to their ſuperiors, either in the fleet, or at the Board of Admiralty. Inſtead of petitioning or memorializing, they at once choſe to reſort to open revolt. No government, under which an armed force is ſuffered to act thus with impunity, can long exiſt. At the ſame time, it is obvious that the miniſters were not free from blame. If the conceſſions which they ultimately made were not wrung from them by mere violence and terror, but were, as we believe them to be, in themſelves proper, it would have been politic, as well as juſt, to grant them before they were claimed. They would then have been conſidered as acts of grace and favour, and would have inſpired affection and gratitude; inſtead of being regarded as the fruits of victory, wreſted from the reluctant hand of an ungenerous enemy, and affording proofs of what might be gained by dint of reſolute hoſtility.

It has been contended, and by ſome who may be ſuppoſed to be well informed upon the ſubject, that the root of this dangerous conſpiracy may be traced from the operation of the quota bill, of the preceding year, by which each pariſh in the kingdom was called upon to furniſh a certain proportion of men for the naval ſervice. Such was the difficulty of procuring men, that the bounty given by the pariſhes was, in many inſtances, more than thirty guineas per man. By the combined inducements of this high bounty, of being provided with preſent ſubſiſtence, and, above all, perhaps, of being placed in a ſituation where they could do more effective miſchief, numbers of perſons, who were poſſeſſed of ſome abilities, and had received a tolerable education, but who were of perverted political principles, and bankrupt both in fortune and character, were prompted to enter into the navy, and were accepted without exciting any ſuſpicion of the peril which might ariſe from their artful machinations.

"Their views were, in no inconſiderable degree, furthered, by the privilege which they enjoyed of ſending and receiving all their letters free of poſtage; by theſe means

means the conſpiracy was enabled to extend itſelf unſeen; cheriſhed and ſtimulated by thoſe equally profligate characters whom they had left on ſhore, a chain of correſpondence was formed, and the flame of rebellion, ſmouldering in dangerous concealment, was daily acquiring ſtrength, while its ſource was undiſcovered, and its extent unknown.

"The hidden fire received no ſmall encouragement from the ſerious cauſe of diſcontent which the enrolment of theſe miſchievous characters, and the circumſtances attending it, was ſuppoſed to have occaſioned among thoſe who were juſtly eſteemed Britiſh ſeamen. Theſe valuable perſons, many of whom had been compelled to enter into the king's ſervice, had received no higher a bounty than five pounds a man, and had been obliged, at the ſame time, to relinquiſh an employment, the pay of which amounted to three or four pounds per month, for the king's pay of twenty-two ſhillings and ſixpence. Theſe hardſhips, which the ſituation of the country required ſhould be ſubmitted to by thoſe whoſe ſervice was wanted, were eagerly emblazoned in all the diſguſting colours that ſedition could paint, in the hope of acquiring proſelytes to her helliſh purpoſe. But though expectation was ſanguine, yet the event proved, in a great meaſure, contrary to their hopes. The thorough-bred ſeamen, notwithſtanding the diſadvantages under which they laboured, nearly without an exception, were ſteady in their conduct, and uniform in their loyalty. As it has been quaintly, though truly remarked, the core of the mutiny was formed of land-lubbers, or half and half ſailors, who, in a gale, are almoſt impediments to the honeſt and ſpirited exertions of good and practical ſeamen."

That this was really the caſe, the ſecrecy, art, and concert, which were manifeſted in the planning and conducting of the mutiny, render highly probable. But, whatever may have been the cauſe, we muſt now proceed to our narration of its effects.

The firſt ſymptoms of diſſatisfaction were ſhown in the latter end of February, and the beginning of March. They appeared, however, in ſuch a manner, that no direct notice could be taken of them. While earl Howe was at Bath, he received ſeveral anonymous petitions by poſt, all of which purported to come from different ſhips of the channel fleet, were literal copies of each other, and were confined to one object, namely, an increaſe of pay, that the ſeamen might be better enabled to make proviſion for their families. Theſe petitions were not indecorouſly worded, but as, independent of the other circumſtances of identity, the ſame hand writing was obvious in a part of every one of them, his lordſhip concluded that they were the fabrication of ſome malicious individual, who wiſhed to excite alarm, by inſinuating the prevalence of a general diſcontent in the ſquadron. Wiſhing, nevertheleſs, to be certain that his ſuſpicions were true, his lordſhip wrote to the officer at Portſmouth, to enquire whether any complaints were heard among the ſeamen of the channel fleet. The reply was in the negative, and that it was ſuppoſed that the petitions

petitions had been framed for the purpoſe which he ſuſpected. On his arrival in town, he ſent the petitions to one of the lords of the admiralty; and thus, for a while, the matter ſeemed to be entirely laid to reſt.

The fire was, nevertheleſs, only ſmouldering and enlarging its ſphere of action. On the return of the channel fleet to port, and probably before that period, a regular correſpondence was carried on between the ſhips which compoſed it; and this correſpondence appears alſo to have been extended to the other diviſions of the navy, but more actively to the ſhips at Plymouth. The reſolution which the ſailors came to was, that not an anchor ſhould be lifted till their grievances were redreſſed. With ſuch art and ſecrecy, however, did they concert and follow up their plans, that not a ſuſpicion was entertained of their intended diſobedience. They are even ſaid, on the contrary, to have exerted themſelves ſtrenouſly to get the ſquadron ready for putting again to ſea.

The ſignal for ſailing, given by lord Bridport, on the fifteenth of April, was the ſignal for them to throw off the maſk. Inſtead of weighing anchor, the ſeamen of the flag ſhip, the Queen Charlotte, ran up the ſhrouds and gave three cheers. This ſummons to the diſaffected was inſtantaneouſly anſwered by ſimilar ſhouts from every ſhip in the fleet. As ſoon as the aſtoniſhed officers had ſomewhat recovered from their ſurpriſe, they employed all their powers of argument and perſuaſion to induce the ſailors to return to their duty: but the men were obſtinately deaf to their entreaties and remonſtrances. All command was thenceforth at an end. On the following day, two delegates were choſen from each ſhip to form a ſort of council, and the admiral's cabin, in the Queen Charlotte, was fixed upon for the ſcene of their deliberations. Their next ſtep was publicly to ſwear each man to the ſupport of the cauſe; and that fear might keep ſteady thoſe who were only lukewarm in their zeal, ropes were reeved, in terrorem, at the foreyard arm. Some of the officers, who were particularly diſliked by them, were ſent on ſhore.

The manifeſtos, in which the ſeamen made known their grievances, were iſſued on the eighteenth of April, under the titles of humble petitions to the houſe of commons and the lords of the admiralty, and were ſigned by thirty-two delegates. In their ſtyle there was little or nothing which betrayed any other hand than that of a ſailor. The firſt of theſe petitions repreſented, that the act of Charles the ſecond, ſettling the wages of ſeamen, was paſſed at a time when the neceſſaries of life were thirty per cent cheaper than they now were: and, therefore, that the rate of wages ought to be increaſed, that the families of ſeamen and marines might be enabled to live in the ſame comfortable manner as they lived at that period. Declaring that the petitioners were as loyal as the army or militia could be, and were as much entitled to his majeſty's munificence, it proceeded to ſtate, that it was with jealouſy they beheld the pay of the military augmented, and the out penſions raiſed to thirteen pounds per annum, while the ſailors remained

remained neglected, and the out-penſioners of Greenwich had only ſeven pounds yearly. In the latter caſe, they ſeem not to have taken into account the ſuperior advantage which the ſailor has over the ſoldier in the article of prize money. On Lord Howe blame was obliquely thrown, becauſe he had not liſtened to their former petitions, and become their advocate, "though he had ſeen ſo many inſtances of their intrepidity, in their carrying the Britiſh flag victoriouſly into every part of the ſeas."

In the petition to the lords of the admiralty, they ſtated their demands more fully, and backed them with ſome compliments to their own "worth and good ſervices." Theſe demands were ſix in number:—an advance of wages; proviſions, from which a deduction was now made by the purſer, to be full weight, and of better quality; no flour to be ſerved in harbour, and a ſufficient quantity of vegetables allowed; better attendance and more neceſſaries to the ſick; liberty to go on ſhore, within a certain boundary, on returning to port; and, laſtly, the continuance of their pay to wounded men, up to the period of their being cured and diſcharged. To this it was added, that, "if any ſhip had any real grievances to complain of, it was hoped that their lordſhips would readily redreſs them, as far as lay in their power, to prevent any diſturbances." This indefinite requeſt appears to have pointed at the diſmiſſal or removal of ſuch of the officers as were objects of their diſlike. Leſt, however, it ſhould be ſuppoſed that conceſſion would only beget freſh claims, the petition was prudently cloſed by the following declaration. "It is alſo unanimouſly agreed by the fleet, that, from this day, no grievances ſhall be received, in order to convince the nation at large, that we know when to ceaſe to aſk, as well as to begin, and that we aſk nothing but what is moderate, and may be granted without detriment to the nation, or injury to the ſervice."

As in this critical ſtate of affairs there was not a moment to be loſt, a committee of the admiralty, with lord Spencer at the head, repaired to Portſmouth. The ſailors were immediately informed that the commiſſioners had the ſtrongeſt deſire to grant them every juſt and reaſonable redreſs, and that they would, therefore, recommend to his Majeſty to propoſe to the parliament an augmentation of pay, to the extent of four ſhillings a month to able ſeamen and petty officers, three ſhillings to ordinary ſeamen, and two ſhillings to landſmen. It was alſo promiſed that, thenceforth, ſeamen wounded in action ſhould be continued in pay till they were cured, or declared unſerviceable, in which latter caſe they ſhould receive a penſion, or be admitted into the hoſpital at Greenwich.

Unſatisfied with theſe conceſſions, the ſailors again addreſſed the lords of the admiralty. Their ſecond compoſition was in a leſs humble tone than the firſt, and manifeſted in them a diſpoſition to diſregard the promiſe which they had made, not to bring forward any further demands. It was now peremptorily declared that the grievances of particular ſhips muſt be redreſſed; a thing which, in the firſt

firſt inſtance, was only requeſted as a matter of favour. The diſtinction between ordinary ſeamen and landſmen was objected to, on the ground that there never had exiſted in the navy more than two claſſes, the able and the ordinary; and their lordſhips were, therefore, deſired to adhere to the old regulations, and to raiſe the pay of able ſeamen to one ſhilling a day, and that of ordinary ſeamen in the uſual proportion. It was added, that, "as a further proof of their moderation, and that they were actuated by a true ſpirit of benevolence towards their brethren the marines, who were neglected in their lordſhips' anſwer, they humbly propoſed that their pay, while ſerving on board, might be augmented in the ſame proportion as that of the ordinary ſeamen."

By a ſtrange confuſion of ideas, which might have excited a ſmile had the buſineſs been of a leſs ſerious nature, they declared that they hoped and truſted that this new demand "would be a convincing proof that they were not actuated by a ſpirit of contradiction, but earneſtly wiſhed to put a ſpeedy end to the preſent affair." It is obvious that it afforded a proof of any thing rather than that which they pretended it to be meant to prove. There can be no doubt that this clauſe, and that relative to the landſmen, were introduced for the purpoſe of linking all parties, but eſpecially the marines, more firmly to their cauſe. They next deſired that the penſions might be raiſed to ten pounds; and, with ſomewhat more of the ſpirit of conciliation than they had in other things diſplayed, they propoſed that the augmentation ſhould be provided for by deducting a ſhilling a month, inſtead of the exiſting ſixpence, from their pay. But here again they betrayed their ſcheme of alluring all the ſailors to their ſide; for they recommended that the regulation ſhould be extended to the ſeamen in the ſervice of the Eaſt India company. The reaſon which they aſſigned for this meaſure was, that there were few ſailors in the company's ſervice who had not ſerved in the navy, and that they had ſeen them, after ſickneſs or other accident had diſabled them, without any hope of relief or ſupport. They alſo repeated their former demands with reſpect to vegetables, flour, and the full weight of proviſions; and they wound up the whole by ſtating, that, until all their grievances were redreſſed, and an act of amneſty was paſſed, they had unanimouſly determined that not an anchor ſhould be lifted.

The anſwer of the lords of the admiralty was forwarded to lord Bridport, on the following day, that he might communicate it to the ſeamen. Paſſing over in ſilence ſome of the claims of the ſailors, their lordſhips conſented that the wages of able ſeamen ſhould be increaſed five ſhillings and ſixpence a month, clear of all deductions, thoſe of ordinary ſeamen four and ſixpence, and thoſe of landſmen three and ſixpence. On this head, therefore, every thing that had been aſked was granted, except the diviſion into two claſſes inſtead of three. They likewiſe agreed that the full allowance of proviſions ſhould be iſſued, and they repeated their promiſe of full pay to wounded men, and ſubſiſtence for thoſe who were rendered incapable. As, however,

however, it was manifeſt, that conceſſion, unſeconded by firmneſs, would only tend to further diſobedience, they directed his lordſhip to declare, that if the ſeamen perſiſted in their refractory conduct, they would forfeit their right to ſmart money, penſion from the cheſt at Chatham, and admiſſion into Greenwich hoſpital, and muſt be reſponſible for the dreadful conſequences which would neceſſarily attend their continuing to tranſgreſs the rules of the ſervice, in open violation of the laws of their country. On the other hand, he was authorized to hold out the moſt perfect forgiveneſs of all that had paſſed, to every ſhip's company, who, within an hour, ſhould return to their duty, and break off all intercourſe with ſuch as obſtinately remained in a ſtate of mutiny.

On the twenty-firſt, vice-admiral Colpoys, accompanied by admirals Gardner and Pole, proceeded on board the Queen Charlotte, to make known to the delegates the final anſwer of the lords of the admiralty. Their miſſion was a fruitleſs one. The delegates replied that the crews were determined not to be ſatisfied with any thing ſhort of their original demands; nor to act in ſubordination to their officers, till the parliament had ſanctioned the arrangement, and the king had granted a full pardon. Irritated by this menacing tone, and by the rudeneſs of ſome of the ſailors, admiral Gardner ſeized one of the delegates by the collar, and threatened him and his mutinous companions with ſevere puniſhment. This produced no other effect than to excite the fury of the mutineers againſt the admiral, who is ſaid to have been expoſed to conſiderable danger before he quitted the ſhip.

The delegates of the Royal George, admiral Bridport's flag-ſhip, having communicated to their comrades what had paſſed at the conference, it was reſolved to ſummon all the delegates to hold a meeting on board that ſhip. The red flag was accordingly hoiſted as a ſignal, a circumſtance which cauſed much conſternation, as the meaning of the red flag not being generally known, it was imagined to be indicative of deſperate meaſures on the part of the ſeamen. Captain Domett endeavoured to prevent it from being diſplayed without lord Bridport's conſent, but his reſiſtance was in vain, and the crew were ſo much enraged by it that they ſtruck his lordſhip's flag. At the ſame time the guns were loaded throughout the fleet, a regular watch was ordered to be kept, as at ſea, the officers were confined to their reſpective ſhips, and ſome, who were among the moſt obnoxious, were ſent on ſhore. From admiral Gardner's threats, it appeared that ſomething was, they ſaid, planning againſt them, and they were determined to die rather than to ſubmit.

On the following day, however, having had time for reflection, they thought proper to manifeſt a more conciliatory ſpirit. They addreſſed a letter to the lords of the admiralty on the ſubject of their demands, and another to lord Bridport, in which they paid ſome merited compliments to his character, and diſclaimed any intention of treating him with diſreſpect, by the haſty meaſure of ſtriking his flag. His lordſhip, therefore, once more hoiſted his flag, and the negotiation

negotiation was resumed. On the twenty-third, the king's pardon having been obtained in due form, the committee of delegates held a meeting, and the result of their deliberations was, that the conditions should be accepted.

Order being now at length supposed to be restored, the fleet was directed to put to sea, and for that purpose it dropped down to St. Helen's, where, after repeated fruitless attempts to sail, it was detained for several days by adverse winds. But, though the seamen had apparently submitted, they were far from having returned to their wonted habits of obedience; some of the ships slowly and reluctantly quitted Spithead, and two of them lingered behind till the latest moment.

At Plymouth, meanwhile, the sailors faithfully followed the example which was set them by their brethren at Portsmouth. The crews of the Majestic, Atlas, Saturn, and Edgar, refused to remove from the Sound; nor, though officially informed that the channel fleet had accepted the offers of the government, would they return to their duty till they had dispatched eight delegates in a cutter to Portsmouth, to ascertain the fact of the dispute being ended.

The nation was now congratulating itself upon having so happily escaped from the danger which had menaced it. The deceitful calm which it greeted was, however, only the prelude to a violent storm. Many of the sailors were, perhaps, elated with their triumph, and could not readily fall again into the track of subordination; others hoped that as threats had gained much, they might gain still more; some were alarmed by the idea that their recent conduct would eventually be punished; and these fears and hopes were carefully fostered by those who were the original planners of the mutiny. Seditious papers were secretly disseminated among the men, and it was rumoured that neither would their grievances be redressed, nor their late offence forgiven; and it was held forth as a proof of this, that the parliament had not yet sanctioned, or even noticed, the promises which had been made. A paper of instructions, from the lords of the admiralty to the commanders of vessels, was considered as affording further evidence to the same effect. It contained, indeed, articles favourable to the seamen; but it also, among other things, called on the officers to see that the arms belonging to the marines were kept constantly in good order, and fit for immediate service; to be particularly attentive to the behaviour of the men under their command; and to be ready, on the first appearance of mutiny, to use the most vigorous means to suppress it, and to bring the ringleaders to punishment. It was not difficult to persuade men, little accustomed to reflection, that these precautionary measures for the future had a reference to the past.

Their smothered discontent broke out on the seventh of May, upon the signal being given to proceed to sea. No sooner was the signal thrown out, than they manned the yards, as before, and loud shouts announced their relapsing into a state of open mutiny. Their next step was to hold a convention of delegates; and the London, the flag-ship of vice-admiral Colpoys,

was chosen as the place of meeting. In pursuance of their resolution, the delegates, all of whom were armed, came along side of the ship, but were informed by the gallant admiral that he would not suffer them to come on board. He firmly remonstrated with them on their disobedience, told them that they had obtained great concessions, with which they ought to be contented, and declared that he would resist any attempt on their part to come on board his ship, for the purpose of concerting their mutinous schemes. The delegates, nevertheless, still persisting in their intention, he ordered the marines to level their muskets, in the hope of intimidating these refractory intruders. He then again admonished and entreated them to refrain from carrying their design into effect. His efforts were unavailing. A slight scuffle ensued, upon which one of the delegates fired at and wounded lieutenant Sims, of the marines. As there was now no alternative, except tame submission, which was not to be thought of, the first lieutenant directed the marines to fire. They obeyed, and five seamen in the boats were killed, of whom two were delegates. At this critical moment, the whole crew of the London revolted against their officers, turned the guns of the fore part of the ship towards the stern, and threatened to blow all that was aft into the water, if the officers and marines refused to surrender. As resistance was manifestly hopeless, their demand was complied with.

In the first paroxysm of their fury, the seamen were proceeding to hang the lieutenant by whom the order to fire was given. He was saved by admiral Colpoys, who rushed forward, declaring that he himself was solely responsible, as the officer had acted by his command, in pursuance of instructions received from the admiralty. The seamen instantly required that those instructions should be produced, which was accordingly done. They then confined the admiral, and his captain and officers, to their cabins, and made the marines prisoners. For a while, they are said to have meditated putting the admiral to death; but at length, after he had been four days in durance, their policy, or their humanity, turned the scale in his favour, and he was sent on shore.—Several other officers, whom they disliked, were also dismissed.

This second mutiny excited on shore still more alarm than had been occasioned by the first. It was now impossible to say to what extremities the seamen might be induced to proceed. Additional troops were in consequence collected round Portsmouth, and were directed to be ready at a moment's warning, the guards of the garrison were doubled, the water was let into the moats, and every thing was prepared for defence, as if a foreign enemy were at hand.

Fortunately for the country, this new rupture was speedily brought to a termination. The parliament having passed the act for the increase of pay, and an amnesty having been granted by his majesty, earl Howe was sent down to Portsmouth, in the hope that the presence and arguments of an officer so generally and justly respected, would have their proper weight with the mutinous seamen.

This

This hope was not disappointed. After several conferences between his lordship and the delegates, the crews of the channel fleet accepted, on the fifteenth of May, the offers which were made to them, and returned to their duty. That no fear of any kind might remain upon their minds, the board of admiralty issued an order, strictly forbidding the officers to disquiet them by any reproach or reproof on the subject of their past misconduct. On the seventeenth, the squadron sailed for its destination off the harbour of Brest.

But, as the sea continues to be agitated after the tempest has ceased to blow, so the sailors continued occasionally to display a mutinous spirit for some time after their asserted grievances were redressed. The squadrons of sir Roger Curtis and lord Hugh Seymour were successively in a state of disobedience, the former especially, but were soon prevailed on to listen to reason. The ships at Plymouth likewise took a part in the second mutiny; and, though the sight of the channel fleet sailing past the port afforded an irrefragable proof that all disputes were settled, they did not desist from their mutinous conduct till near the close of the month. A plot was also formed to seduce the marines, but it was detected, and its authors were punished. Both at Portsmouth and Plymouth, parties of sailors went on shore, robbed individuals, broke windows, and committed so many criminal acts, that it became necessary to swear in additional constables, and to resort to the military in aid of the civil power.

In both houses of parliament the mutiny naturally excited a strong feeling of anxiety, in consequence of which, several calls were made upon the ministers, to afford early and full information on this important subject. On the twenty-fourth of April, Mr. Pitt promised that a communication should be speedily made to the legislature; but sixteen days, nevertheless, elapsed without his promise being fulfilled. In the house of peers, meanwhile, lord Grenville declared, in answer to the duke of Norfolk, that he would oppose, as being impolitic and dangerous, any motion for papers; and lord Spencer expressed a doubt whether he should be instructed by his majesty to lay any documents upon the table of that house. All that could be obtained was a brief account, from earl Howe, of the first steps which were taken by the mutineers, in sending him anonymous petitions, requesting an increase of pay.

At length, on the eighth of May, after the second disturbance had occurred at Portsmouth, the business was brought before the commons; not, however, as had been expected, in the shape of a message, but in that of a financial resolution, proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer. His motion was, that a sum of 372,000*l.* should be granted, to cover the increase of pay, and the issue of full allowance of provisions, during nine months. All enquiry, all discussion, he earnestly deprecated; and he "asked and solicited the silent indulgence of the house," as being absolutely necessary on this occasion. It could

not, he ſaid, be too deeply impreſſed on the minds of his hearers, that too much caution could not be uſed in an affair in which the ſlighteſt miſrepreſentation might be productive of the moſt diſagreeable conſequences.

To the reſolution itſelf no objection was offered; but the requeſt that the whole of the buſineſs might be paſſed over in ſilence, was not ſo readily granted by ſome of the members in oppoſition. To accede to it, Mr. Fox ſaid, would be nothing leſs than to betray their conſtituents. It was pretended that diſcuſſion would be injurious; but the real fact was, that the houſe had already been too ſilent in this caſe. Had it earlier interpoſed, inſtead of indulging the miniſters with a ſcandalous delay of a fortnight, he believed that the recent unpleaſant events would never have occurred. Secrecy was ſeldom, if ever, ſo good a mode of avoiding a miſunderſtanding as diſcuſſion, and never was it leſs adviſable than now. To talk of giving ſilent confidence to ſuch an adminiſtration as the preſent, was the height of abſurdity, and to give it would be the height of criminality. Had the miniſters been as wiſe, as ſucceſsful, and as careful, in keeping their promiſes, and endeavouring to ſatisfy the people, as they had notoriouſly been the contrary, ſtill the houſe ought to call for a full explanation of the cauſes of this diſcontent. The repreſentatives of the people would fail in their duty, were they to vote away the public money, without demanding to be informed upon what grounds, and whether their vote would operate as an effectual remedy. He hoped that, at ſome future period, the chancellor of the exchequer would ſtate fully all the circumſtances; and he warned the houſe againſt believing that ſo important a buſineſs could be quietly buried in oblivion. To expect, ſaid he, that ſecrecy can ſave you now, to think that this queſtion can be ſmothered, is the weakeſt of all poſſible hopes, by indulging in which you will reſemble children, who ſhut their eyes, and think that nobody can ſee them.

The chancellor of the exchequer having inſinuated that Mr. Fox was inconſiſtent in complaining of deficient information, and yet intending to vote for the reſolution, the latter gentleman anſwered, that what he knew from public report ſufficiently juſtified his vote, though, at the ſame time, he had a right to complain that the houſe was kept in the dark as to this momentous ſubject; and, being thus called up in his own defence, he did not fail to retaliate by a ſecond and even more vehement philippic againſt the miniſters, whom he deſcribed as being "men who ſaw every hope diſconcerted which they had indulged, every expectation which they had formed diſappointed; men who, after all their aſſertions, and all their boaſts, were compelled to come down to that houſe, and found new meaſures on the failure of their plans, and the diſappointment of their views."

Mr. Sheridan ſpoke with equal vehemence. He bitterly reprobated the procraſtination which had taken place, noticed the circumſtance of the application to parliament

parliament having been delayed till new diſturbances had broken out, and urged the neceſſity of a vote of cenſure upon the miniſters, for their dilatory conduct at ſuch a critical period. After a few words in explanation, from Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Sheridan, the reſolution was agreed to.

When, next day, the bill, founded upon this reſolution, was brought up, the debate was warmly renewed. Mr. Whitbread opened the diſcuſſion, by aſking why the propoſition now before the houſe had not earlier been brought forward. Had this, he ſaid, been done, the diſaſtrous conſequences which had taken place might have been prevented; and, therefore, unleſs a ſatisfactory cauſe were aſſigned for a delay which had proved ſo fatal, he would move a direct vote of cenſure againſt the chancellor of the exchequer, for groſs neglect of duty.

In reply to this, Mr. Pitt urged that as much haſte had been made as was conſiſtent with the neceſſary forms and regulations. The petition of the ſeamen was referred to a committee of the lords of the admiralty on the 26th of April, their report was ſubmitted to the king in council, and directions were then immediately iſſued to prepare the eſtimates of the ſum which the augmentation of pay would require. He had himſelf alſo ſtated to the houſe that ſuch an augmentation was intended, and that proviſion muſt be made for it. Still, he confeſſed it to be certainly a fact, that the requiſite meaſures had not been hurried on with the ſame ſpeed that they would have been, had there exiſted the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion that a delay would cauſe any miſconſtruction as to the intentions of the government.

This confeſſion drew down upon the chancellor of the exchequer the utmoſt aſperity of cenſure from ſome of the members of the oppoſition. Mr. Fox led the way, by declaring that, from what the right hon. gentleman had juſt ſtated, it was obvious that the delay complained of was a neglect of duty as intolerable as it was diſaſtrous. Tracing ſtep by ſtep the progreſs of the negotiation with the ſeamen, and not ſparing even the admiralty, which he charged with flagrant incapacity, Mr. Fox contended that, from firſt to laſt, there had been, on the part of the government, a negligence and loſs of time which deſerved to be viſited by the heavieſt puniſhment. Was this, he aſked, a period for petty formalities and official procraſtination? Was it neceſſary to ſuſpend a buſineſs of ſuch import that the miniſters' clerks might have leiſure to form their eſtimates according to rule? Could it be pretended that the miniſter was ignorant of what would be decided by the council? What neceſſity was there even for the opinion of the council to be taken, ſeeing that the active part of that council were the very men who had agreed to the tranſaction on which the council was, for mere form's ſake to deliberate, and that a pardon had been already proclaimed? The agreement with the ſeamen was entered into on the 23rd of April; the tardy order of council came forth on the

3rd of May, yet five days more were ſuffered to elapſe, before the houſe of commons was called upon to vote the ſupply which was wanted to carry the agreement into complete effect. If this country, exclaimed he, be doomed to ruin, was ever country ruined by imbecility ſo groſs, by miſconduct ſo unparalleled!

More vehement in his language, more pointed in his cenſure, than Mr. Fox had been, Mr. Sheridan argued in nearly the ſame manner. He at once laughed to ſcorn, and treated as an inſult upon the public, the pretext, as he deemed it, that the delay was occaſioned by the neceſſity of waiting for eſtimates. The miniſter, he ſaid, could deprecate and reſiſt a moment's delay to the granting of the imperial loan, though it was notorious that intelligence was expected to arrive which would put that loan out of the queſtion; he could uſe all due diligence in ſtopping the caſh-payments at the bank, and could hurry the ſovereign to town at an unuſual hour, and in the moſt extraordinary way, to iſſue the order of council for that purpoſe; but in this caſe, where the very exiſtence of the nation was at ſtake, he could ſee nothing that called for haſte. Could any one wonder that the ſailors were diſſatisfied, that they ſuſpected inſincerity, when they ſaw the miniſters take no ſteps whatever to ratify the promiſes which the admiralty had made?

Though favourable to the grant which was now to be voted to the ſeamen, he did not, however, ſuffer the mode in which they had obtained it to paſs unreprobated. Their conduct was, he ſaid, unfair, and inconſiſtent with the brave, generous and open character of Britiſh ſeamen; nor had he a doubt that there had been a foul interference with them, and means of the baſeſt nature uſed, to induce them to take the blameable ſteps which they had taken. Whoever, for the mere purpoſe of having their objects carried, had adviſed them to put their country into ſuch peril as it ſtood in at the preſent moment, were the vileſt of traitors. At the ſame time, he wiſhed the houſe to declare that it aſſented to this grant as being the real right of the Britiſh navy; and, for doing this, he aſſigned as a reaſon, that the ſullen ſilence which was recommended by the miniſter might induce the ſeamen to believe that the boon was unwillingly beſtowed, and, at ſome future opportunity, might, perhaps, be reſumed.

As, according to his theory, the whole miſchief was to be traced to the flagrant imbecility of the miniſters, he propoſed to remedy in a ſingular manner their want of capacity. This was to be accompliſhed by the formation of a joint committee, conſiſting of a few members of each houſe, which was never to ſuſpend its ſittings for more than eight hours, and was to be inveſted with power to ſend for perſons and papers, and to adjourn from place to place, as occaſion might require.

By Mr. Pitt this was deſcribed as being nothing leſs than an attempt to ſeize upon a moment of alarm, in order to carry a meaſure which would effect a change in our conſtitution. It ſeemed to him, he ſaid, as far as he could underſtand it, to be a plan to ſuperſede

perſede not merely the miniſters, but the whole functions of the government, and even of the parliament, and the general law of the land. Of ſuch a ſcheme it was not difficult to foreſee what the fate would be, whenever the hon. member might think proper to lay it fully before the houſe.

It was, on the contrary, warmly contended by Mr. Fox, that the propoſed committee would be a wiſe and ſalutary meaſure. Mr. Sheridan, too, perſiſted in declaring that he would bring forward a motion for its appointment. Cooler reflection ſeems, however, to have changed his opinion; for nothing more was ſaid by him upon this ſubject.

The debate upon this point being terminated, the chancellor of the exchequer moved, which was carried, that, in the bill relative to the ſeamen, proviſion ſhould be made for allowing the full amount of wages to all wounded petty officers and ſeamen, which wages ſhould be continued till they were either cured or provided for in ſome other manner. The bill was then brought in, forwarded immediately through all its ſtages, and ſent to the lords, who had previouſly been requeſted to continue ſitting, in order to receive it.

When the bill was received by the lords, conſiderable altercation took place; lord Suffolk, lord Rawdon, and the dukes of Bedford and Grafton calling for information, and cenſuring the paſt delay, and lord Grenville, and other peers, eſpecially the lord chancellor, deprecating debate, as tending only to raiſe ſtill further doubts in the minds of the ſeamen. The whole of the miſchief that had happened was attributed, by lord Grenville, to the inconſiderate diſcuſſion, as he termed it, which the duke of Bedford had excited a few nights before, and to the ſhameful miſrepreſentations of it which had appeared in thoſe "diſorderly and unconſtitutional" vehicles of intelligence, the public papers. This charge drew forth a ſpirited reply from the duke of Bedford, who dared his lordſhip to the proof, and retorted, by affirming that it was from the noble lord's anſwer, on the former evening, that the recent calamity, in reality, originated. The bill was then paſſed, and the royal aſſent was given to it before the houſe adjourned.

The threatened motion of Mr. Whitbread was made on the following day, after a vain attempt, by Mr. Yorke, to induce him to poſtpone it. The reſolution which he moved was, "that the right hon. William Pitt, in having ſo long delayed to preſent the eſtimate of the ſum neceſſary for defraying the expences of an increaſe of pay, and alſo of the propoſed iſſue of a full allowance of proviſions to the ſeamen and marines of his Majeſty's navy, has been guilty of a groſs breach of duty, and deſerves the cenſure of this houſe."

Far from conſenting, Mr. Whitbread ſaid, to poſtpone his motion, he ſincerely regretted that he had not at once moved a vote of cenſure on the preceding night, that the cenſure might have accompanied the act to Portſmouth, and thus exonerated the houſe from the ſuſpicion of having been a party to the delay. It was his

fixed belief that all the miſchief had been occaſioned by the miſconduct of Mr. Pitt, and, indeed, that hon. gentleman had himſelf confeſſed that he might have acted with greater diſpatch. That he might have done ſo was, in fact, rendered obvious by a reference to dates. Were the miniſter one of thoſe ſcrupulous, plodding ſtateſmen, who never deviated from the rules of office, or from conſtitutional forms, ſome excuſe might be found for him; but it ought to be remembered that, on the contrary, he was one who could unheſitatingly trample upon all forms, ſet aſide all eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, and violate every rule both of official and conſtitutional uſage, when his object was to infringe on the liberties of the people. Could it be forgotten with what rapidity he had puſhed through the houſe the bill for ſuſpending the habeas-corpus act, after he had conjured up an idle alarm, for the ſole purpoſe of depriving the people of their freedom? But, when a mutiny was raging on board the fleet, when our laſt reſource was at ſtake, when every thing moſt valuable to the country was in extreme peril, then the routine of office muſt be ſcrupulouſly obſerved, then delay muſt be perſiſted in, till we were brought upon the verge of inſtant deſtruction, without a ſingle ſtep being taken to avert the impending blow. Mr. Whitbread concluded by moving his reſolution, which was ſeconded by Mr. Fox.

Mr. Pitt vindicated himſelf briefly, and in a moderate tone. Declaring that he did not wiſh to ſhift off the burthen of reſponſibility from his own ſhoulders, he, nevertheleſs, reminded the houſe that it was no part of his duty to preſent or prepare the eſtimates, or give directions for them to be prepared. He then, as on a former occaſion, ſtated the ſteps which had been ſucceſſively taken, and contended that there had been no reaſon to ſuppoſe that evil conſequences would ariſe from more haſte not being made, or that the miniſters were not ſincerely deſirous of completing the engagements which had been entered into with the ſeamen. It was his opinion that the miſchief was produced by an induſtrious and ſtudious miſrepreſentation of a diſcuſſion which had been unwiſely provoked in the upper houſe. In fact, it was abſurd to ſuppoſe that there had been any voluntary delay on the part of the miniſters, whoſe intereſt, as well as duty, it obviouſly was, to reſtore tranquillity with all practicable ſpeed.

In conſequence of what had been ſaid by Mr. Pitt, with reſpect to his freedom from reſponſibility, Mr. Whitbread worded his motion ſo as to include the whole of the miniſtry in the cenſure; and, the words "cauſing to be preſented" were added at the ſuggeſtion of Mr. Fox.

The motion was oppoſed by Mr. Roſe, junior, Sir William Geary, Mr. Yorke, and Mr. Martin, the latter of which gentlemen generally acted with the party in oppoſition. It was ſaid to be impolitic at the preſent moment, even ſuppoſing it to be juſt; but it was added that there was, in truth, no ground for charging the miniſters with having acted criminally.

†

criminally. Even those who now came forward to propose a censure on the delay, had not themselves predicted, and consequently had not been aware, that any danger would arise from that delay, but had confined their exertions to calling for documents. As to the idea that the immediate ratification of the agreement had been stipulated for by the sailors, sir William Geary contended that it was erroneous; and, as evidence that it was so, he stated the fact that the fleet had dropped down to St. Helen's, for the purpose of proceeding to sea, though no such ratification had taken place.

Mr. Fox was the chief supporter of the motion, the propriety of which he dwelt upon in a long and eloquent speech; a large part of which, however, was occupied by his accustomed charges, of ignorance, folly, and imbecility, against the ministers. Those ministers, he said, had enjoyed all the benefit of the secrecy of which they were so much enamoured; and the result was such as to prove, what the wisest men had asserted, that public discussion is the best security for public welfare, and for the safety of every good government. But he was now, it seemed, accused of not having predicted what would happen. To this it would, perhaps, be sufficient to answer, that, if he had predicted the coming danger, his antagonists would not have failed to charge him with having by that means produced it. Thus, if he and his friends stated that delay might be dangerous, they were to be told that they were the cause of the mischief, and if they remained silent, they were to be told that, as they had not foreseen what would take place, they had no right to complain.

This case, Mr. Fox contended, manifestly called for extraordinary expedition. The ministers ought to have known that delay might, and probably would, be productive of fatal effects. Even supposing, which he did not, that misrepresentation had given rise to this second mutiny, ought they not to have provided against such an event? He who caused the habeas-corpus act to be suspended, must surely be aware of the existence of jacobins, as he called them, in the country, who would be ready to misrepresent his intentions. Why, then, did he furnish them with pretexts? By expedition on the part of the ministers, the designs of the enemies of public tranquillity would have been defeated, and they were without excuse for having neglected to employ it. But, could it be supposed that the seamen would be content with a promise, while they saw no steps taking for its fulfilment? A promise, said he, is in its nature, an incomplete act, and the longer you are in performing it, the more reason do you give for doubting your sincerity. To the cry that the ministers were sincere, and that they could have no interest in being otherwise, he answered that he believed their sincerity, and that it was difficult to discover what interest any man could have in guilt, or why ministers should be bad ones; yet bad ministers had done, and he feared would continue to do, much mischief to mankind; and as to the plea that those

thoſe who were now accuſed were ſincere, it was unavailing againſt the charge of their having delayed to give the proof of their being ſo.

It was, on the other ſide, maintained by Mr. Dundas, not only that no extraordinary delay had taken place, but alſo that no human being could have foreſeen the ſecond mutiny, and, therefore that no blame could be imputed to the miniſters. Bitter as the oppoſition were now, they did not, at the time, anticipate any ſuch conſequences as thoſe which had ariſen. They had not thrown out the remoteſt hint of their having that foreknowledge which they now claimed. If Mr. Fox did then really apprehend danger, it was his duty to communicate his information or his ideas to his Majeſty's miniſters. But, in truth, no idea of the kind exiſted; nor would any thing diſagreeable have occurred, had not the moſt ſcandalous and ſtrenuous efforts been made to lead the ſeamen aſtray, by miſrepreſenting to them the conduct of the government. That he and his colleagues lamented deeply the events which had taken place was certain; but they could conſcientiouſly declare that they had no reaſon to give way to feelings of remorſe. It was a great conſolation to know that the ſeamen were not infected with jacobinical principles. Their loyalty was unimpaired, and he firmly believed that it would ever remain ſo. As, therefore, there was no pretence for charging the miniſters with a neglect of their duty, he truſted that the houſe would put its negative upon a motion which he could hardly perſuade himſelf had been ſeriouſly made.

After ſome further debate, not animated by any thing of eloquence or novelty, the queſtion was put, and the vote of cenſure was rejected by 237 negative againſt 63 affirmative voices.

CHAP. XI.

Hiſtory of the Mutiny continued. Breaking out of the Mutiny in the Medway. The Mutineers remove the Ships to the Nore. Diſreſpect ſhewn to Admiral Buckner. The Conceſſions granted to the Seamen at the other Ports rejected by thoſe at the Nore. Exorbitant Demands of the Mutineers. The Lords of the Admiralty refuſe to grant them, or to go to Sheerneſs. They are at length induced to go, but their Journey is fruitleſs. The Mutineers prevail on the Lancaſter to make common Cauſe with them. Their piratical Acts. They blockade the Entrance of the Thames. The greateſt part of Admiral Duncan's Squadron joins them. The Clyde and St. Fiorenzo eſcape. Alarm excited in the neighbouring Counties and the Capital. Fall of the Stocks. Proceedings in Parliament. Mr. Sheridan propoſes the Appointment of a Commiſſion to negotiate with the Mutineers. He withdraws his Motion at the Requeſt of the Miniſters. He cenſures the Mutineers with much Severity. Proclamation declaring certain Ships to be in a ſtate of Rebellion. Meſſage from the Throne to the

two

two Houſes. Debates on the Addreſs. Speech of Mr. Pitt, declaring the Neceſſity of new Laws to ſuppreſs the Mutiny. Speech of Mr. Sheridan, who demurs to a Part of the Addreſs. Reply of Mr. Dundas, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Addreſs unanimouſly carried. Mr. Pitt brings in a Bill for the better Prevention and Puniſhment of Attempts to ſeduce the Land and Sea Forces. His Speech. The Meaſure conſidered by Mr. Serjeant Adair not to be ſufficiently ſtrong. He recommends the Penalty of Death. Remarks on his Propoſal. His Suggeſtion is adopted by Mr. Pitt. Obſervations of Mr. Hobhouſe and Mr. W. Smith. Speech of Mr. Tierney. The Bill paſſes immediately through both Houſes. A Bill brought in, by Mr. Pitt, for reſtraining Intercourſe with the rebellious Seamen. Objections urged by Sir John Sinclair. Reply of Mr. Pitt. The Bill oppoſed by Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Sturt. Violent Speech of the latter Member. The Bill is paſſed. Act paſſed to prevent the Adminiſtration of unlawful Oaths. Narrative of the Mutiny reſumed. The Government determines to act with the utmoſt Vigour. Prudence of this Determination. Preparations for the Attack of the Rebels. Zeal of Individuals and Public Bodies. The Eaſt India Company invite their Officers to aſſiſt the Government. Reſolution paſſed by the Merchants and Ship Owners of the Metropolis. The Mutineers begin to be alarmed. They diſpatch Lord Northeſk to Town with a Letter to his Majeſty. Terms propoſed by them. The Lords of the Admiralty refuſe to liſten to them. Obſervations on Revolters. Situation of the Mutinous Seamen. A Part of the Crews at the Nore averſe from Mutiny. Precautions taken againſt them. Mutiny begins to break up. Submiſſion of the Lancaſter and Naiad. Eſcape of the Serapis, Diſcovery, and Firm. Alarms and Debates in the Mutinous Squadron. The Mutineers attempt to negotiate, but are not liſtened to. Breaking up of the Mutiny. Eſcape of the Repulſe, Leopard, and Ardent. Surrender of all the remaining Veſſels. Trial and Execution of Parker. Mutiny in Admiral Duncan's Squadron; begins in the Trent Frigate. The Admiral puts to Sea, but is abandoned by all but two of his Ships. His Speech to the Crew of his Ship. He puts a Stop to a Conſpiracy on board of the Venerable. Bad State of Lord St. Vincent's Squadron. Two Mutinies at the Cape of Good Hope. Spirited Conduct of General Dundas. The Mutineers are put down by the Threat of uſing Force againſt them. Plot on Board of the Pompée. The Hermione carried into a Spaniſh Port by her Crew. Concluſion.

WHILE the nation had not yet breathed from the fears occaſioned by the ſecond diſturbance at Portſmouth, its alarm was raiſed to the higheſt pitch, by the breaking out of a much more formidable mutiny among the ſeamen at the Nore. This mutiny commenced in the Medway, on board of the Sandwich, on the 11th of May, ſpread immediately to the Director, and thence to all the veſſels in that quarter. Many of the officers were ſent on ſhore, the reſt were ſilenced, the red flag was hoiſted, and all authority was uſurped by the revolters, who choſe as their organ a committee of

of delegates, the president of which was Richard Parker, a man of some intelligence and education. A committee, of twelve persons, bearing the name of a committee of vigilance, was also formed in each vessel, to regulate its internal management, and no man was suffered to quit his ship without a passport, which was called a liberty-ticket. At the commencement of the revolt, the delegates held their conferences at Sheerness, through the streets of which town they and their companions paraded with music and banners; displaying, as they passed along, more than the usual insolence of vulgar triumph. In order to concentrate their force, and to be out of the reach of the batteries, the next step of the mutineers was to remove the ships from the river, and from Sheerness, to the Great Nore. Among the ships which they compelled to join them, was the St. Fiorenzo frigate, fitted up for the purpose of conveying to Germany the recently married prince and princess of Wirtembergh.

When affairs had continued for nine days in this state, admiral Buckner went on board the Sandwich, for the purpose of making known the proclamation of the king's pardon, in case the men would return to their duty; it being understood that this would be sufficient to satisfy them. It was, however, soon found that this was an erroneous idea. He was received without any of those marks of respect which were due to his rank; and Parker presented to him a paper, containing a list of what were considered as grievances; declaring, at the same time, that, till those alleged grievances were redressed, they would not deliver up the power that they held in their hands. He added, that a board of admiralty must attend to ratify the conditions. The admiral consequently departed, and, in the course of a day or two, his flag was struck by the mutinous seamen.

The terms demanded by these mutineers were such as would have subverted all discipline, and converted the navy into that which, in their exultation at the news of these events, the French asserted the mutinous squadron to be, namely, a floating republic. In addition to the concessions already granted, and those which had been refused, they required a more equal distribution of prize-money, the expunging of several of the articles of war, an indemnity to deserters, an advance of money to pressed men, and that no officer, who had been turned out of any ship, should be employed in the same ship again without the consent of the crew. Other claims, of minor importance, were likewise made.

To this the lords of the admiralty, through the medium of admiral Buckner, replied in a temperate but firm manner, that nothing more was to be expected than had been granted, that they did not deem it expedient to visit Sheerness, and that it behoved the seamen to consider, seriously, whether it would not be more prudent for them to avail themselves of his majesty's offered pardon, than

than to expoſe themſelves to the conſequences that might reſult from their continuing in a ſtate of diſobedience. A proclamation was alſo iſſued to the ſame effect.

There being, however, an idea afloat, that the preſence of the lords of the admiralty would induce the ſeamen to accept the terms already offered, their lordſhips thought it adviſable to recede from their reſolution of not going down to Sheerneſs. Accordingly, a part of them, with earl Spencer at their head, proceeded to that place; but, finding that the revolters were animated by a moſt refractory ſpirit, they broke off all intercourſe with them, and returned to London.

Becoming daily more daring, the mutineers now ſent a deputation up the river, to prevail on the crews of the veſſels lying at Longreach, to drop down to the Nore. They ſucceeded in corrupting the crew of the Lancaſter of 64 guns, but the dread of being fired upon with red-hot ſhot, by the batterries at Graveſend and Tilbury, prevented that veſſel from joining with the revolted ſquadron. The mutineers next ſeized upon the Grampus and Serapis ſtore-ſhips, and took out the ſtores, ſtopped a veſſel laden with flour, fired at two frigates which had been ordered to put to ſea, and committed other acts of plunder and piracy. Encouraged, probably, by the arrival of a part of the north-ſea ſquadron, to take a ſhare in their revolt, they at length had the audacity to blockade the mouth of the Thames; the Standard, Inſpector, Brilliant, and Swan, being moored for that purpoſe, at equal diſtances acroſs the entrance of the river. They were ſoon after reinforced by another portion of admiral Duncan's fleet, which increaſed their number to twenty-four or twenty-five ſail, more than half of which were of the line. The Clyde and St. Fiorenzo frigates were, however, fortunate enough, by the dexterous management of their commanders, to eſcape from the bondage in which they were held; the former running into Sheerneſs, the latter into Harwich. The St. Fiorenzo was fired upon by the mutineers, but gallantly continued her courſe.

Theſe daring acts of rebellion, which ſeemed to imply an almoſt entire alienation of loyalty in thoſe who committed them, inſpired alarm in the whole country, but eſpecially in the adjacent counties, and in the capital. Troops were poured into all the towns, and every precaution was taken, as though an immediate invaſion were apprehended. At Sheerneſs, where a bombardment from the fleet was expected, numbers of the inhabitants quitted their dwellings, and thoſe who were themſelves bound down to the ſpot, diſpatched their wives and children to a place of ſafety. In London, though its diſtance ſecured it from danger, the ſituation of affairs occaſioned a general gloom, and not leſs indignation. One ſign of the univerſal depreſſion was the fall of the ſtocks; thoſe ſecurities gradually declining in value, till, at the beginning of June, they ſank to $47\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. In this inſtance, at leaſt, they were a faithful indicator of the public feeling.

We

We muſt now break off, for a while, from the proceedings of the mutineers, to trace the progreſs of thoſe which they rendered neceſſary in the two houſes of parliament.

As ſoon as the firſt intelligence of the diſturbances at the Nore reached the metropolis, Mr. Sheridan gave notice of his intention to bring forward a conciliatory plan, from which he hoped that the moſt beneficial conſequences would ariſe. His plan was, to form a commiſſion, compoſed of men of all parties and deſcriptions, which ſhould be empowered to examine the claims of the ſeamen, accede to thoſe which appeared to be juſt, and refuſe thoſe which it would be impolitic or dangerous to grant. This ſcheme obviouſly bore ſome reſemblance to that which he produced on the occaſion of the ſecond mutiny at Portſmouth. At the deſire of the miniſter, he, however, poſtponed it in the firſt inſtance, and, after a lapſe of three days, conſented to abandon it. In fact, the malady had become too ſerious to admit of any but powerful remedies being applied. In the ſpeech which he made on withdrawing his motion, he ſeverely reprobated the conduct of the miſguided ſeamen, and vindicated his own character from the aſperſions thrown on it by a printed manifeſto, pretending to be an appeal from the ſailors of lord Bridport's fleet to the Britiſh nation, and which affected to conſider him as hoſtile to the intereſts of the ſeamen. This paper, which was extenſively circulated at Plymouth and Sheerneſs, was, on the face of it, not the production of a ſailor's pen. Among the daring falſehoods which it aſſerted, it was not one of the leaſt miſchievous, that the government, notwithſtanding the royal pardon, had "ſelected individuals, for the expreſs purpoſe of ſacrificing them to malice and private reſentment." This calumny on his political opponents Mr. Sheridan repelled with an honourable indignation; declaring that, though the miniſters could not have a more irreconcileable and inflexible enemy than he was to them and their ſyſtem, it would be ſhameful injuſtice in him even to inſinuate that they could poſſibly have harboured ſuch a thought as that which was imputed to them.

It being now obvious that no effect could be produced on theſe miſled men by the influence of perſuaſion, and it being impoſſible to yield to them without producing utterly ruinous conſequences, the miniſters reſolved to adopt vigorous meaſures, in order to compel them to return to their duty, or at leaſt to chaſtiſe with juſt ſeverity their perſeverance in crime. As a preliminary to theſe meaſures, a proclamation was iſſued, declaring the crews of the ſhips at the Nore to be in open rebellion, and calling upon all perſons, not only not to give aid or aſſiſtance to the mutineers, but alſo to uſe their moſt ſtrenuous endeavours to ſuppreſs their proceedings, and to bring their perſons to juſtice.

The next ſtep of the miniſtry was to apply to the parliament, to procure from it the new powers which they conſidered to be requiſite on this painful emergency. Accordingly, on the 1ſt of June, a meſſage

a meſſage from his majeſty was delivered to both houſes. It ſtated his deep concern that the ſailors perſiſted in violent and treaſonable acts of mutiny and diſobedience, called upon the parliament to provide with readineſs and deciſion, for the public ſecurity, and particularly recommended the making more effectual proviſion "for the prevention and puniſhment of all traitorous attempts to excite ſedition and mutiny in the naval ſervice, or to withdraw from their allegiance any part of the forces by ſea or land."

In the lords, the addreſs, in anſwer, was unanimouſly carried, after a few words from lord Grenville, on the enormity of the crime which the ſeamen had committed, in turning their backs upon their country at ſo important a conjuncture, when their beſt ſervices were moſt of all needed, and when the ſecurity of the ſtate, and of every thing that was dear and valuable, reſted in an eſpecial manner upon their exertions and their loyalty.

In the houſe of commons, the addreſs was moved by the chancellor of the exchequer, who animadverted, in ſevere terms, upon the ungrateful return which a part of the ſailors were now making to the generoſity of a liberal parliament, and the mildneſs and benignity of a paternal ſovereign. In this ſituation of affairs he called upon the houſe, and he was convinced, he ſaid, that the call would not be in vain, to act with firmneſs and concord, ſo as to extricate the country from its difficulties, in a manner that was worthy of the repreſentatives of a great, a brave, a powerful, and a free people. Thoſe enemies of the glory, the ſafety, the very exiſtence of the ſtate, who, by their arts, had led the ſailors into proceedings foreign to the native feelings of Britiſh ſeamen, would, he hoped, be detected, and dealt with as they deſerved. The indignation of the legiſlature ought, in truth, to be more active againſt the ſeducers than againſt the ſeduced. Whether the law, as it now ſtood, could promptly, if at all, be made effectual againſt theſe heinous offenders would, perhaps, admit of a doubt; and, therefore, in the event of the addreſs being unanimouſly adopted, he would immediately move for leave to bring in a bill of the nature which was ſuggeſted by the meſſage from his majeſty. It was imperiouſly neceſſary that wicked men ſhould be prevented from inciting the naval and military forces to violate that obedience and diſcipline, the preſervation of which was important, and indeed indiſpenſable, to the ſecurity of the empire.

No oppoſition was offered to the addreſs, though it called forth many remarks. Mr. Jolliffe and Mr. William Smith were the firſt to expreſs their aſſent to it. The former recommended to his friends to waive, for the moment, all objections to the miniſters; the latter merely deprecated any attempt to identify thoſe miniſters with the conſtitution, and reſerved to himſelf the right of cenſuring their conduct, without being ſubjected to the accuſation of inconſiſtency.

Mr. Sheridan ſpoke ſomewhat more at large on the ſubject, but in a tone of moderation. Regretting that his ſcheme of a commiſ-

ſion

ſion had not, in the firſt inſtance, been adopted, he candidly owned that it was now become uſeleſs. The failure of the attempt to conciliate, which had been tried by the lords of the admiralty, he attributed to their having, at the outſet, manifeſted a degree of vacillation, which was certainly impolitic. They had declared that they would not go to Sheerneſs, and they had gone; they had granted ſome things, and refuſed others. The conſequence was, that the ſailors were emboldened to perſiſt in their extravagant demands, and to ſet the threats of authority at defiance. But, however this might be, there could be no doubt that the houſe ought to unite earneſtly with his majeſty, to put a ſtop to the dangerous diſobedience which at preſent exiſted at the Nore. No perſon could feel more indignation than he did at the foul incendiaries who had cauſed the mutiny. He was, he ſaid, at firſt induced to think that the mutineers had acted under the impulſe of momentary deluſion and miſtake; but their ſubſequent fatal perſeverance in their miſconduct had convinced him that ſomething more than deluſion operated on their minds, and that a rooted ſpirit of diſobedience had taken place of thoſe manly and loyal ſentiments with which, on former occaſions, they had conſtantly been animated. If there were, indeed, a rot in the wooden walls of old England, our decay could not be very diſtant. While arguing on this head, he placed in a ſtrong light the folly of the ſeamen, in purſuing meaſures, the natural conſequence of which, even could they be fully ſucceſsful, would be ruin to themſelves. Were the country by the defection of its navy, laid proſtrate, as it then would be, at the feet of France, its commerce would neceſſarily be deſtroyed, and thus thoſe miſtaken men, who had been inſtrumental in bringing about ſo dreadful a criſis, would ſuffer deeply in their deareſt intereſts.

But, though the opening half of the addreſs met with his approbation, it was not ſo with the concluding part. It was one ſerious objection to that part, that it ſeemed to hold out a ſort of pledge. Before he could aſſent to any extenſion of the penal laws, it would, he ſaid, be neceſſary to prove to him that the law, as it then ſtood, was inadequate to its purpoſe. There was no proof whatever that it was ſo; and conſequently no member could, with any degree of conſiſtency, give a pledge to ſupport the propoſed bill. Beſides, he was averſe from any new enactment, becauſe he knew from experience, that the moment the legiſlature agreed to increaſe the code of ſanguinary penal laws, they did, in effect, agree to increaſe the evil which was intended to be remedied. This was made obvious by what had recently happened; ſince, in ſpite of the coercive bills brought forward by the miniſters, and in ſpite of their barrack ſyſtem, which was "to make the ſoldiers deaf, if it could not make the people dumb," the mutiny afforded a convincing proof that the ſpirit of ſedition had only the more widely ſpread. Having, however, thus entered his proteſt, he would vote for the addreſs, that he might not interrupt the unanimity which at this moment was ſo much to be deſired. In theſe

ſentiments

ſentiments Mr. Hobhouſe alſo expreſſed his cordial concurrence.

This ſpeech was noticed by Mr. Dundas, and the chancellor of the exchequer; the former of whom declared Mr. Sheridan to deſerve the gratitude of the country, for the patriotic part which he had taken in the diſcuſſions during this unfortunate mutiny, and particularly for his eloquent and argumentative reaſoning of that day againſt the want of ſubordination. It was, Mr. Dundas ſaid, ſolely for the purpoſe of explanation, on one miſunderſtood point, that he now aroſe. The lords of the admiralty did not make any new conceſſions to the ſeamen at the Nore; and when originally required to proceed to Sheerneſs they had refuſed to do ſo, becauſe that the ſeamen wiſhed them to come for the mere purpoſe of granting further conceſſions. It was afterwards underſtood, that their perſonal appearance with the king's pardon would be ſufficient to reſtore order, and in that caſe they deemed it their duty to go. When, however, it was aſcertained that the ſeamen wiſhed to negotiate, the lords of the admiralty explicitly informed them that the terms accepted by lord Bridport's ſquadron, and a full pardon, was the whole that would be granted; and, this being rejected, they returned to London.

By the chancellor of the exchequer the neceſſity of union was eloquently deſcanted upon. "It was," he ſaid, "now indiſpenſably neceſſary for them to unite in one common cauſe; it was incumbent on them to conſolidate their efforts, to reconcile their different views, to concentrate their individual exertions, and to give energy and vigour to the laws, without which it was impoſſible that there could be any ſolid happineſs. It was not by declarations alone that they were bound to proceed, but by a ſpirit and promptitude of action, and a firm reſolve and readineſs to ſupport the execution of the laws, by enforcing military ſubordination and legal obedience. It became their duty to give a reſiſtleſs efficacy to that conduct, through every corner of the metropolis, and through every part of the kingdom. It was only by ſuch meaſures that they could fruſtrate the dark and malignant workings of the enemy; and, he was proud to ſay, that to ſo glorious an unanimity there was nothing that he would not cheerfully ſacrifice. He therefore hoped that nothing would, in fact, be found in the latter part of the addreſs that could in the ſlighteſt degree tend to deſtroy the unanimity of the houſe in agreeing to it. When he came to conſider the nature and the terms of it, he was completely at a loſs to find one word that could appear objectionable." He then proceeded to argue that, by agreeing to the addreſs, the members would not be ſpecifically binding themſelves to ſupport the bill which was to be brought in, but only to the making more effectual proviſion for ſtrengthening the laws. From whatever might appear to be objectionable in the bill, they would of courſe withhold their aſſent; and it would be for the wiſdom of the houſe to decide upon their objections. For himſelf, he was, he ſaid, fully convinced, not only that the intended bill was neceſſary, but that

not a moment ought to be loſt in bringing it into operation.

The queſtion being then put, the addreſs was carried, without a diſſenting voice.

The addreſs being diſpoſed of, Mr. Pitt brought in the bill "for the better prevention and puniſhment of attempts to ſeduce perſons ſerving in the naval or military ſervice from their duty and allegiance, or to incite them to mutiny or diſobedience."

In this caſe it was not, he ſaid, at preſent in his power to produce direct evidence of any individual mal-practices to excite ſedition and mutiny. The evidence was entirely preſumptive, but it was the ſtrongeſt of the kind, and, in his opinion, fully authorized the meaſure which he now propoſed. When all the circumſtances were conſidered, it was impoſſible to doubt of the exiſtence of an active, uniform, widely extended plan to ſeduce his Majeſty's forces from their allegiance. It was plain that the diſcontents did not originate with any ſingle individual, that they were not confined to one corner of the kingdom, nor contracted in one circle of complaint; but that they had manifeſted themſelves in different detached parts, were working at the ſame time, and in various places, on the ſame principles, and branched out into ſo many freſh ramifications of complaint, that no man could foreſee where they would end. In proof of the correctneſs of his idea, he pointed out the numerous and perſevering attempts which had been made, evidently in concert, by hand-bills, and other artful means, to ſeduce the ſoldiery in oppoſite quarters of the kingdom. At Newcaſtle, the ſoldiers were told that their brethren at Maidſtone had mutinied; and at the ſame hour, the troops at Maidſtone were aſſured that there had been an inſurrection at Newcaſtle. Numerous inſtances had occurred in which, with an honeſt indignation, the ſoldiery had come forward to diſcloſe the vile arts which had been practiſed to miſlead them. All this abundantly ſhewed the exiſtence of a conſpiracy of the moſt dangerous nature. With this notoriety of a diſgraceful ſyſtem employed to corrupt one ſervice, where it had ſo nobly been defeated, how could any man doubt of its inſinuation and influence in another quarter; a quarter, too, where ſuch opinions and ſuch meaſures were leaſt congenial to the natural diſpoſitions of the perſons who profeſſed them? The whole affair was of that colour and deſcription which proved it not to be of a native growth, and left no heſitation on the mind of any thinking man to determine whence it was imported.

To provide a remedy was imperiouſly neceſſary; it being obvious, from the boldneſs, malignancy and frequency, of the offence, that the delinquents were not to be deterred by the dread of incurring the penalty of the exiſting law. That penalty muſt, therefore, be raiſed, in order to keep pace, if poſſible, with the malignity of the crime. That the crime was, in point of moral guilt, a treaſon of the moſt heinous ſpecies, would ſcarcely be denied; but, as it was not eaſy to define it with ſufficient exactneſs, and as he wiſhed to be cautious how he contributed to extend the criminal code,

code, it was not, he said, his purpose to render the offender liable to the punishment allotted to treason. It was his wish to make it an aggravated case of misdemeanour, liable not only, as in other cases, to fine and imprisonment, but, according as circumstances might require, to transportation at the discretion of the court.

To the measure, in the form proposed by Mr. Pitt, it was objected, by Mr. Serjeant Adair, first, that the punishment was not commensurate to the crime, which was one of the darkest dye, and consequently deserving to be visited with the utmost severity of the law; secondly, that it tended to prevent the speedy bringing of criminals to justice, as, by denominating the offence a misdemeanour, it gave to the offender the power of delaying his trial; a power which, in such a case, it was no less impolitic than unjust to allow him to possess. When such an atrocious act had been committed, as an attempt to seduce the naval or military force from its allegiance, it was desirable that a prompt example should be made of the guilty person. Much, therefore, as he was averse from rigorous penal laws, and much as he desired to see many of them swept from the statute book, he must contend that the crime ought to be classed among felonies punishable with death. At the same time it appeared to him that if, on his suggestion, the higher penalty were adopted, the law ought not to be a permanent one, but confined to the emergency for which it was enacted. He hoped that the zeal, which might induce the members to concede to every measure for subduing the present alarming mutiny, would not make them forget their duty to themselves and their constituents. Men were, he said, apt to be transported by their indignation, and a variety of other passions, beyond their ordinary judgment; and thus, while they sought to avoid one evil, they fell into the other extreme. It, therefore, behoved the house to proceed with caution, that it might not produce any lasting change in the constitution of the country.

Agreeing with Mr. Serjeant Adair, that, if the penalty were increased, the law ought to be temporary, Mr. Pitt seemed to doubt whether any practical advantage would be gained by the increase. This, however, he left open for subsequent discussion. By Mr. Percival it was proposed to follow a middle course, and to denominate the offence felony with benefit of clergy, which would give a discretionary power of punishment to the court; but this was dissented from by the master of the rolls, who remarked that the sole difference between the two sorts of felony was, that in the one the prisoner had the benefit of council, which he had not in the other; and that it being intended to constitute this offence a misdemeanour with a felonious punishment, the suggested alteration would make no change except in terms. The bill was then brought in, and read twice.

When the bill was in the committee, on the following day, Mr. Pitt stated that, in conformity with the opinion of his learned friend, he had resolved to substitute the penalty of death, in place of one of a milder kind. In fact,

mutiny was puniſhable with death; and it could not be thought too ſevere to inflict on the ſeducer the ſame puniſhment that was inflicted on the man whom he had ſeduced. Such a penalty, however, it would be highly improper to introduce without carefully drawing a nice diſtinction with regard to any inferior offence. The crime ought to be ſo clearly defined, as to prevent the law from including in its operation any ſubordinate ſpecies of criminality. To accompliſh this he would inſert the words "maliciouſly and adviſedly inciting," the import of which was already fixed by the law, as it ſtood in the articles of war. In order, too, that the legiſlature might act with that degree of caution which it was unqueſtionaby bound to exerciſe in penal proceedings, he would propoſe to limit the bill to the expiration of one month after the meeting of the next ſeſſion of parliament. It was, he ſaid, only on the general principle of caution, and not from any doubt of the propriety of the meaſure, that he thus wiſhed to limit the duration of the ſtatute.

Some objections were urged to the bill, though not with any particular earneſtneſs, by Mr. Hobhouſe and Mr. W. Smith. They contended that the laws actually in exiſtence were ſufficient for the purpoſe which this new bill was deſigned to produce. Six years impriſonment, and twice ſtanding in the pillory, might now be adjudged againſt offenders, and if this would not deter them, it might reaſonably be doubted whether any penalty, however ſevere, would be adequate to that purpoſe. It was a maxim, that rigorous laws gave birth to crimes; and it would, therefore, be prudent to try, in the firſt inſtance, what effect would reſult from a ſtrict execution of the preſent code. Beſides, in the diſturbed and fermenting ſtate of men's minds, great and terrible inconveniences might ariſe from enacting, on this occaſion, the heavy penalty of death.

In the belief that the old law could reach the offence, Mr. Tierney alſo concurred. But though he had, he ſaid, diſſented from the motion to bring in the bill, he would not now oppoſe the bill itſelf. It was originally intended to puniſh criminally any perſon doing any thing which tended to excite a mutiny; ſo that, under ſuch a widely worded proviſion, a man might incur the heavieſt penalty for a ſpeculative or looſe converſation, or even for the promulgating of ſalutary truths. This ſtrong objection was removed, by the crime being clearly defined, and proof of malice required. At the outſet, too, the bill was for an unlimited period; it was now for a ſhort one. This being the caſe, and unanimity being deſirable, he would offer no further oppoſition to the paſſing of the bill.

The bill was accordingly paſſed, without a diſſenting voice, and was ſent up to the lords. In the upper houſe it went through all its ſtages in one evening; no remark being made upon it by any of the peers.

This bill was immediately followed by another, for reſtraining intercourſe with the rebellious ſeamen. By this act power was given, under an order of counſel, to the admiralty, to declare any ſhip to be in a ſtate of rebellion, and alſo to accept the ſubmiſſion of

of ſuch crew, or any part of it. From the moment of the publication of the act, all wages, prize money, and other advantages, were to be forfeited by ſailors offending; all perſons voluntarily remaining on board were to be deemed guilty of piracy and felony; and all perſons communicating with or aſſiſting the rebels were to incur the penalty of death. This ſtatute, likewiſe, was to remain in force only till one month after the commencement of the next ſeſſion of parliament.

A long and deſultory converſation took place on this meaſure. In a rambling ſpeech, which, among other topics, digreſſed into a diſquiſition on the receſſion of repreſentatives from their duty, Sir John Sinclair diſſented from the bill, on the ground that, by recommending ſuch rigorous proceedings, Mr. Pitt had not only drawn the ſword and thrown away the ſcabbard, but had puſhed ſeverity ſo far, that it appeared to be doubtful whether he would not expatriate the Britiſh navy. He was deſirous of the appointment of commiſſioners, to treat with, and offer pardon to, the revolted ſeamen; and he aſked for a day's delay, to ſeek for precedents, and prepare a clauſe to that effect.

It was anſwered, by Mr. Pitt and other members, that expedition in carrying this bill through both houſes was indiſpenſable; that the clauſe was not wanted, as the bill did authorize the lords of the admiralty to pardon thoſe who offered to ſubmit; that the penalties were not too great for the enormity of the crime; that no one could ſuppoſe that the crown would not gladly exerciſe mercy, whenever it could ſafely do ſo; that to allow the fomenters of the mutiny to continue their deteſtable machinations, would be little ſhort of inſanity; and that nothing was ſo likely to work upon the feelings of the deluded ſeamen, as to ſeparate them completely from that country whoſe cauſe they had abandoned.

The only violent opponents of the bill were ſir Francis Burdett and Mr. Sturt. By the former it was ſaid, that it might be productive of infinite miſchief, by driving the ſeamen to deſpair, and thus rendering all accommodation with them impracticable. The diſcontent among them was a part of that which pervaded the whole nation; it was occaſioned by the flagrant miſconduct of the miniſtry, and the enormous corruption of the executive government; and there was no effectual way to remove it but to petition the king to diſmiſs his miniſters, and put an end to the preſent corrupt ſyſtem. He even intimated that, beyond the bare aſſertion of the miniſters, there was no proof of there being any inſurgents among the ſeamen. Yet the river Thames had for ſome days been in a ſtate of blockade.

His language was, however, moderation and decorum itſelf, compared with that which was uſed by Mr. Sturt. That gentleman was alſo of opinion that the mutiny was cauſed by the miſdeeds of the miniſters, and eſpecially by thoſe of which they had been guilty in Ireland. "We all," ſaid he, "know that deſerving and innocent men were driven into exile by the contemptible government of that country. They were forced to go on board ſhips, though

they had never before been to ſea. For this they naturally felt reſentment. It was natural enough for them to inſtil diſcontents into the minds of the ſeamen, and they had gone further than they intended. Nothing on earth would reſtore harmony and confidence in the fleet, but the repeal of thoſe tyrannical acts, which enabled the miniſters to ſend whom they pleaſed to ſea."

In ſpite of hints from the ſpeaker, and ſevere remarks from other quarters, he proceeded for ſome time in this ſtrain, menaced thoſe who diſapproved of his ſentiments, and cloſed his ſpeech by "warning the houſe of the hazard of firing a ſingle ſhot againſt the ſailors." He then attempted to divide the houſe againſt the third reading; but he ſtood alone, and the bill was paſſed. No obſervations were made in the houſe of peers.

Supplementary to theſe meaſures, a bill, to prevent the adminiſtration of unlawful oaths, received, at a ſubſequent period, the legiſlative ſanction.

We muſt now turn our view again to the diſgraceful tranſactions at the Nore, and to the deciſive meaſures which they rendered neceſſary on the part of the government. Inveſted with full powers, and having with them the good wiſhes of all the ſound portion of the people, the miniſters now determined to temporize no longer. Patience, perſuaſion, warnings, menaces, had been fruitleſsly tried; force alone remained, and that they reſolved to employ in the moſt vigorous manner. The ſituation of affairs preſented, indeed, no other alternative than that of an unequivocal victory over revolt, or an at leaſt implied dereliction of all authority. Had the criminal pertinacity of the ſeamen ſucceeded in obtaining its avowed object, it would have been folly in the extreme to indulge a hope that thoſe who had yielded would ever have the ſlighteſt chance of enforcing their claims to obedience and reſpect. The floating republic would, at length, have become ſomething more than a mere name.

The preparations of the government, for bringing the queſtion to iſſue, were carried on with unceaſing activity. The Neptune and other ſhips were armed, and placed under the command of ſir Eraſmus Gower, numerous gunboats were fitted out, a mortar battery was erected on the iſle of Grain, at a ſpot whence ſhells could be thrown among the rebels, the ſhore was carefully guarded, in order to prevent the ſeamen from landing to obtain freſh proviſions, and eſpecially water, of which they ſtood in great need, and, laſtly, not without ſome peril in performing the taſk, all the buoys and beacons were removed, which point out the only navigable paſſes through the labyrinth of ſands at the mouth of the Thames.

The reſolution of government was well ſeconded by the zeal of individuals, and of public bodies. Volunteers, both officers and common men, came forward in numbers, to man the veſſels which were getting ready. So ardent was this ſpirit, that a body of watermen are ſaid to have offered to carry, by boarding, the Lancaſter, of 64 guns, which was ſtill lying between Woolwich and Graveſend.

Gravesend. The Directors of the East India Company invited all the officers in their service, who were then in England, to lend their assistance on this momentous occasion; and the merchants, ship-owners, and underwriters of the metropolis held a meeting, at which, among other measures, they resolved that, thenceforth, "no seamen should be employed in the merchant service, who could not produce a certificate from his former commander, or commander in the navy, of his orderly and obedient conduct; or, in case of his having had any share in the present disturbances, of his having returned to his duty; and of his submission having been accepted, as required by the act of parliament then recently passed." This was a deadly blow to the seamen, as it presented to their view the gloomy prospect of future starvation. Nor did they receive from their brother sailors, in other quarters, that encouragement which might have strengthened them to brave the storm that was gathering around them. On the contrary, the seamen at Sheerness were decidedly hostile to them, and the crews of the ships at Plymouth, and of Sir Roger Curtis's squadron at Spithead, sent addresses to them, calling on them to return to their duty, and justly branding their conduct as being "a scandal to the name of British seamen."

Even the most daring of the mutineers now began to fear that they had placed themselves in a situation whence they could not hope either to recede or to advance without serious danger. It is said, that some of the most desperate of them proposed to carry the ships into a French port; but that this treasonable proposal was instantly overruled by their comrades; who, deeply as they had involved themselves in crime, still shrunk with horror from the idea of lending their aid to a foreign foe. In this state of affairs, the delegates determined to make an attempt to negotiate. As their envoy they selected lord Northesk, captain of the Monmouth, a man universally beloved, whom they had for some time held confined in his own ship. He was summoned before them, and told that, as he was known to be the seamen's friend, they had chosen him to be the bearer of a letter to his Majesty, containing the only terms on which they would consent to discontinue their revolt. It is stated that the letter was respectful to the sovereign, but severe upon his ministers; and that two of the conditions insisted upon, were the dividing of three-fifths of all prize money among seamen and petty officers, and that no punishment should be inflicted on board of a king's ship, till the offender had been tried by a jury of seamen. With an answer to this proposition his lordship was enjoined to return, in the course of fifty-four hours. The mutineers, it seems, were not yet sufficiently alarmed to speak the language of humility. His lordship reluctantly consented to be the bearer of their proposals, and candidly warned them not to cherish the hope that their demands would be granted. Lord Northesk performed his task; but the period of forbearance was gone by, and the lords of the admiralty laconically replied, that

nothing would now be liſtened to from the mutineers, except repentance and unconditional ſubmiſſion.

In every revolt, which is not prompted by ſome of the more noble feelings of our nature, there is an innate principle of ſelf-deſtruction. Thoſe who contend for the retention or the recovery of freedom, may place confidence in each other, becauſe they are linked together by a mutual and ſacred intereſt, and a communion of lofty and honourable ſentiments; but he who has merely a venal purpoſe to attain, can have no ſolid reaſon for relying on the fidelity of his companions. In the latter caſe were the mutineers. Their real grievances had been redreſſed, and their revolt was continued only for the unworthy purpoſe of extorting further conceſſions from the preſumed fears of the government. It was, therefore, to each individual, not a queſtion of ſtanding or falling, at all riſks, with his comrades, but, whether the chance and the advantage of ſucceſs were ſufficient to outweigh the probability and the danger of failure. Beſides, the crews of the ſhips at the Nore were far from unanimous in their purſuit of the object which was ſought to be attained. Very many of the men were averſe from mutiny, as being a diſgrace to them; others were ſatisfied with what had already been granted. This fact was ſo notorious, that ſeveral of the ſhips were moored in poſitions where they could be overawed by the fire of thoſe which were manned with the moſt violent part of the ſailors.

At length ſigns appeared of the breaking up of this ſhameful confederacy. The Lancaſter, in Long Reach, and with her the Naiad frigate, ſubmitted to the government. The return of the Lancaſter to her duty was mainly owing to the meritorious exertions of her commander, captain Wells. At the Nore, the Serapis ſtore-ſhip, of 44 guns, and the Diſcovery tranſport, effected their eſcape. They were followed by the Firm gun-boat, captain Pine, which got away by cutting both cables, in the dead of night, and during a heavy gale.

Theſe events were the prelude to the diſſolution of the confederacy. The king's proclamation, and the meaſures taking by the government, were now known throughout the fleet; and the conſequence was, that violent debates aroſe, the well-affected began to acquire ſtrength and courage, and the rebellious to loſe their authority and influence. Confuſion and alarm became generally prevalent. Surrendering was openly talked of, and thoſe who oppoſed it were rather actuated by a dread of puniſhment than by any hope of making an effectual ſtand. At laſt, in the afternoon of the ninth of June, at the head of the tide, the Repulſe and Leopard cut their cables, and drifted away from the reſt of the ſquadron. The Leopard took the ground, on the Middle Sand, but fortunately got clear almoſt immediately, and ſailed up the river. The Repulſe alſo grounded, but was not fortunate enough to extricate herſelf ſo ſpeedily as her companion had done. A heavy fire was opened upon her from the Monmouth, Director, and other veſſels; and the ſlaughter would, probably,

probably, have been terrible, had not the officers humanely ordered the men below, and taken upon themſelves the direction of the ſhip. After being thus expoſed for an hour and a half, the ſhip got off, and made good her retreat to Sheerneſs. When the night ſet in, this example was followed by the Ardent. Two more ſhips reached the Medway on the following morning.

This defection gave the death-blow to the mutiny. The remainder of the ſhips ſeparated into two diviſions, hoiſting different flags; part expreſſing a reſolution to abide by the cauſe to the laſt, and part only ſtanding out for a general pardon. Flags of truce were ſent on ſhore with offers of ſubmiſſion upon terms; but thoſe offers were ſteadily refuſed. As ſome proof of their pacific wiſhes, the mutineers allowed the detained merchantmen to proceed up the Thames. Two days were ſpent in tumult and conſternation, at the end of which time all idea of holding out was abandoned. On the twelfth the revolters were ſtill further weakened, by ſome of the ſhips quitting them and ſtanding up the river, and others going into Sheerneſs. Every morning and evening now witneſſed the ſubmiſſion of one or two veſſels; and, on the morning of the fifteenth, the laſt enſign of mutiny was ſtruck, the Sandwich, the flag-ſhip of the mutineers, coming to anchor under the batteries, and giving up the leaders of the revolt. Pardon was extended to the crews; the delegates were impriſoned, to await the deciſion of the government.

The moſt criminal of the delegates were ſubſequently put on their trial. The firſt who was tried was Richard Parker. He was brought before a court-martial on the twenty-ſecond of June, and, after a patient and candid inveſtigation, which laſted four days, his guilt was clearly proved, and he was ſentenced to ſuffer death. In this painful ſituation he diſplayed talents which excited regret that he had not exerted them in a better cauſe than that which placed him in the ſituation of a criminal. To his conduct, at the moment of his meeting with his fate, muſt not be denied that tribute of praiſe which it deſerves. It was calm, decorous, equally remote from unmanly weakneſs and from thoughtleſs or inſolent daring. To this man may indeed juſtly be applied the trite quotation, that "nothing in his life became him like the leaving of it."

Several of his moſt culpable companions were ſubſequently puniſhed, in proportion to their demerits. Numbers remained in confinement, and many under ſentence, till the period of the ſplendid victory achieved over the Dutch off Camperdown, on which occaſion his Majeſty extended his pardon to all the impriſoned offenders.

It has already been mentioned, that an active part in the mutiny at the Nore was taken by ſeveral of the veſſels belonging to the North Sea ſquadron. That ſquadron was commanded by admiral Duncan, an officer admirably qualified to gain at once the reſpect and affection of thoſe who ſerved under him, as he poſſeſſed the rare talent of maintaining diſcipline without reſorting to ſeverity, was benevolent

benevolent and good humoured, and ſupported his own dignity without manifeſting, in the ſlighteſt degree, that offenſive pride which makes enemies of inferiors, by perpetually reminding them of the humbleneſs of their ſtation. Yet, in this ſeaſon of general delirium, even he failed in his efforts to retain the ſeamen within the limits of their duty, though, at the commencement of the diſturbances, he viſited each ſhip, exhorted the men, and received from them aſſurances of their ready obedience. At the outſet, indeed, they did not openly make common cauſe with their comrades at Portſmouth and Plymouth; and they even, towards the cloſe of April, addreſſed to the lords of the admiralty a letter of thanks for the conceſſions which had been granted; expreſſing, at the ſame time, their determination to riſk all that was dear to man for their ſovereign and their native land; and regretting that the backwardneſs of the enemy to face them had hitherto prevented them from having an opportunity of diſplaying their zeal. But, unfortunately for themſelves and their country, theſe grateful feelings were of brief duration.

The firſt ſymptom of inſubordination appeared on board of the Trent frigate. The admiral, on the evening before that on which he himſelf intended to ſail, having made the ſignal for her to put to ſea, the ſignal was diſobeyed. It was found, on enquiry, that the crew poſitively refuſed to obey their officers; alleging, as a reaſon, that the act recently paſſed, with reſpect to the weights and meaſures of proviſions, had not been complied with on board of the Trent. Their aſſertion was true; the fact being that, by ſome miſtake, the new regulation had not yet been officially promulgated. Admiral Duncan immediately called all hands on the deck of the Venerable, his own ſhip, and made known his intention of going alongſide the rebellious veſſel in the morning, to reduce her to ſubmiſſion. "Who is there," ſaid he, "that will deſert me on this occaſion?" Much to his gratification, his men unanimouſly exclaimed, that they would ſupport their commander to the utmoſt of their power. In the courſe of the evening, they alſo tranſmitted to him a reſpectful letter, offering, in the hope of allaying the diſcontent of the revolters, by ſhewing them that they fared no worſe than others, "to deliver to him the different weights and meaſures uſed by the purſer in the allotment of their proviſions, and depend entirely upon his juſtice and candour, as far as regarded their own allowances." This had the deſired effect, and, on the enſuing morning, the Trent proceeded to ſea.

Still, the ſpirit of diſaffection was ſo prevalent in the ſquadron, that there were only two ſhips, the Venerable and the Adamant, which were entirely free from its malignant influence. When on ſhore, many of the men behaved in a riotous and diſorderly manner; but it was not till towards the cloſe of May that the maſk was wholly dropped. On the 27th the admiral quitted Yarmouth-roads, having been ordered by the admiralty to cruiſe off the back

back of the ſands, till he could be reinforced. Under pretence that they were in the courſe of payment, though not ten ſhillings was due to each man, the crews of the Montague and Naſſau refuſed to put to ſea. Their mutinous example was ſpeedily followed by the reſt of the fleet, who quitted him at ſea, with the exception of the Venerable and the Adamant, which remained faithful to their commander. The mutinous veſſels then proceeded to the Nore.

Finding himſelf thus deſerted, the admiral ſummoned the crew of the Venerable on deck, and addreſſed them in the following ſpeech, which is worthy of being recorded for its ſeaman-like ſpirit, and its modeſty and unaffected piety and ſimplicity. It was attentively liſtened to by his men; and, aided by his firmneſs and juſtice, could not fail of producing on their minds a beneficial effect.

"My lads, I once more call you together with a ſorrowful heart, from what I have lately ſeen of the diſaffection of the ſhips: I call it diſaffection, for the crews have no grievances. To be deſerted by my fleet, in the face of an enemy, is a diſgrace which, I believe, never before happened to a Britiſh admiral; nor could I have conceived it poſſible. My greateſt comfort under God is, that I have been ſupported by the officers, ſeamen, and marines of this ſhip; for which, with a heart overflowing with gratitude, I requeſt you to accept my ſincere thanks. I flatter myſelf much good may reſult from your example, by bringing thoſe deluded people to a ſenſe of their duty, which they owe, not only to their king and country, but to themſelves.

"The Britiſh navy has ever been the ſupport of that liberty which has been handed down to us by our anceſtors, and which, I truſt, we ſhall maintain to the lateſt poſterity; but that can only be done by unanimity and obedience. This ſhip's company, and others, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their loyalty and good order, deſerve to be, and doubtleſs will be, the favourites of a grateful country. They will alſo have, from their inward feelings, a comfort which will be laſting, and not like the fleeting and falſe confidence of thoſe who have ſwerved from their duty.

"It has often been my pride, with you, to look into the Texel, and ſee a foe which dreaded coming out to meet us. My pride is now humbled, indeed! My feelings are not eaſily to be expreſſed! Our cup has overflowed, and made us wanton. The all-wiſe Providence has given us this check as a warning, and I hope we ſhall improve by it. On him, then, let us truſt, where our only ſecurity can be found. I find there are many good men among us; for my own part, I have had full confidence in all in this ſhip; and once more beg to expreſs my approbation of your conduct.

"May God, who has thus far conducted you, continue to do ſo; and may the Britiſh navy, the glory and ſupport of our country, be reſtored to its wonted ſplendour, and be not only the bulwark of Britain, but the terror of the world.

"But this can only be effected by

by a ſtrict adherence to our duty and obedience; and let us pray that the Almighty God may keep us in the right way of thinking. God bleſs you all."

Reinforcements were immediately ordered round to join him, from the channel-ports. In the meantime, however, he fearleſsly blockaded the Texel with the Venerable and Adamant. It was while he was performing this arduous duty, that the only ſymptom that ever appeared of mutiny, occurred on board of the Venerable. A plot was ſet on foot, which was diſcloſed by ſome of thoſe who had been entruſted with the ſecret. It was, however, impoſſible, as yet, for him to know to what extent the miſchief had ſpread. All hands were inſtantly called on deck, and addreſſed by the admiral in a firm but temperate ſpeech. In the courſe of a few minutes, ſix men, charged with being the ringleaders, were brought before him. "My lads," ſaid the admiral to them, "I am not, I aſſure you, in the leaſt apprehenſive of any violent meaſure that you may have in contemplation; and though I aſſure you, too, that I would much rather acquire your love than excite your fear, I will, with my own hand, put to death the firſt man who ſhall preſume to diſplay the ſlighteſt diſpoſition to a rebellious conduct." Then, turning round to one of the mutineers, "do you, ſir," ſaid he, "want to take the command of this ſhip out of my hands?" "Yes, ſir," replied the fellow, with an unheſitating impudence, which had ſomething almoſt ludicrous in it. The admiral raiſed his arm to plunge his ſword into the breaſt of the mutineer, but he was ſtopped by the chaplain and ſecretary. He did not renew his attempt, but, with ſome agitation, called to the ſhip's company, "let thoſe who will ſtand by me and my officers, paſs over, inſtantly, to the ſtarboard-ſide of the ſhip, that we may ſee who are our friends, and who are our opponents." With one accord the whole of the crew, the ſix mutineers excepted, directly ran over to him. The culprits were then ſeized, and put in irons. They were, however, ſubſequently all liberated without puniſhment, after having ſhewn ſigns of real penitence; and by this mixture of rigour and of lenity an end was put to all thoughts of mutiny in the ſquadron which he commanded.

As though the madneſs which poſſeſſed the minds of the ſailors had been epidemical, it extended its pernicious influence to the moſt diſtant quarters. At that period the ſquadron under Lord St. Vincent, was the only one which appeared to remain in a tranquil ſtate. It has ſince been confeſſed, however, that the tranquillity was rather apparent than real. In the houſe of commons it has recently been affirmed, by a member having correct means of information, "that, had it not been for the integrity and loyalty of the marines, the whole fleet would have been carried into Ireland. It was to the conduct of the marines alone, that the ſafety of the fleet, as well as the preſervation of the lives of the officers, were to be aſcribed." The latter part of the ſentence ſufficiently marks the malignant

lignant nature of the projected mutiny on board the ſquadron off Cadiz.

At the Cape of Good Hope, alſo, the ſcenes which had taken place at home were twice repeated. About the middle of October, a mutiny broke out in the fleet at Simon's Bay. According to the eſtabliſhed precedent, the crews ſeized upon the ſhips, loaded the guns, ſent ſome officers on ſhore, confined others, and appointed a committee of delegates to hold the command. One of the pretexts for this conduct was, that captain Shepherd, of the Tremendous, had been guilty of cruelty, and various improper proceedings. As ſoon as this revolt was known on ſhore, general Dundas, the commander-in-chief, augmented the garriſon of Simon's Town, ordered works to be thrown up to prevent the watering parties from landing, and took ſuch other meaſures as were neceſſary in the critical ſituation of affairs. A negotiation was now entered into, and ſome of the demands of the mutineers being complied with, and a pardon granted to them, the ſemblance of order was for a while reſtored.

As too free an intercourſe was carried on between the ſeamen and the army, it was thought prudent to call the latter into the field. The ſeamen, nevertheleſs, ſtill perſiſting in ſending their emiſſaries into the camp, general Dundas, ordered two of the latter to be apprehended, and hanged upon the firſt tree. At the moment, however, when they conceived themſelves to be on the point of death, he pardoned them; deſiring them, at the ſame time, to return to their comrades, and declare, that the firſt ſailor who was caught within the centries ſhould certainly be executed; and, to ſhew that this was not an idle menace, the ropes were left in readineſs for the purpoſe.

The ſecond mutiny occurred ſhortly after, under the following circumſtances. Captain Stephens having demanded a court-martial, that he might diſprove the calumnies thrown upon his character, a court was accordingly held on board of the Sceptre. At the trial, a ſailor of the name of Jackſon, one of the ringleaders and delegates in the firſt mutiny, who was now ſummoned as an evidence, behaved with the moſt audacious inſolence to the court. He was, therefore, ſentenced to be impriſoned for one month. This was ſo deeply reſented by the ſeamen, that they once more burſt out into open rebellion. The Sceptre, captain Loſack, was the only ſhip of which the crew remained in a ſtate of perfect ſubordination. The Raiſonable and Sphinx, however, though they hoiſted the red flag, did not take any active part in this new diſturbance. The reſt of the ſhips ſent their officers on ſhore.

In this poſture of affairs, a council of war was held at the houſe of lord Macartney, the governor. Conceſſion having before proved ineffectual, it was wiſely reſolved to reſort, on this occaſion, to force, and rather to ſacrifice the ſhips, than to encourage and perpetuate, by a weak lenity, the mutinous diſaffection of the ſeamen. The batteries were accordingly manned, and furnaces were lighted for red-hot ſhot. This being

being done, a proclamation was ſent on board, declaring that, after a limited period, the fire would open from the ſhore, and no ſubmiſſion would be accepted. The ſurrender of their delegates was inſiſted on as an indiſpenſable point, which would, on no account, be receded from by their ſuperiors. It fortunately happened, that moſt of the veſſels were lying in ſituations where they were wholly at the mercy of the batteries. Perceiving that the council was in earneſt, and that reſiſtance was madneſs, the mutineers yielded to neceſſity, gave up the delegates, and came back to their duty. On board the Creſcent frigate, which was one of the moſt obſtinate, and the leaſt expoſed to danger, the mutiny was early quelled by the gallantry of the firſt-lieutenant, who leaped down among the revolters, ſhot the firſt man who refuſed to obey, and, with the help of the well-affected, brought her under the batteries. For this ſecond mutiny, puniſhment was inflicted on ſeveral of the offenders. The reſult of captain Stephens's trial was an honourable acquittal. The ſpirit and loyalty of the army were conſpicuouſly diſplayed during the continuance of theſe diſagreeable events, and had a powerful influence in producing a favourable termination.

Many months elapſed before the ſeamen could be ſaid to be completely returned to their old habits of obedience. In ſingle ſhips, acts of mutiny but too frequently occurred, though it would be uſeleſs and painful to enumerate them. On board the Pompeé a plan was formed for carrying the veſſel into a French port, but it was timely diſcovered and fruſtrated. Nor, indeed, was it more than a ſmall minority of the crew that was guilty, and, of thoſe who were thus drawn in, only a trifling number intended to puſh their criminality to the utmoſt extent. But, in another inſtance, the whole crew of a veſſel ſtained themſelves with inexpiable crime. In the latter end of October, the ſeamen of the Hermione frigate, of thirty-two guns, murdered their commander, captain Pigott, and all his officers, carried the veſſel into the Spaniſh port of La Guira, and crowned this baſe and bloody achievement by entering into the enemy's ſervice. Here we ſhall cloſe our account of the mutiny; ſincerely hoping that the hiſtorian will never again have the melancholy and ſoul-ſickening taſk of blotting the pages of his annals with the narrative of ſuch diſgraceful and diſaſtrous events.

CHAP. XII.

Narrative of Naval and Colonial Operations. The French land a Body of Galley Slaves and Malefactors at Fiſhguard, in Pembrokeſhire. Inſtructions given to the Commander of this Expedition. The Invaders are compelled to lay down their Arms. The Directory cenſured, by many in France,

France, for this Affair. Two of the Frigates which conveyed the French are captured. The Republican Projects for invading England. Plan for uniting in the Channel the Fleets of France, Spain, and Holland. State of the Spaniſh and Engliſh Fleets. Admiral Cordova ſails from Carthagena to Cadiz. Believing Sir John Jervis to have only a very ſmall Force, he ſails towards him to give him Battle. Sir John Jervis determines alſo to bring the Spaniards to Action. Strange Conduct of the Captain of the Spaniſh look-out Frigate. Battle off Cape St. Vincent's. Part of the Spaniſh Squadron cut off from the main Body, and put to Flight. Glorious Conduct of Commodore Nelſon. He engages ſeveral of the Enemy. The San Iſidro and Salvador del Mundo ſtrike to Captain Collingwood. Nelſon carries the San Nicolas and the San Joſef by boarding. The Spaniſh Squadron retreats. Conſequences of this Victory. Honours and Rewards beſtowed on the Victors. Sir John Jervis created Earl St. Vincent. Nelſon, who had already been made a Rear-Admiral, receives the Order of the Bath. Two Bombardments of Cadiz. Gallant Action of Sir Horatio Nelſon. He forms a Plan for the Capture of Santa Cruz. Deſcription of Santa Cruz. Nelſon is ſent againſt Santa Cruz with a ſmall Force. Failure of the firſt Attempt. Nelſon makes a ſecond Attempt, in which he himſelf commands. His right Arm is ſhattered by a Grape-Shot. Gallantry of Captain Trowbridge. The Aſſailants are unable to accompliſh their Purpoſe. Generoſity of the Spaniſh Governor. Loſs ſuſtained by the Britiſh. Efforts made by the Batavian Government to fit out a Fleet. Character of Admiral de Winter and Admiral Duncan. Intrepid Conduct of the Latter. The Batavian Government orders its Fleet to ſail. Admiral Duncan ſails in purſuit of it. Battle of Camperdown. Admiral Duncan gets between the Dutch Squadron and the Land. The Dutch completely defeated, and a conſiderable Part of their Fleet captured. Admiral Duncan made a Viſcount. Events in the Weſt Indies. Infamous Conduct of the French in the Invaſion of Anguilla. Capture of the Force employed by them on that Expedition. Situation of the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands. Conſpiracy diſcovered at Dominica. Diſſatisfaction of the Coloniſts at the Plan of raiſing five Black Regiments. Expedition againſt Trinidad. Deſtruction of the Spaniſh Fleet there. Surrender of the Iſland. Attack projected on Porto Rico. Deſcription of the City of San Juan. The Britiſh effect a Landing. Their Attempt is unſucceſsful. St. Domingo. Loſs of Men and Money ſuſtained through our Poſſeſſion of that Iſland. Lieutenant-General Simcoe appointed Governor. He introduces a Reform into the Finances, Military Operations. French Poſts carried in the Vicinity of Port au Prince. Touiſſant driven back. Rigaud attacks Irois, and is defeated. Touiſſant is repulſed at St. Marc, and likewiſe driven beyond the river Artebonite. Return to England of General Simcoe. Machinations of the French in Canada. Execution of the Emiſſary, Maclean. Capture of Foul Point, in the Iſland of Madagaſcar.

FROM events painful to the feelings of every Briton, and caſting a deep ſhade over the character of a claſs of men, which had

had always been regarded in this country with ſentiments of admiration and pride, it is gratifying to turn to the heroic deeds, by which, in the courſe of 1797, thoſe men increaſed the glory of their native land; and, in ſome meaſure, atoned for the criminal and perilous violation of their duty. Before, however, we enter on the narrative of maritime and colonial warfare, it is neceſſary to give ſome account of an ill-planned and eventually abortive attempt, which was made by the enemy, to ſpread terror and conflagration on the Britiſh coaſt.

At an early period of the year, the republican threat of invaſion, as far as regarded England, was carried into effect, on a ſcale, and in a manner, which was calculated to excite at once indignation and contempt. A corps, of about 11 or 1200 men, conſiſting almoſt entirely of galley-ſlaves and other malefactors, was collected at Breſt, under the title of La Seconde Legion des Francs, of which the command was given to colonel Tate. The character of the inſtructions *, for his conduct on his buccaneering expedition, was quite in uniſon with the character of the maſters whom he ſerved, and the goodly band of which he was appointed the leader. The three principal objects were ſtated to be, to raiſe, if poſſible, an inſurrection; to interrupt and embarraſs the Britiſh internal commerce; and to prepare and facilitate the way for a deſcent, by diſtracting the attention of the government. To effect this, he was directed, in the firſt place, to ſeduce the commonalty, by diſtributing money to drink, by calumniating the government, and by holding out, as the reward of the revolters, the plunder of the rich and of the public magazines. To injure commerce, and, by depriving artiſans of employment, to encreaſe the number of the diſaffected, he was told, in addition to many other modes of annoyance, to cut off ſupplies from the great towns, burn all veſſels and boats, on rivers and canals, and give to the flames, docks, arſenals, coal-yards, and large manufactories. Every art was to be employed to draw over to his party deſerters from the Britiſh army, and the moſt execrable cruelty was to be exerciſed on the perſons and property of all who endeavoured to impede his progreſs. Briſtol was to be the firſt ſacrifice to the republican fury. Approaching that place to windward, in the night, he was to ſet it on fire; and it was hoped, that he would ſucceed in accompliſhing the total ruin of the city, the port, the docks, and the veſſels. The ſame fate was next to be ſhared by Liverpool and Cheſter. Colonel Tate's ſoldiers were deſcribed as being all reſolute determined men, capable of any thing; and it appears that it was the intention of the directory, to ſupport this corps of banditti by others, which were to be landed ſo as to act in the counties of York, Northumberland and Durham.

This refuſe of the gallies and jails ſailed from Breſt, on board of two frigates, a corvette, and a lugger, and appeared in the

* See Appendix to the Chronicle, p. 137.

Briſtol

Briſtol channel on the morning of the 22nd of February. They ſteered at firſt towards Ilfracombe, but, forgetting their orders relative to Briſtol, they ſoon changed their courſe, and, ſtanding over to the Welſh ſhore, doubled St. David's head, and caſt anchor in Fiſhguard Bay, on the coaſt of Pembrokeſhire. They were, for a while, miſtaken for Liverpool traders; but their hoſtile preparations ſoon undeceived the natives, and excited great alarm. From Fiſhguard the inhabitants ſpeedily moved into the interior their wives, children, and portable property. Many of the peaſants abandoned their houſes, and hid themſelves among the thick furze, and in the clefts of the rocks.

In the evening the invaders began to diſembark on Goodwin Sands. The ſpot which they ſelected for their deſcent was one of the worſt which could poſſibly be choſen. They had to climb a ſteep cliff, rendered glaſſy by the dryneſs of the weather; and, after they reached its ſummit, they had to paſs over a hill, covered with maſſes of looſe ſtone, and four or five miles of difficult rocky ground, before they could arrive at a tolerable road. By dint of exertion, however, they not only contrived to ſcramble up the cliff, but likewiſe to roll to the top of it the whole of their ammunition, conſiſting of ſeventy cart-loads of powder, ball, and granades.

In the morning, they diſperſed around the country, in ſearch of proviſions and plunder. Though they did infinite miſchief in their progreſs, it does not appear that they were guilty of any act of cruelty. A part of the plunder which they found, proved the means of their more ſpeedy and bloodleſs ſubjection. A ſhip, laden with wine, had, ſome days previouſly, been wrecked in this quarter, and there was now ſcarcely a cottage which did not contain a caſk. Of this liquor they drank to ſuch exceſs, that many of the officers were as unable to command as the ſoldiers were unwilling to obey. Diſcipline was entirely at an end.

While the invaders were thus loſing their time and their ſenſes in intoxication, the gentlemen of the county were taking meaſures to prevent them from penetrating beyond the ground on which they ſtood. About 660 troops, conſiſting of 100 of the Pembroke fencibles, 300 of the Fiſhguard and Newport fencibles, 200 of the Cardiganſhire militia, and 60 of lord Cawdor's yeomen cavalry, haſtily marched to the ſcene of action, under the command of lord Cawdor. Not one of theſe men had ever fired a muſket, except for amuſement, yet they proceeded againſt the enemy with the moſt cheerful alacrity. To this force was joined numbers of gentlemen-volunteers, and a crowd of peaſants, with no other weapons than ſuch as chance furniſhed, and preſenting a truly groteſque appearance.

Lord Cawdor drew up his little army, on the hills, in the way beſt calculated to impreſs the enemy with an idea of its ſtrength. But the hoſtile leader was ill-diſpoſed to behave with that vigour which his inſtructions enjoined. At night-fall he ſent a flag of truce with a letter, declaring

claring that, as the circumſtances of his ſituation rendered it unneceſſary for him to attempt any military operations, which could tend only to bloodſhed and pillage, he was willing to negotiate a ſurrender. In reply, lord Cawdor informed him, that no terms could be granted ſhort of unconditional ſubmiſſion. To theſe terms colonel Tate acceded, and his troops accordingly laid down their arms, on the 24th of February. Some of them ſubmitted to their fate with perfect cheerfulneſs; but many of them diſplayed feelings of a very oppoſite nature, and, by their gloomy and indignant countenances, manifeſted the vexation which they felt, at being deprived of the proſpect of indulging in outrage and rapine. Small as this diviſion was, it might, nevertheleſs, before a ſtop could have been put to its progreſs, have done miſchief to an enormous extent, had it puſhed on with the promptitude and boldneſs which were recommended to its leader.

Even in France this infamous expedition was not ſuffered to eſcape without its merited cenſure. The beſt public writers reprobated it in the ſtrongeſt language, and, in the council of five hundred, Dumolard attacked it, as contrary to the conſtitution, injurious to the national honour and to the brave defenders of the country, and as a breach of the law of nations; and he demanded that a meſſage ſhould be ſent to the directory, to require information on the ſubject. A few members of the council had the baſeneſs to allude to the Britiſh employment of the emigrants at Quiberon, as being ſimilar in kind to the cenſured meaſure; but their clamours were ſilenced, and a meſſage was voted. It does not appear, however, from the report of the debates in the council, that the directory condeſcended to return any anſwer.

The loſs of the men ſent to effect this deſcent, might rather be conſidered as a gain. Fortunately it was not the only loſs which this project occaſioned to the directory. On the return of the ſquadron, two of the veſſels were met and compelled to ſtrike, off Breſt harbour, by ſir Harry Neale and captain Cooke, in the St. Fiorenzo and the Nymph. The ſhips captured were La Reſiſtance, of forty-eight guns, a new frigate, one of the fineſt and largeſt in the French ſervice; and La Conſtance, of twenty-two guns, inferior in nothing but ſize, to her captured companion. The two ſhips which ſtruck, loſt between thirty and forty men in killed and wounded, while on the ſide of the Britiſh not a ſingle ſailor was hurt.

The republican expedition to Ireland, of which we ſhall give an account when, in our next volume, we bring forward the narrative of Iriſh affairs, though it had ſhewn the mere poſſibility of reaching, under ſome circumſtances, a vulnerable part of the Britiſh dominions, had, nevertheleſs, been too dearly paid for, and had put the whole of the troops and veſſels into too much peril, to encourage the directory again to truſt to the republican ſquadron alone, the daring and arduous taſk of executing their meditated invaſion. The auxiliaries, or rather tributaries, of the republic were

were, therefore, to be called on to take a ſhare in this enterprize. Spain, which, as we have ſeen, had joined France againſt her late ally, was poſſeſſed of a reſpectable fleet; and Holland, which had always enjoyed a merited reputation for bravery and ſkill in naval affairs, was inceſſantly ſpurred on, by the French government, to make ſtrenuous exertions, in order to re-eſtabliſh its maritime forces on a formidable footing. It was hoped, that if the ſquadrons of the three nations, to the number of between ſeventy and eighty ſail of the line, could be united in the channel, they might have, at leaſt, ſuch a momentary ſuperiority of ſtrength, as would enable the republicans to carry into effect their revolutionary projects in Ireland, if not in England itſelf.

But to the execution of this ſplendid ſcheme there exiſted two ſerious obſtacles; the great interval which ſeparated their fleets, and the vigilance and courage of the commanders oppoſed to them. The diſtance, from the Mediterranean and the Texel to Breſt, did not admit of a ſtolen, or very rapid junction; and it was not to be ſuppoſed that the Britiſh admirals would not ſtrain every nerve, to acquire freſh claims to the gratitude of their country, by fruſtrating the deſigns of its enemies, and ſeverely puniſhing every attempt to render it the polluted theatre of revolution and plunder.

The Spaniſh fleet was the firſt to be taught the difficulty and danger of making even a movement towards ſuch a junction. Yet, as far as regarded the number and ſize of ſhips, circumſtances were ſo much in its favour, that nothing but the gallantry and ſeamanſhip of Britiſh leaders, and Britiſh ſailors, could have turned the balance againſt it, and arreſted it in its courſe. It conſiſted of no leſs than twenty-ſeven ſail of the line; of which one, the largeſt in the world, was of a hundred and thirty-ſix guns, ſix were of a hundred and twelve, two of eighty-five, and eighteen of ſeventy-four guns; which were accompanied by twelve thirty-four gun frigates. There was, however, one diſadvantage on its ſide. The proportion of good ſeamen was inconſiderable; and, though the Spaniſh miniſtry had endeavoured to remedy this, by putting expert artillery-men on board, the deficiency was inadequately ſupplied.

The Britiſh ſquadron, on the other hand, had been conſiderably weakened by ſeveral accidents. Forced from her anchorage, the Gibraltar, of eighty guns, had ſtruck on a rock, and been obliged to be ſent to England; the Zealous, of ſeventy-four, had ſuffered the ſame misfortune, and conſequently been ſent to Liſbon; the Courageous, of ſeventy-four, had foundered in the Straits; the Bombay Caſtle, of ſeventy-four, had been loſt in the Tagus; the St. George, of ninety-eight, had recently grounded in the Tagus, and been under the neceſſity of putting back; and the Culloden, of ſeventy-four, parted company on the 1ſt of February, and did not return for more than a week. The ſquadron under admiral Jervis was thus diminiſhed to no more than nine ſail; but, fortunately, on the 6th of February,

rear-admiral Parker joined it, with five line of battle ships from England, and on the 9th, the Culloden resumed her station. The latter ship was, however, so much damaged, by running on board the Colossus, that captain Trowbridge, with infinite difficulty, put her into sufficient repair to take part in an engagement. The British squadron was now fifteen sail of the line, four frigates, and three smaller vessels. Two of these were of a hundred guns, two of ninety-eight, two of ninety, eight of seventy-four, and one of sixty-four. They carried twelve hundred and thirty-eight guns; the enemy two thousand three hundred and eight.

Having received from his court positive orders to sail, Don Joseph Cordova, the Spanish admiral, quitted Carthagena, on the 4th of February, and steered for Cadiz. As he passed Gibraltar, he was informed, by an American captain, that the British had only nine sail, and he consequently determined to give them battle, in the hope of obtaining a cheap victory over such a disparity of force. With this determination he passed by Cadiz, in search of his opponents. To be defeated he must have considered as next to impossible; and, at all events, a Spanish port was at hand to receive him.

The first intelligence of Cordova's approach was brought to admiral Jervis, off Cape St. Vincent, by commodore Nelson, who had been dispatched to Porto Ferrajo, to make arrangements for evacuating that place. It was speedily confirmed from various other quarters. Notwithstanding the smallness of his squadron, which would have amply justified his confining his efforts to making an honourable retreat, admiral Jervis, fully relying on the talents of his officers, and the bravery of his crews, and feeling that the situation of affairs imperiously called for enterprize, resolved not only to hazard a contest, but to become himself the assailant. He knew that those around him were not in the habit of counting their enemies; and that skill and valour could accomplish every thing which was not absolutely impracticable. The night was spent in preparing for the combat; the ships were kept in a compact body; and the dawn, and the hostile fleet, of which the signal guns were heard, were anxiously expected.

At break of day, the signal-ships announced that the enemy was in sight. The same signal was made by the Spanish look-out ships to their admiral; but a thick fog concealed from them the real strength of the British. The ships of Cordova were widely extended, and in some disorder. Imagining that his signal was not attended to, the Spanish captain repeated it, with the addition, that the English force consisted of forty sail of the line. This, as he afterwards declared, he did for the purpose of rousing his admiral. But, instead of stimulating to vigorous exertion, it produced the not unnatural effect of spreading perplexity and alarm. Those who had advanced in the full confidence of easy victory, felt their spirits sink at the thought of imminent defeat and captivity; and enthusiasm

Feb. 14.

once

once extinguiſhed, can ſcarcely ever be rekindled.

Admiral Jervis inſtantly turned to account the diſconnected ſituation, and the newly inſpired alarm and indeciſion, of his antagoniſt. About nine ſail of the Spaniſh veſſels were to leeward, and theſe he hoped to cut off, before the remainder of the fleet could come to their aid, or form a regular order of battle. With this view he bore down on them, under a preſs of ſail. Cordova perceived his intention, and made a movement, with a deſign to join them. But he was too late. The Britiſh admiral paſſed through their fleet, in a line formed with the utmoſt celerity, then tacked, and thus ſucceeded in effecting his purpoſe. The ſeparated ſhips now endeavoured to form on the larboard tack; apparently intending either to paſs through, or to leeward of the Britiſh line, and by this means to reunite with the main body. In this, however, only one of them ſucceeded, and that in conſequence of her being ſo covered with ſmoke, that her manœuvre was not perceived till ſhe had reached the rear. The reſt met with ſuch a warm reception, from the centre-ſhips of the Britiſh ſquadron, that they put about, took to flight, and did not appear again in action until the cloſe of the day.

The retreat of the leeward ſhips enabled admiral Jervis to direct the whole of his attention to the van and part of the centre of the enemy, which, in number of veſſels, and weight of metal, were ſtill ſuperior to his own ſquadron. At eight minutes paſt twelve, he, therefore, threw out the ſignal for the ſhips to tack in ſucceſſion, and, ſhortly after, that for paſſing again through the Spaniſh line. Cordova at this moment began to manœuvre, with the ſeeming purpoſe of either joining the ſeparated ſhips, or getting off without any further engagement. Commodore Nelſon, whoſe broad pendant was flying in the Captain, of ſeventy-four guns, was in the rear of the Britiſh line, and his ſituation gave him an opportunity of obſerving this manœuvre. Determined to fruſtrate the ſcheme of Cordova, he, with all that daring ſpirit and preſence of mind which eminently diſtinguiſhed him, took on himſelf the reſponſibility of diſobeying the ſignal thrown out by his admiral, and ordered his ſhip to be wore. This deciſive and gallant ſtep brought him alongſide of the Santiſſima Trinidad, of a hundred and thirty-ſix guns, and into action not only with that ſhip, but alſo with her ſupporters, two three-deckers, and ſeveral two-deckers. He was ſpeedily ſuccoured by the Culloden, captain Trowbridge, and for nearly an hour theſe two veſſels maintained a conteſt with no leſs than nine ſail. At length the Blenheim came up, and paſſed between them and the enemy, into whom ſhe poured her fire, and thus afforded a momentary reſpite to Nelſon and Trowbridge. Two of the enemy, the Salvador del Mundo of a hundred and twelve guns, and the San Iſidro of ſeventy-four, now dropped aſtern, and were vigorouſly attacked by captain Collingwood, in the Excellent. The San Iſidro ſtruck, the Salvador del Mundo was believed to have done the ſame, and Col-

lingwood, not ſtaying to take poſſeſſion of his prizes,, puſhed on, with every ſail ſet, to aid Nelſon, whoſe ſhip was at this moment fired into, within piſtol-ſhot, by five veſſels, three of which were firſt-rates. Nelſon was in reality alone; for the Blenheim was engaged a-head, the Culloden was crippled, and aſtern. Paſſing within ten feet of the San Nicolas, Collingwood opened on her a tremendous fire, and then ſtanding onwards engaged the Santiſſima Trinidad. The San Joſef, having loſt her mizen-maſt, fell on board the San Nicolas, and Nelſon again took his ſtation abreaſt of them, and cloſe alongſide. His ſhip was become almoſt a wreck, and could no longer be of ſervice, either in the line, or in chace; her foretop-maſt was gone, her wheel was ſhot away, and not a ſail, ſhroud, or rope, was left. The coolneſs and intrepidity of Nelſon, however, remained; and theſe were in themſelves a hoſt. He directed captain Miller to put the helm a-ſtarboard, and, calling the boarders, he ordered them to board the San Nicolas.

Captain Berry, who acted with the commodore as a volunteer, was the firſt man who jumped into the enemy's mizen-chains. A detachment of the ſixty-ninth regiment, acting as marines, with lieutenant Pierſon at their head, were among the foremoſt on this ſervice. Nelſon himſelf did not remain behind. A ſoldier having broken the quarter-gallery window of the San Nicolas, Nelſon leaped in, and was followed by others. The cabin-doors were faſtened, and the Spaniſh-officers diſcharged their piſtols through the windows; but the doors being burſt open, the ſoldiers fired, the officers retreated, and the Spaniſh commodore fell, while retiring to the quarter-deck. Nelſon puſhed forward, and on reaching the quarter-deck, found Berry in poſſeſſion of the poop, and the Spaniſh enſign hauling down. Paſſing on to the forecaſtle he met two or three officers, from whom he received their ſwords. The conqueſt was now complete, and with the comparatively trifling loſs of only ſeven killed, and a few wounded.

While Nelſon was purſuing the neceſſary meaſures to ſecure his prize, a fire of muſketry was opened upon him from the poop and galleries of the San Joſef. His reſolution was ſoon taken. It appeared, that he muſt either relinquiſh the San Nicolas, or carry the San Joſef alſo. He choſe the latter part of the alternative. Having previouſly directed captain Miller to ſend more men from the Captain into the San Nicolas, Nelſon gave the word to board the San Joſef, put himſelf at the head of the aſſailants, and ruſhed into the enemy's veſſel, exclaiming, "Weſtminſter Abbey! or glorious victory!" The Spaniards were panic-ſtruck by this conduct, and, at this inſtant, an officer looked over the quarter-deck rail, and declared that they had ſurrendered. On the quarter-deck the Spaniſh captain gave up his ſword to Nelſon, and told him that the admiral was below, expiring of his wounds. For a moment Nelſon could ſcarcely believe his good fortune. He ordered the Spaniſh captain to aſſemble his officers, and to communicate

communicate the ſurrender to the crew. This was accordingly done; and on the quarter-deck of the San Joſef, of a hundred and twenty guns, Nelſon received the ſwords of all the officers. As faſt as he took them he gave them to his bargeman, William Fearney, who tucked them under his arm with a ſailor-like coolneſs. A Britiſh ſeaman now came up, and, in the fulneſs of his heart, ſhook his commander by the hand, telling him, that he might not ſoon have ſuch another place to do it in, and that he was heartily glad to ſee him there.

About five in the evening the battle ceaſed. The Spaniſh ſhips, which had been ſeparated in the morning, were now coming up, and the Spaniards had conſequently ſtill eighteen or nineteen ſail, which had ſuſtained little or no injury. Sir John Jervis, therefore, made the ſignal to bring to, and ſecure the prizes. Had this ſignal been delayed but five minutes, the prizes would probably have been loſt, as, from the ſituation of the two fleets, the Britiſh could not have formed without abandoning the four captured veſſels, and running to leeward. The Captain was lying, a perfect wreck, on board the San Nicolas and San Joſef, and many of the other ſhips were ſo ſhattered in their maſts and rigging, as to be utterly ungovernable. Cordova, on his ſide, ignorant of the ſtate of his ſquadron, was doubtful of the propriety of renewing the conteſt. He conſulted his captains, only two of whom, thoſe of the Pelayo and Principe Conquiſtador, were for fighting, while ſome voted for delay, and nine explicitly gave a negative to the propoſal of recommencing the battle. Cordova of courſe yielded to the majority, doubled Cape St. Vincent next morning, and eventually returned to Cadiz.

La Minerve frigate was now ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Captain, and took her in tow. As the Victory paſſed the Captain, ſhe ſaluted her with three cheers, and the ſame compliment was paid her by every ſhip in the fleet. Sir John Jervis received Nelſon on the quarter-deck of the Victory, claſped him in his arms, and declared that he could not ſufficiently thank him. Nelſon then hoiſted his pendent in the Irreſiſtible, till his own veſſel could be rendered fit for ſervice.

The ſhips captured by the Britiſh were the Salvador del Mundo and San Joſef, of a hundred and twelve guns each, the San Nicolas, of eighty-four guns, and the San Iſidro, of ſeventy-four guns. The loſs of the enemy on board theſe veſſels only was two hundred and ſixty-one killed, and three hundred and forty-two wounded. Among the killed was admiral Don Francisco Winthuyſen. The Santiſſima Trinidad, Cordova's ſhip, was roughly handled, and would certainly have been taken, but for the approach of night. She was almoſt a wreck, and her ſlain and wounded exceeded two hundred in number. On the ſide of the victors, the loſs, in ſlain and hurt, amounted to three hundred men, of which the Captain ſuſtained more than one-fourth, ſhe having twenty-four men killed, and fifty-ſix wounded. Nelſon himſelf was hurt, but not ſeriouſly.

This victory excited in England

an univerſal and extreme joy, and in foreign countries almoſt as univerſal ſurpriſe and admiration. Gained by mere dint of valour and ſkill, over an enemy not deficient in courage, and almoſt double the ſtrength of the victors, it bore all the diſtinguiſhing marks of unequivocal ſuperiority. Nor were the beneficial conſequences of it at all inferior to its brilliancy. It may, in fact, be ſaid to have reduced the Spaniſh marine to a ſtate of nullity, during the remainder of the war: it cut off, at a ſingle blow, the left wing of the grand armada of invaſion.

For this eminent ſervice, admiral Jervis was recompenced by a penſion of three thouſand a year, and by being raiſed to the dignity of a baron and earl, under the title of Baron Jervis, of Meaford, the place of his birth, and earl of St. Vincent. Before the news reached England, Nelſon had already been included in a promotion of rear-admirals, and the order of the Bath was ſubſequently conferred on him by his Majeſty. In addition to this he received the thanks of the Iriſh parliament, and of ſome of the principal cities and corporate bodies of England.

The reſult of this glorious battle was the ſtrict blockade of Cadiz. With the exception of a ſhort period, during which he was diſpatched to convey the troops from Porto Ferrajo, the command of the in-ſhore ſquadron was confided to Nelſon, who let ſlip no opportunity to haraſs and annoy the Spaniards, and provoke them once more to try the fortune of war in a general engagement. In the true ſpirit of chivalry, the vigils of his knighthood were kept, on the evening of the third of July, amidſt the claſh of arms and the roar of artillery; and his perſonal bravery was once more tried in a combat, hand to hand, with no unworthy antagoniſts. On that night he ordered a bombardment, which ſpread ſuch terror through the city, that all the mortar boats and launches were ordered out, to drive the Britiſh bomb veſſels to a diſtance from the walls. Nelſon himſelf attacked this flotilla, and a ſevere conteſt took place, which terminated in the enemy being put to flight, with the loſs of three veſſels. In this engagement his barge, which contained only thirteen perſons, was laid cloſe along ſide by a Spaniſh launch, manned with thirty men, at whoſe head was the leader of the flotilla, Don Miguel Tregoyen, an officer of undoubted merit and valour. The conflict was long and obſtinate; but, at length, in ſpite of the diſproportion of numbers, the Britiſh prevailed. Eighteen of the Spaniards were killed, and all the reſt wounded and taken, with their brave commander. On this occaſion Nelſon owed his life to the affection and intrepidity of his faithful coxſwain, John Sykes, who twice parried blows aimed at Nelſon, and at laſt even interpoſed his own head, to receive the full force of a Spaniſh ſabre, which he could not otherwiſe have prevented from falling on ſir Horatio.

On the fifth the bombardment was repeated. Much damage was done, and a conſiderable part of the Spaniſh ſquadron was compelled to warp precipitately out of the range of the ſhot and ſhells. The violence of the wind prevented an intended repetition of this meaſure,

meaſure, but the blockade was kept up with the moſt rigid care; ſo that not a veſſel could by any means obtain entrance into the harbour. One great object of this ſtrictneſs was to prevent Cadiz from procuring ſupplies by the coaſt, and thus oblige that city and its populous neighbourhood to draw all their proviſions from Seville, which would hinder the Spaniards from forming magazines on the ſouthern frontier of Portugal, and, conſequently, in ſome degree, avert from that kingdom the danger of an invaſion.

Ever active, and ever ardent for his own glory, and that of his country, Nelſon had long been deſirous of conducting an attack on Santa Cruz, in the iſland of Teneriffe. It was at firſt believed that the returning viceroy of Mexico, with the treaſure, had put into that port, and though this proved not to be the fact, yet it was known that a rich Manilla ſhip, El Principe d'Aſturias, had really taken ſhelter there. This was a ſufficient inducement for undertaking ſuch an enterprize.

The capture of Santa Cruz, which the Spaniards had deemed impoſſible, was the laſt achievement of the great Blake, and Nelſon, on the preſent occaſion, ſeemed deſirous of emulating his fame. The attack of Santa Cruz is indeed a buſineſs of peril and difficulty. The coaſt round the town preſents a barrier of bold rocky projections, in ſome parts connected by lines of maſonry, and in others ſtrengthened by numerous batteries. Almoſt the only landing place which is at all tolerable, is within a mole, built of granitic lava, which advances obliquely into the bay, and forms a rather extenſive but ſhallow baſon, to protect ſmall craft from the heavy ſwell, which almoſt conſtantly rolls in during the winter months. At the extremity of this mole is a work of ſome ſtrength, and on each ſide of it are ſeveral forts, joined by lines for muſquetry, running cloſe along the ſhore. On the left there is likewiſe a citadel. The anchoring ground in the bay is foul and rocky, and the winds are remarkably unſteady; frequently ruſhing in guſts from all points of the ſurrounding high land.

The courage of Nelſon, though of the moſt daring kind, was not of that kind which takes no counſel from wiſdom. He well knew, and did not affect to deſpiſe, the numerous obſtacles which ſtood in the way of an attack on Santa Cruz. To render that attack certain of ſucceſs, he adviſed that the troops withdrawn from Elba ſhould be ſent to make a landing, and with ſuch co-operation he thought there could be no doubt of the reſult. Difficult as the ſhore was, he conceived that it would be poſſible to run in the tranſports, and land the army in the courſe of a day. Aſſailed on its weak ſide, from the neighbouring heights, the town he was convinced, muſt ſpeedily ſurrender. From ſome cauſe, however, this plan was not adopted, and it was at length determined to diſpatch Nelſon with a naval force alone. Four ſhips of the line, three frigates, and the Fox cutter, compoſed the ſquadron; from which not more than a thouſand ſeamen and marines could be furniſhed for the hazardous enterprize. Nelſon's inſtructions were

to

to make a vigorous attack, but not to land in perſon, unleſs circumſtances ſhould ariſe to render his preſence indiſpenſably neceſſary.

The ſquadron came in ſight of Teneriffe on the twentieth of July, and Nelſon iſſued his orders to captain Trowbridge, who was to be entruſted with the command of the diſembarked force, conſiſting of a thouſand men, including two hundred and fifty marines. He was directed to offer the moſt honourable terms to the garriſon, and perfect ſecurity to private property, on condition that the governor delivered up the Manilla ſhip, and all other cargoes and property not intended for the conſumption of the iſland. The landing was deſigned to be effected in the night, about two miles to the eaſtward of Santa Cruz, between a fort and the town; and the Britiſh, after having rendered themſelves maſters of the fort, were to ſummon the governor, and to grant only half an hour for his acceptance or rejection of their propoſal.

By twelve at night, on the twenty-firſt, the frigates approached within three miles of the ſpot pointed out for effecting the diſembarkation. In conſequence, however, of a ſtrong gale of wind in the offing, and a powerful current againſt them in ſhore, they could not get within a mile of the landing-place before the dawn of day. The Britiſh force and intentions were now diſcovered by the Spaniards, and it became neceſſary for captain Trowbridge and his officers to conſult with the admiral upon what was to be done. Captain Trowbridge was of opinion that, if the troops could poſſeſs themſelves of the heights, the fort might be ſtormed; and to this plan Nelſon gave his aſſent, intending himſelf to ſtand in, and batter the fort with his line of battle ſhips, to create a diverſion. The troops were put on ſhore at nine o'clock, and the admiral made the ſignal for his ſquadron to cannonade the fort. Unfortunately, a calm and contrary currents rendered it impracticable for the ſhips to approach nearer than a league, and the heights were found to be held in ſuch ſtrength by the enemy, that it was impoſſible for the ſeamen and marines to make any impreſſion on them. At night, therefore, the detachment was re-embarked, which was done without any loſs or moleſtation.

Deeming the honour of his country concerned in his not relinquiſhing this enterprize without a further effort, Nelſon reſolved to make a ſecond trial, and to be himſelf the leader. Accordingly, he anchored about two miles to the northward of the town, and, in order to draw off a part of the Spaniſh forces, he ſeemingly prepared to direct his operations towards becoming maſter of the heights. This feint having apparently produced ſome effect, he commanded the boats to be got ready for ſervice; and, at eleven at night, embarked about eight hundred men on board them, July 24. and a hundred and eighty in the Fox cutter. The boats moved in ſix diviſions, and the landing was to take place at the Mole, whence the men were to haſten forward to the great ſquare, there to form, and be ready for ulterior movements. Captains Freemantle and Bowen were ſelected to aſſiſt the admiral;

admiral; the reſt of the captains proceeded with their reſpective diviſions.

By half paſt one o'clock the aſſailants arrived within half gun ſhot of the land, when the boats were ordered to be caſt off from each other, the men to give an huzza, and puſh for the ſhore. Hitherto all had been ſilence. But this ſilence was deceptive; for, far from being taken unawares, the Spaniards were fully prepared. The huzza was inſtantly anſwered by the ringing of the alarm bells, and by the opening of the fire of thirty or forty pieces of cannon, and of muſquetry from the whole extent of the town. The night was ſo exceedingly dark, that the greateſt part of the boats miſſed the Mole, and went on ſhore to the left of it, through a raging ſurf, by which they were all ſtove. Only four or five, with the admiral, and captains Freemantle, Thompſon, and Bowen, arrived at the Mole, which was immediately ſtormed, though believed to have been defended by four or five hundred men, and the battery, of ſix twenty-four pounders, was ſpiked. Such a terrible fire of grape and muſket ſhot was, however, kept up, on this point, from the citadel, that it was impoſſible for the men to advance, and nearly all of them were killed or wounded.

At this moment, as admiral Nelſon was drawing his ſword, and ſtepping out of the boat, a grape ſhot, paſſing through his elbow, ſhattered his right arm, and he fell. He was raiſed up by his ſon-in-law, lieutenant Niſbet, who placed him at the bottom of the boat, and ſucceeded in ſtopping the blood, by binding ſome ſilk handkerchiefs tight above the lacerated veſſels. Lovel, one of the admiral's bargemen, tore his ſhirt into ſhreds, and made a ſling for the broken limb. The tide having fallen, the boat had grounded, but they at length got her afloat, and Niſbet, taking one of the oars, bade the ſteerſman go cloſe under the guns of the battery, in order to eſcape its tremendous fire. Roufed by the voice of his relative, Nelſon deſired to be raiſed, that he might look about him, but nothing could be ſeen except the tempeſtuous ſea, and the flaſhes of the cannon on ſhore. A general ſhriek was now heard from the Fox cutter. She had received a ſhot under water, and was rapidly going down. In the danger of his ſeamen Nelſon forgot his own agonies. He was rowed to the ſpot, and, by exertions which increaſed his own pain and peril, he himſelf reſcued ſeveral from the waves. Ninety-ſeven men, including lieutenant Gibſon, were, nevertheleſs, loſt. The Seahorſe was the firſt ſhip which the boat could reach, but Nelſon poſitively refuſed to go on board her, though he was told that to proceed was at the hazard of his life. "I had rather ſuffer death," exclaimed he, "than alarm Mrs. Freemantle, by her ſeeing me in this ſtate, when I can give her no tidings whatever of her huſband." When they came along ſide the Theſeus, he was ſo impatient for the boat to return to the wreck of the Fox, that he would accept no aſſiſtance; and having called for a ſingle rope to be thrown over, he twiſted it round his left hand, ſaying, "Let me alone, I have yet my legs left, and one arm. Tell the ſurgeon to make haſte

haſte and get his inſtruments. I know that I muſt loſe my right arm; ſo the ſooner it is off the better." Amputation was directly performed, which he bore with his wonted courage.

In the mean time, the remnant of the Britiſh force gallantly maintained the character of their country. Captain Trowbridge, having miſſed the Mole, puſhed on ſhore under one of the batteries, cloſe to the ſouth end of the citadel, as did likewiſe captain Waller, of the Emerald, and the companies of two or three other boats. The boats were inſtantly filled with water, and ſtove againſt the rocks, and moſt of the ammunition in the mens' pouches was wetted. Trowbridge, nevertheleſs, as ſoon as he had collected his handful of followers, forced his way to the great ſquare, hoping to find the admiral and the party from the Mole. He ſummoned, too, the citadel, but his meſſenger never returned, and, as the ladders were loſt, no attack could immediately be made on it. Having fruitleſsly waited an hour, he marched to join captains Hood and Miller, who had ſucceeded in landing to the ſouth-weſt. By break of day all that remained of the Britiſh was aſſembled together, and found to be eighty marines, as many pikemen, and a hundred and eighty ſeamen, with ſmall arms. This little band Trowbridge provided with a ſcanty portion of ammunition, from the priſoners whom he had taken, and he then undauntedly moved forward with it, to try if it were poſſible to aſſault the citadel without ſcaling ladders. But he diſcovered that all the ſtreets were commanded by field-pieces, and that ſeveral thouſand Spaniards, and a hundred French, were advancing on him in all directions. In this emergency, without proviſions, without powder, and without the chance of ſuccour or eſcape, his courage and preſence of mind did not deſert him. He ſent a meſſage to the governor, to delare that, though he ſhould adopt ſevere meaſures with regret, he would certainly ſet fire to the town, if the Spaniards approached an inch nearer to his poſition. The terms on which he was ready, he ſaid, to treat, were, that the troops, including thoſe whom the Spaniards had taken, ſhould be allowed to re-embark, with their arms of every kind, and to carry off their own boats if they were ſaved, or, if they were not ſaved, ſhould be provided with others; in conſideration of which the Britiſh would give up their captives, and engage not to moleſt Santa Cruz, or any of the Canary iſles.

Captain Hood was the bearer of this meſſage. As was naturally to be expected, the governor, Don Juan Antonio Gutierrez, demurred to the conditions, and declared that the Engliſh ought to become priſoners of war. To this captain Hood replied, "Captain Trowbridge has directed me, ſir, to ſay, that if the terms which he offers are not accepted in five minutes, he will ſet the town on fire, and attack the Spaniards at the point of the bayonet." Doubtleſs leſs alarmed by this menace, than moved by that ſympathy which one brave and honourable man always feels for another, the governor conſented, without further heſitation, to the propoſals of the Britiſh leader. Nor did this noble

ſon

ſon of a noble nation ſuffer his liberality to ſtop here. As ſoon as the treaty was concluded, he ordered the wounded Engliſh to be admitted into the hoſpitals, ſupplied the ſeamen and marines with an abundance of the beſt proviſions that could be procured, and made it known that the ſhips were at liberty to ſend on ſhore, and purchaſe whatever refreſhments they ſtood in need of, during their ſtay off the iſland. Thoſe under his authority behaved with ſimilar greatneſs of mind, and offered to their late foes all the ſuccour in their power. A youth, named Don Bernardo Collagon, even ſtripped himſelf of his ſhirt, to make bandages for one of thoſe wounded Engliſhmen whom, not an hour before, he had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed in battle. A letter of thanks was in conſequence ſent to the governor by Nelſon, an interchange of civilities and preſents enſued, and the Britiſh admiral offered to take charge of Don Juan's diſpatches; an offer which was accepted; and Nelſon thus bore to the Spaniſh government the firſt tidings of his own defeat.

The loſs of the Britiſh was heavy. Captain Bowen, an officer of conſummate merit, and lieutenants Thorpe, Weatherhead, Earnſhaw and Robinſon, were among the ſlain; lieutenant Gibſon was loſt in the Fox; and captains Freemantle and Thompſon, and lieutenant Douglas, were wounded. The wound received by Nelſon diſabled him from ſervice, and he was compelled to return to England, where, for ſome months, he ſuffered extreme agony, from a nerve having been taken up with the artery in the proceſs of amputation. The killed, wounded and drowned of the ſeamen and marines, were ſcarcely leſs than two hundred and fifty in number.

Nothing further occurred, during the remainder of the year, in the ſquadron off Cadiz. The Spaniſh fleet continued in port, and that of the Britiſh was of courſe confined to the tedious but neceſſary duty of blockading the harbour, and annoying the commerce and coaſting trade of the enemy.

Severe as was the blow which Spain received, Holland was deſtined to ſuffer one which was far ſeverer. The Batavian republic was ſedulouſly employed, during the ſummer, in fitting out a fleet, conſiſting of four ſhips of ſeventy-four guns, five of ſixty-eight, two of ſixty-four, four of fifty-ſix, with five frigates and four brigs. This ſquadron was manned with picked ſeamen, and the command was given to admiral de Winter, a brave officer, well verſed in his profeſſion, and a thorough republican. De Winter had diſtinguiſhed himſelf, as a lieutenant, in the action off the Dogger Bank, and was in conſequence made a captain; but, having ſubſequently taken a decided part againſt the ſtadtholder, he was compelled, in 1786, to ſeek an aſylum in France, where he obtained the rank of major-general. He returned to his country with the republican army under Pichegru, and was entruſted with the ſuperintendance of the Batavian marine. Much was now hoped from his intrepidity and talent.

The opponent of the Dutch admiral was admiral Duncan, a veteran, who combined all thoſe qualities which are neceſſary to form a perfect

perfect officer. He was occupied the whole of the ſummer in watching the Batavian fleet at the Texel, and in this ſituation he gave a remarkable inſtance of undauntedneſs of mind, joined with prudence and ſkilful management. At the period of the mutiny he was, as we have ſeen in the preceding chapter, left with only the Venerable and the Adamant; and with theſe two ſhips he had the boldneſs to form the blockade of the Texel. By making numerous ſignals, as if to ſhips in the offing, he completely deluded de Winter into a belief that the blockade was maintained by a very ſuperior force. Determined, if the enemy came out, to annoy them to the utmoſt, he availed himſelf of the narrowneſs of the channel, which allows no more than one ſhip to paſs at a time, and he accordingly with his two veſſels, both having ſprings on their cables, anchored at the outer buoy of the Texel. In expectation of the approach of the enemy, the crews were at their quarters for three days and nights. The preparatory ſignal to ſail was in fact made by de Winter, but the wind veered round to the weſtward ſome few hours before the time appointed for ſailing, and thus was prevented a conteſt of the moſt unequal kind. Happily, admiral Duncan was ſhortly after joined by the remainder of his ſquadron. Having, however, kept the ſea without intermiſſion for eighteen weeks and three days, he was at laſt compelled to return to port, for the purpoſe of revictualling, and obtaining a ſupply of ſtores.

As early as July or Auguſt a meſſenger had been diſpatched to inform the chiefs of the Iriſh rebels that the Texel fleet was on the point of ſailing, with fifteen thouſand troops on board, to form a junction with the French ſquadron at Breſt, and thence proceed to Ireland. The French Directory inceſſantly urged the Batavian government to ſend out its fleet, and the latter ultimately ſent poſitive orders to admiral de Winter to hazard an engagement. It was in vain that, knowing the ſuperiority of ſkill and equipment on the ſide of his antagoniſts, he remonſtrated againſt this imprudent reſolution. As ſoon as the departure of admiral Duncan was known to the Dutch rulers, they reiterated their order to ſail, flattering themſelves that their fleet might elude the Britiſh, and even when they found, as they ſhortly did, that this was highly improbable, they perſiſted in their deſign. To diſembarraſs the commander as much as poſſible they, however, directed the troops under general Daendels to be diſembarked, which was accordingly done.

When he ſailed for Yarmouth, admiral Duncan left a ſmall ſquadron of obſervation, under captain Trollope, to watch the movements of the enemy. To Yarmouth he had previouſly diſpatched orders to get ready every thing of which he ſtood in need. His ſhips were, therefore, no ſooner in the harbour than the victualling tenders were along ſide of them, and the buſineſs was completed with unexampled celerity.

From a veſſel at the back of Yarmouth ſands, a ſignal was made, on the morning of the ninth of October, that the Dutch fleet was at ſea. The Britiſh ſquadron, conſiſting of fourteen ſail of the line, two

two fifty gun ships, and some frigates, immediately got under weigh, and by the afternoon was out of sight. The first care of its admiral was to place his fleet in such a situation as to prevent the Dutch fleet from getting back to the Texel without his having brought it to action. At seven o'clock, in the morning of the eleventh, he got sight of captain Trollope's squadron, with the signal flying for an enemy to leeward, and shortly after the fleet of admiral de Winter was plainly visible, forming in a line on the larboard tack, to await the combat.

October 11.

As the British neared the enemy, the admiral threw out the signal to shorten sail, in order to enable the sternmost ships to come up, and to connect the line. But he soon found that not a moment was to be lost. The land now appeared between Camperdown and Egmont, less than nine miles to leeward, and the enemy's squadron was gradually approaching towards it. As any further attempt to bring the ships into a regular line would have occasioned so much delay as to allow the Dutch to get too close to their own coast, where it would have been impracticable to strike a decisive blow, the signal was given to bear up, break the hostile line, and engage to leeward. This signal was obeyed in the promptest manner.

The Dutch admiral had, meanwhile, made a very judicious distribution of the minor part of his force. The frigates and brigs were stationed to leeward of the men of war, and opposite the intervals, which enabled them greatly to annoy the British while the latter were passing the Batavian line. De Winter, perceiving his opponent's intention, now gave the signal for his ships to keep together as closely as possible. It was but partially obeyed. At half past twelve, vice-admiral Onslow, in the Monarch, broke the Dutch line, passed under their vice-admiral's stern, and brought him to action. The Venerable, admiral Duncan's ship, intended to engage the Dutch admiral's ship, but was prevented by the intervention of the States-General, of seventy-four guns, which, however, after a short contest, was driven out of the line. The battle by this time had become general, except in the Dutch van, whence admiral Story took flight, with two or three ships, and effected his escape. The Venerable having discomfited the States-General, fell along-side the Vryheid, de Winters ship, and a desperate conflict ensued, which continued nearly three hours. At length all the masts of the Vryheid came by the board. Her commander, nevertheless, defended himself gallantly for a while longer, nor did he strike his colours till he was the only man on his quarter-deck who was not killed or wounded. Vice-admiral Reyntjies was as unfortunate as his superior officer. His ship also was dismasted, and compelled to strike to admiral Onslow. Their example was followed by the greatest part of the Batavian vessels. By four o'clock the victory was complete on the side of the British. Owing, however, to the proximity of the shore, and the closing of the day, some of the vanquished ships escaped; but eight sail of the line, two fifty-six gun ships, and a forty-

a forty-four gun frigate, remained in poſſeſſion of the conquerors. During the battle, the Britiſh ſhips had drifted into nine fathom water, and within five miles of the land, and it was not without infinite exertion that the prizes could be ſecured, and the ſquadron be kept from driving among the ſhoals.

The loſs of both parties was very conſiderable, but much the largeſt ſhare was borne by the Dutch. In each of their flag-ſhips not leſs than two hundred and fifty were killed or wounded, and it is ſaid that not one of the ſhips which ſurrendered loſt leſs than a hundred. Vice-admiral Reyntjies died of his wounds, ſoon after his arrival in England. Of the Britiſh a hundred and ninety-three were killed, and five hundred and fifty-two wounded. Among the ſlain, the only officer of rank was captain Burgeſs, the commander of the Ardent.

This victory was gained within ſight of the ſhore, which, for ſeveral miles, was thronged by ſpectators, who thus witneſſed the total ruin of all the hopes with which they had doubtleſs been inſpired by the remembrance of their ancient maritime glory. That it was of ſuch a deciſive nature was entirely the merit of the Britiſh admiral. Had he not taken the bold ſtep, of running his ſquadron between the enemy and a lee ſhore, a ſtep hitherto unattempted, the Batavian fleet would probably have eſcaped with little or no damage. For this gallant achievement, he was created baron Duncan of Lundie, his natal place, in the ſhore of Perth, and viſcount Camperdown, in alluſion to that part of the Dutch coaſt on which his ſucceſs was obtained.

To wind up, as far as regards Great Britain, our hiſtory of the year, there now only remains for us to give a ſketch of thoſe operations and events which occurred in the diſtant poſſeſſions of the belligerent powers. They were neither numerous, nor highly important, nor rendered intereſting by any actions of a peculiarly daring and ſplendid character. The Weſt Indies was the principal theatre.

Such laurels as could be reaped by plundering and murdering perſons incapable of oppoſition were reaped, towards the cloſe of 1796, by a diviſion of the republican forces from Guadaloupe. They were, however, paid for by the ultimate deſtruction of thoſe who obtained them. Late in November, Victor Hugues diſpatched three hundred picked ſoldiers, in two veſſels of war, and ſeveral ſmall craft, for the purpoſe of attacking the diminutive and defenceleſs iſland of Anguilla, the moſt northernly of the Britiſh Caribbean colonies. Orders are ſaid to have been given, by Hugues, for the extermination of the inhabitants. The French landed without difficulty, and proceeded to execute their miſſion. They ſeized on all private property, not ſparing ſo much as the wearing apparel of females, ſet the town on fire, bayoneted and burned in their houſes ſeveral unoffending individuals, and even children, and would probably have completely acted up to the letter of their orders, had not an expreſs boat with the news of their coming, fortunately reached St. Kitts, at the moment

moment when captain Barton, of the Lapwing, arrived in the harbour of Baſſe Terre. Captain Barton immediately ſailed to the relief of Anguilla, but, the wind being againſt him, the French, who were appriſed of his approach, quitted their prey, and reimbarked on the night of the 26th. They, nevertheleſs, did not eſcape. On the following morning they were met by the Lapwing, when a ſharp conteſt took place. After an hour's engagement the Valiant, of four guns, containing a hundred and thirty-five ſailors and ſoldiers, ran on ſhore on the iſland of St. Martin's, and was deſtroyed. Moſt of her crew periſhed. The Decius, of twenty-ſix guns, reſiſted for half an hour longer, and then ſtruck, having, in conſequence of her being crowded with troops, ſuffered the enormous loſs of eighty killed and forty wounded. She was ſo much damaged, that Captain Barton, on the appearance of two large French frigates, deemed it prudent to take out his priſoners, nearly two hundred in number, and burn the veſſel.

Throughout the year the Britiſh iſlands remained undiſturbed by any attempts on the part of the republicans. Jamaica, after the baniſhment of the Maroons, continued in quiet, and St. Vincent's and Grenada, being now entirely cleared of the Charibs and blacks, who had taken refuge in the faſtneſſes, began to return to their former proſperous ſtate. In Dominica a plot was happily diſcovered, which was carrying on by a Frenchman, of the name of La Courſe, to betray the colony into the power of Victor Hugues. La Courſe had tranſmitted to Guadaloupe an exact account of the ſtrength of the military force, and a period was even fixed for a ſudden attack. A loyal ſoldier who had pretended to enter into the conſpiracy, and had received ſplendid promiſes of reward, diſcloſed the plan; and its projector was immediately apprehended, brought to trial, and condemned to be executed.

Knowing as they did the conſtant activity of their enemies, and ſeeing before them the terrible example of St. Domingo, it cannot excite wonder that the colonial aſſemblies ſhould view with alarm and diſguſt a plan which was propoſed for augmenting the army, by raiſing five black regiments of five hundred men each, in the Windward and Leeward iſlands. Early in the year, the propoſition was ſubmitted to the general aſſembly of Barbadoes, in a meſſage from governor Ricketts; but the ſpeaker of the houſe, ſir John Gay Alleyne, immediately moved a ſeries of reſolutions, hoſtile to the meaſure, which were paſſed by the unanimous vote of all the members preſent, and ordered to be ſent up to the governor, with an addreſs of a ſimilar tenor. The legiſlature of Jamaica was equally firm and unanimous; and refuſed to provide for the ſubſiſtence of the ſixth Weſt India regiment, commanded by lieutenant-General Whitelocke. Meetings were alſo held in every pariſh, in which the ſcheme of raiſing black corps was ſeverely reprobated, as unneceſſary in itſelf, and ultimately fraught with conſequences of the moſt terrible nature, to the perſons and property of the Weſt Indian proprietors.

Spain, the recently and unwillingly declared enemy of England, was deſtined to be the principal ſufferer this year in her Weſt India poſſeſſions. Trinidad, a conſiderable iſland, in the gulf of Paria, at a ſhort diſtance from the Spaniſh main, was the ſpot to which the Britiſh forces were firſt diſpatched. It is thirty-ſix leagues in length, and eighteen or twenty in breadth, fertile, but as yet almoſt uncleared. The proximity of it to the continent, which affords great facility to commercial intercourſe, was, perhaps, one powerful reaſon for attempting its reduction. At this moment there was likewiſe, in the bay of Shagaremus, a Spaniſh ſquadron, under admiral Apodaca, conſiſting of three ſeventy-four gun ſhips, one eighty gun ſhip, and a frigate of ſix and thirty guns. Aware of the meditated attack, this ſquadron was moored in a line, and protected by batteries of twenty cannon, and three mortars, on the ſmall iſland of Gaſpar Grande.

The troops having been collected from the different Britiſh iſlands, ſir Ralph Abercrombie embarked in Fort Royal Bay, and the ſquadron, commanded by admiral Hervey, reached the ſcene of action on the evening of the ſixteenth of February, and inſtantly moored in ſuch a poſition as to prevent the hoſtile ſhips from eſcaping. Preparations were made for landing the troops on the following morning, in order to attack at once the ſhips and the town. At two in the morning, however, the enemy's veſſels were diſcovered to be in flames, and they burned with ſuch fury, that only one of them, the San Damaſo, a ſeventy-four gun ſhip, could be ſaved. Gaſpar Grande was evacuated by the enemy, and was taken poſſeſſion of at day-break, by a party of the Queen's regiment. The landing was accompliſhed in the courſe of the day, about five miles to the weſtward of the town, without any oppoſition, and the Britiſh at night-fall were maſters of Puerto d'Eſpagna, and the neighbourhood, with the exception of two trifling forts. The next day the governor, Don Joſeph Chacon, entered into a capitulation, by which the naval and military troops under his orders, to the number of two thouſand two hundred, became priſoners of war, on condition of being ſent to Spain, as ſoon as tranſports could conveniently be provided. A large quantity of ammunition and ſtores, and nearly a hundred pieces of artillery, were found in Trinidad. A cheaper conqueſt has ſeldom if ever been achieved, as lieutenant Villeneuve, of the 8th regiment, who died ſhortly after, was the only man who was wounded on this occaſion, on the ſide of the conquerors.

Paſſing from one extremity to the center of that chain of iſlands which girdles the Caribbean ſea, the Britiſh next directed their forces againſt the colony of Porto Rico. Many circumſtances concurred to render this a deſirable acquiſition. Standing next to Jamaica in point of magnitude, it is fertile, and conſequently capable of being turned to much advantage, by a wiſe and vigorous government. It was likewiſe a ſevere thorn in the ſides of the Britiſh colonies, as its ports ſent out a ſwarm of privateers, which greatly

greatly annoyed and endangered the navigation from the windward to the leeward iſlands. For this reaſon chiefly, the planters were anxious to ſee it wreſted from the Spaniſh crown, and had more than once recommended the ſending of an expedition to reduce it.

The city of San Juan, the capital, was intended to be the firſt object of attack, and its fall was expected to inſure the reduction of the remainder of the colony. The city of San Juan, or Porto Rico, is ſtrong by its ſituation, and the fortifications were numerous, in good condition, and garriſoned by ſeveral thouſand Spaniards, and three hundred French. It is ſeated on, and almoſt fills, a ſmall iſland, between which and the main land is a harbour, whoſe principal entrance is completely commanded by the Moro caſtle. A reef of rocks, which extends nearly along the whole north coaſt of Porto Rico, ſecures, in conjunction with the ſeveral forts, the city of San Juan from all danger in that quarter. It is on the eaſtern ſide of the ſmall iſland, that the channel is narroweſt, and the paſſage moſt eaſily practicable. A bridge, at this point, connects the one ſhore with the other. The ſpot, however, is well protected by the fort and lines of San Chriſtoval.

The number of troops appropriated for this expedition was certainly inadequate to the purpoſe for which they were intended. They did not conſiſt of more than three thouſand men, and ſome black pioneers At their head was ſir Ralph Abercrombie. The army ſailed from Martinico on the eighth of April, and, after a delay of a few days at St. Kitts, came to an anchor on the ſeventeenth off Congrejos Point, in the iſland of Porto Rico. It was not without much difficulty, that, about three leagues eaſtward of the town, a narrow channel was diſcovered in the reef, through which the Beaver and Fury ſloops, with the lighter veſſels, paſſed into a ſmall bay, where, on the following morning, the troops were diſembarked. A ſlight and ineffectual oppoſition was made by a hundred of the enemy, who had concealed themſelves among the buſhes near the place of landing. In the afternoon the army advanced, and took a poſition, oppoſite the eaſtern end of the iſland of San Juan, with its right to the ſea, and its left to the lagoon of Martin Pebo, which extends a conſiderable diſtance into the country. Every exertion was employed to get up the cannon, and conſtruct the batteries.

The enemy had deſtroyed the bridge, covered the paſſage by two redoubts, and by numerous gun-boats, and had beſides entrenched themſelves in the rear of the redoubts. With the gun-boats, indeed, they ſeverely annoyed and haraſſed the left flank of the Britiſh. Their communications with the ſouthern and weſtern parts of the iſland it was not poſſible to interrupt, as they were entirely maſters of the harbour. The fire of the beſiegers was kept up with ſpirit, and damaged ſome of the works; but they, nevertheleſs, found it out of their power to ſilence that of the Spaniards. Any attempt to open an entrance into the iſland by main force was evidently hopeleſs. As a laſt reſource, it was reſolved to bombard the town, from a point to the ſouth-

ward of it, near a magazine which had been abandoned by the beſieged. The bombardment was continued for ſeveral days, but produced as little beneficial effect as the cannonade had done. The works and the town were ſomewhat injured, but not ſufficiently ſo to juſtify an aſſault. Finding, therefore, that no impreſſion could be made on the place, Sir Ralph Abercrombie diſcontinued the ſiege, and the troops were reimbarked on the thirtieth of April. Seven iron guns, four iron mortars, and two braſs howitzers, which had been rendered unſerviceable, were left behind, to countervail which, four braſs field pieces were taken from the enemy. The loſs of the beſiegers, in killed, wounded, and miſſing, was about two hundred and thirty.

St. Domingo ſtill continued to be a fruitful ſource of expence, and a grave for immenſe numbers of gallant ſoldiers and officers, without returning any compenſation in revenue or in glory. Imperfect returns, to the cloſe of 1796, containing merely bills already paid by the treaſury, eſtimated the treaſure laviſhed on this melancholy acquiſition at between four and five millions ſterling; and the lives loſt at nine thouſand, not including the native and colonial troops. The ſum of money and of dead might, perhaps, have been doubled, and yet not have been exaggerated. Such an expenditure of men and money, had it been wiſely applied in Europe, might have produced a deciſive effect againſt the republican government.

To put a ſtop in ſome degree to the monſtrous peculation and fraud, which had long been carried on in this iſland, and to arreſt the progreſs of the enemy, the Britiſh miniſtry now entruſted the command to lieutenant-general Simcoe, who had given general ſatisfaction as governor of Upper Canada, and was known to be a benevolent and brave man, of the ſtricteſt integrity. He arrived at St. Nicholas Mole, in the beginning of 1797, at a period when the ſpirits of the coloniſts were depreſſed, by the inactivity of the Engliſh, and ſtill more by the knowledge that, in the recent negotiation, Lord Malmſbury had been authorized to conſent to the reſtoration of St. Domingo to the republic. From this place, after a ſtay of a few days to obtain information, he proceeded to Port au Prince. His firſt work was a reform of the finances. He compelled a ſurrender of all ſurreptitiouſly obtained leaſes of public property, laid a tax upon the eſtates of abſentees, and remodelled and rendered effective the colonial corps, which he reduced from forty-two to fourteen, placing the diſmiſſed officers on temporary half-pay, and bettering the condition of thoſe who were retained in the ſervice. By theſe changes he is ſaid to have accompliſhed a yearly ſaving of more than half a million.

But his attention was not directed to financial affairs alone. On his arrival he found the military ſituation of the Britiſh to be exceedingly unfavourable. One diviſion of the blacks, that of the ſouth of the iſland, under Rigaud, had, as we ſtated in our laſt volume, for a conſiderable time held Port au Prince in a manner inveſted, by means of poſts and batteries

ries on ſome of the neighbouring eminences; and, recently, by the unexpected and unneceſſary abandonment of the frontier fort of Mirabalais, and its dependencies, Banica, Grand Bois, and Thomaſſeau, the rich plain of the Cul de Sac, had been laid open to Touſſaint, who was now acknowledged by the French government as commander-in-chief in St. Domingo. In conſequence of this, Touſſaint meditated a junction with the troops before Port au Prince, for the purpoſe of a combined attack; while general Simcoe, on his ſide, determined to render that junction uſeleſs, if not impracticable. As it was not poſſible for Touſſaint to bring cannon acroſs the plain, and he muſt, therefore, rely on thoſe which were employed againſt Port au Prince; and as the republican corps, even acting together, could effect nothing without artillery; general Simcoe took the reſolution of making himſelf maſter of the republican batteries. By this ſtep he would effect the double purpoſe of fruſtrating Touſſaint's ſchemes, and of relieving Port au Prince from a kind of blockade, which was diſgraceful, and might become dangerous.

To carry his plan into effect, he ſummoned thoſe colonial troops on whom he could rely, from Jeremie, L'Arcahaye, and other places. About two thouſand black ſoldiers, with a ſmall reſerve of Britiſh, was thus got together, the command of which was entruſted to colonel Deſſources, who was ſeconded by colonel Depeyſter and colonel the viſcount d'Alzune. In the mean time, to prevent any movements being made from Leogane, the Abergavenny and ſome armed veſſels were diſpatched to cruize off that place, and, by various hoſtile demonſtrations, occupy the attention of the enemy. The defence of the plain of the Cul de Sac, by which quarter Touſſaint muſt advance, was confided to baron de Montalembert.

Previouſly to attacking the principal battery of the enemy, it was neceſſary to carry the fortified poſts of Le Boutilliere and St. Laurent, which, as well as the other batteries, were almoſt unapproachable, from the ruggedneſs of the ground. La Boutilliere was gallantly aſſaulted by colonel Depeyſter, and was almoſt immediately carried. The aſſailants were not ſo fortunate at St. Laurent. They were repulſed, and the commandant, major Pouchet, was killed, as he was animating his troops to the charge. It was not till a reinforcement with cannon arrived, that the garriſon was put to flight. The day was now ſo far advanced, that it was neceſſary to put off, till the morrow, the attempt on the batteries. On the following morning, one column advanced, in the face of the enemy, from Morne Grenier, while another, by a much longer route, through almoſt impaſſable paths, proceeded towards their rear. This movement was covered by a fog, and the republicans were kept in alarm by a hot fire from the Britiſh mortars and howitzers. Conſiderable reſiſtance was at firſt made to the progreſs of the troops, but when the enemy ſaw that they were in danger of being ſurrounded, they broke, and precipitately fled in the direction

April 16 and 17.

of Leogane, leaving their works, and the whole of their artillery, in the hands of the victors.

While this was paſſing, Touſſaint marched towards the plain of the Cul de Sac, with the belief, it is ſaid, that the important poſt of Croix de Bouquet, about three leagues from Port au Prince, would be evacuated on his appearance. He found, however, the baron de Montalembert on the alert, and his cavalry being vigorouſly charged by the count de Manoux, he haſtily retired over the mountains, directing his retreat on Gonaive. An immediate purſuit of him, which was originally intended, was prevented by the neceſſity of diſpatching reinforcements to another quarter.

Finding the Britiſh poſts in the ſouthern peninſula much weakened by the detachments which had been ſent to Port au Prince, Rigaud deemed it an excellent opportunity for acting with vigour. Accordingly he collected twelve hundred of his beſt troops, and marched againſt Irois, which is ſituated at the extremity of the peninſula. In the fort of Irois there were, at this moment, only five and twenty Britiſh, under lieutenant Talbot, and twenty black artillerymen, headed by M. de Breuil. In a village, at a ſhort diſtance, was ſtationed a black battalion of three hundred and fifty men. At twelve at night Rigaud ſuddenly ſurrounded the fort, and commenced a furious aſſault. Though gallantly repulſed, he returned to it repeatedly, and with ſuch reſolution, that many of the aſſailants were killed in the place. The determined defence of the garriſon gave time for the arrival of the black battalion, which, however, was obliged to cut its way through the troops of Rigaud. Notwithſtanding the acceſſion of ſtrength to the Britiſh, the republicans perſevered in their attempt till the morning, when they drew off to a neighbouring eminence, leaving the ground covered with their dead. A ſortie, which was undertaken to drive them further, proved ineffectual. From their new poſition they made incurſions into the ſurrounding Britiſh country, and prepared to lay regular ſiege to the fort of Irois, for the commencement of which they only waited the landing of their artillery. Fortunately Captain Ricketts, in the Magicienne, fell in with their flotilla, ſunk three of their barges, took two ſchooners, all laden with cannon and military ſtores, and thus effectually fruſtrated the ſchemes of the enemy. Rigaud at length retired, having ſuſtained a loſs which was variouſly eſtimated, but never at leſs than eight hundred men.

April 20.

To compenſate for the diſappointment which he had experienced, Touſſaint now endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of the important poſt of St. Marc, which was defended by the marquis de Cocherell. He carried ſome of the out works, and began the ſiege, but the gallantry of the governor, aided by ſuccours from Port au Prince, compelled him to abandon his enterprize, with very conſiderable loſs.

General Simcoe, meanwhile, had been occupied in arrangements to recover the fort of Mirabalais, and to cut off the retreat of Touſſaint, by

by the ſecret and rapid movements of a body of troops, divided into ſeveral columns, under the command of brigadier-general Churchill. A part only of this plan was accompliſhed. Mirabalais was retaken uninjured, and the black troops were routed, and driven over the Artibonite river, in which numbers of them were drowned; but, in conſequence of one of the columns not reaching its deſtination, Touſſaint had the good fortune to effect his eſcape.

May 30.

While this was going on in the center of French St. Domingo, a detachment of three hundred men, led by the count de Rouvray, was ſent to expel the republicans from one of their camps on the ſide of Leogane. This ſervice was performed with ſpirit. The enemy were driven out, after having ſuffered ſeverely, and the camp was burned. This was the laſt event of any moment in the courſe of the year. In Auguſt, 1797, General Simcoe returned to England, leaving the government of the colony in the hands of major-general White.

On the continent of America the republicans were not idle, though engaged in fruitleſs labours. The identity of language and manners encouraged them to hope that it would not be impoſſible to recover their colony of Canada, by exciting the Canadians to revolt. To bring about this deſirable object, emiſſaries were ſent into that country, furniſhed with inſtructions and ſupplies, by Adet, the French envoy at Philadelphia. Some diſturbances having taken place, which, however, the military ſoon quelled, the governor of Lower Canada found it neceſſary, in October 1796, to iſſue two proclamations; the firſt of which commanded the departure, within twenty days, of all foreigners who had arrived ſince the thirtieth of May; while the ſecond ſtrictly enjoined all magiſtrates and officers to be vigilant in apprehending the diſturbers of the public tranquillity. Theſe proclamations were no ſooner poſted up than they were torn from the walls, and the work of ſedition was inceſſantly carried on. The principal of the emiſſaries was an American adventurer named David Maclean, who had received a military commiſſion from Adet. The government at length obtained ſufficient evidence againſt him, and he was ſeized, and brought to trial. It was fully aſcertained that he had, for a long while, been labouring to ſubvert the Britiſh authority, by ſtimulating the natives to rebellion, and holding out to them the proſpect of powerful aid from France in the enſuing ſpring, and likewiſe from the bordering ſtates of the American union, in which ſtates he had engaged numbers of men, who were to enter Canada gradually, on pretext of ſeeking for employment, and were to join the revolters on the ſignal being given. The inſurgents were to be armed with pikes, and the royal troops were, at the appointed time, to be rendered incapable of action, by mixing laudanum with their liquor. According to the uſual cant of republican philanthropy, the revolution was to be conducted with the utmoſt humanity; not a life was to be taken, if it could

be avoided; but it was added that, "for the ſake of poſterity, all who reſiſted muſt fall." A crowd of unexceptionable witneſſes having proved theſe facts, Macclean was condemned to death, which ſentence was executed; and thus a ſtop was put to the machinations of the republicans againſt the peace and happineſs of the Canadas.

In the Eaſt, the former ſucceſſes of the Britiſh had left little to be done. Only one event occurred which requires to be noticed. Towards the cloſe of the year 1796, a ſmall ſquadron was diſpatched from the Cape, to deſtroy the ſettlement of Foul Point, on the iſland of Madagaſcar, whence the colony of the Mauritius obtained its chief ſupply of proviſions. At Foul Point the French had likewiſe a conſiderable magazine of arms, ammunition, ſtores and merchandize, for trading with the natives. The ſervice was effected without firing a ſhot, the republicans not being in ſufficient ſtrength to venture on reſiſtance. Dec. 2, 1796.

CHAP. XIII.

Continental Affairs. The Republicans, in conſequence of the ſtate of Affairs in France, reſolve to open a Negotiation with the Emperor. Letter of Buonaparte, deſcribing the critical ſituation in which he ſtood. He implores immediate ſuccours. He anticipates his being compelled to raiſe the Blockade of Mantua. Number of wounded Generals. His ſituation amended by the Victory of Arcole, but not in ſuch a degree as to render it unneceſſary for the French to negotiate. Threat previouſly uſed by the Directory with reſpect to the Deſtruction of Trieſte, and the other Auſtrian Eſtabliſhments on the Adriatic. Moderate tone of the Letter addreſſed to the Emperor by the Directory. Contraſt of it with that uſed to the Britiſh Ambaſſador. Arguments employed by the Directory to induce the Emperor to agree to their Propoſition for an Armiſtice. Inſtructions given to the Directory by General Clarke. He is to avoid any relinquiſhment of Territory as much as poſſible. The Armiſtice not to laſt for leſs than ſix Months. Further Inſtructions given by M. Delacroix. Steps to be taken with regard to Piedmont, Lombardy, Venice, and the Papal States. Deſigns on Piedmont. Hints given as to the propriety of revolutionizing Venice. General Clarke commiſſioned to make Obſervations at Vienna. Four Plans ſketched out to indemnify Auſtria for the Ceſſion of the Low Countries. To exclude England from the Negotiations conſidered as an object of the utmoſt importance. Language to be held, by General Clarke, to the German Princes, in caſe they ſhould be alarmed by the Concluſion of the Armiſtice. Arrival of the French Negotiator in Italy. The Emperor appoints the Baron de Vincent to confer with him, and names Vicenza as the place of conference. The Negotiators do not meet till January. General Buonaparte objects to the ſigning of an Armiſtice before the ſurrender of Mantua. Reaſons aſſigned by him for his oppoſition. General Clarke perſiſts in thinking

thinking a ſuſpenſion of Arms adviſable. He contends that the chance of War is doubtful, and that Mantua may be relieved. Advantages to be drawn from the Armiſtice by the French. Impolicy of ſubverting the Papal power at the preſent period. The aſſiſtance of the Pope likely to become neceſſary to conſolidate the Revolution. Forcible deſcription given by General Clarke, of the internal ſtate of France. The Directory is ſtill reſolved to agree to an Armiſtice. Its readineſs to abandon the Italians. Contemptuous Character drawn of the Italians by M. Delacroix. Reaſons of M. Delacroix for believing that the Emperor may be induced to liſten to pacific Overtures. Aſſerted movements of the Ottoman porte in favour of France. The Auſtrian Cabinet offers to agree to a partial ſuſpenſion of Arms. This Propoſal is rejected by the Republicans. The Directory furniſhes General Clarke with full powers to conclude a Preliminary Treaty. Inſtructions given to him on this occaſion. Articles relative to Auſtria, the Empire, the aggrandizement of Auſtria, the Excluſion of England, and the ſeizing on Bavaria. Stipulation in favour of Rebels. Profound ſecrecy to be obſerved. The Negotiations are broken off.

From the brilliant, but, as far as regarded the reſult of the conteſt, the barren triumphs obtained by the naval force of Britain, we muſt now turn to take a ſurvey of the more ſolid advantages which accrued to the French, by their perſevering and ſtrenuous exertions againſt the emperor, our laſt remaining ally. On the Rhine, both parties being exhauſted by their previous exertions, the campaign did not open at an early ſeaſon. In Italy, on the contrary, it may be ſaid never to have cloſed; the republican general, as we have ſeen in the laſt volume, being inceſſantly occupied, either in repelling the attacks of the Auſtrians, or, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, in extending ſtill further his ſyſtem of ſpoliation, and thus, in the Roman ſpirit, making the war itſelf furniſh him with the means of prolonging the war. The final defeat of Alvinzi, and the conſequent ſurrender of Mantua, cloſed, as our readers will remember, what may be conſidered as the campaign of 1796, though it did not terminate till the month of February in the following year. It now remains for us to continue the narrative of the fate of Italy.

Before, however, we proceed with that narrative, it will be proper to give ſome account of the negotiation which, as in our laſt volume we ſlightly mentioned, * the republicans endeavoured, in November 1796, to open with his Imperial Majeſty. At that period neither their domeſtic, their financial, nor their military ſituation was ſuch as to leave them free from diſquietude. At home, parties ran high, diſaffection to the new order of things was widely ſpread, the treaſury was in a ſtate of penury, and the reſources of the country, though not exhauſted, could be rendered available but ſlowly and with extreme difficulty. On the ſide of Germany, military affairs wore a diſcouraging aſpect, and on

* See An. Reg. 1796, Hiſtory of Europe, p. 157, at the period when that volume was printed, no documents relative to the negotiation had been publiſhed.

that

that of Italy a doubtful one. On the Rhine, the republican armies were diſcomfited, diſgracefully ſo in one inſtance; and in Italy, though Buonaparte was apparently maſter of the field, yet Mantua ſtill held out, and the emperor was again ſtraining every nerve, to effect the deliverance of ſo important a fortreſs. Should the Auſtrians win a deciſive battle, the French might, perhaps, be expelled from Lombardy with even more rapidity than they had achieved its conqueſt. Hiſtory could furniſh many examples, to prove that a conqueror of Italy might ſoon be reduced to the condition of a fugitive from the theatre of his triumph.

The fate of the army of Italy did in fact, at this moment, hang, as it were, upon a hair. The day previous to his firſt aſſault on Arcole, Buonaparte gave to the Directory an elaborate account of the critical ſituation in which he was placed. He himſelf had juſt been foiled in a deſperate attack upon Alvinzi, and Davidowich had driven Vaubois from all his poſitions in the Trentine, and purſued the republicans to within thirty miles of Mantua. His letter is written in a melancholy ſtrain, and diſplays more feeling, with reſpect to his companions in arms, than he has been uſually ſuppoſed to poſſeſs. "If," ſays he, "the intelligence which I ſend you be not ſatisfactory, you muſt not lay any blame upon the army: the inferiority of the army, and the degree in which it is drained of its braveſt men, compel me to fear the worſt for it." After remonſtrating on the ſlowneſs with which aid was furniſhed to him, and contraſting it with the activity of the Auſtrian government, he adds, "I do my duty, and ſo does the army: my heart is breaking, but my conſcience is in peace. Succours, ſend me ſuccours; but let it be no longer a make-believe of doing ſo. I muſt have, not nominally ſo many men, but men really under arms." Then, after having candidly deſcribed the recent conteſts, he concludes in the following mournful and preſaging manner.

"The weather continues to be bad. The whole army is worn out by fatigue, and is without ſhoes. I have led it back to Verona, at which place it is juſt arrived.

"A column of the enemy, commanded by Laudohn, is advancing on Breſcia, another on Chiuſa, to effect its junction with the main body of the army. To reſiſt all this, I have only eighteen thouſand men.

"The enemy has at leaſt fifty thouſand men, conſiſting 1ſt of an Auſtrian corps from the Rhine, 2d, of all the Poliſh garriſons, and thoſe of the Turkiſh frontier, 3d, of the remainder of his army of Italy, recruited with ten thouſand men.

"To-day, the fourteenth, the troops will reſt; to-morrow, according to the movements of the enemy, we muſt act. I deſpair of preventing the blockade of Mantua from being raiſed: in eight days it would have been ours. If this misfortune ſhould happen to us, we ſhall ſoon be behind the Adda, and further ſtill, if troops ſhould not arrive.

"The wounded are the flower of the army: all our ſuperior officers, all our choiceſt generals, are unable to come into the field; and all thoſe who are ſent to join us are

ſo

ſo totally unqualified, and the ſoldiers place no confidence in them. The army of Italy, reduced to a handful of men, is exhauſted. The heroes of Lodi, of Millefimo, of Caſtiglione, and of Baſſano, have died for their country, or are in the hoſpital: the diviſions have nothing left but their reputation and their pride. Joubert, Lannes, Lanuſſe, Victor, Murat, Charlot, Dupuis, Rampon, Pigeon, Menard, Chabrand, are wounded: we are abandoned at the further end of Italy. The belief of our being numerous was uſeful to us; but in Paris it is made public in official ſpeeches, that we are only thirty thouſand ſtrong.

"I have loſt but few men in this war; but they are all picked men, whom it is impoſſible to replace. The brave fellows whom I have remaining, ſee their death to be inevitable, in the midſt of ſuch continual chances, and with ſuch an inferiority of numbers. Perhaps the fatal moment of the brave Augereau, of the intrepid Maſſena, of Berthier, of * * * is now at hand; then! then! what will become of theſe gallant ſoldiers? This idea makes me cautious; I no longer dare to brave death, which would be a cauſe of diſcouragement and misfortune to thoſe who are the object of my ſolicitude.

"In a few days we ſhall try a laſt effort. If fortune ſhould ſmile upon us, Mantua will be taken, and Italy with it. Reinforced by my beſieging army, there is nothing which I cannot attempt. If I had received the eighty-fourth, three thouſand five hundred ſtrong, men known by the army, I could have anſwered for every thing. Perhaps, in the courſe of a few days, forty thouſand men will not be enough."

From the cataſtrophe which the general dreaded, the republican army was ſaved by the victory of Arcole, the repulſing of Davidovich into the Trentine, and, above all, by the unaccountable inaction of the Auſtrian general, Alvinzi; who, though he had been baffled in his firſt attempt, was ſtill at the head of a force more numerous than that of his antagoniſt. But, though ſucceſs crowned, on this occaſion, the ſtruggles of the French, the reduction of Mantua was placed at a diſtance, by the circumſtance of the garriſon having ſucceeded in obtaining a ſupply of proviſions; while, on the other hand, the beſiegers were weakened by the recent conteſts. The French army no longer ſtood in the ſame paramount ſituation in which it ſtood only ſix weeks before, when, in all the inſolence of triumph, the Directory ordered Buonaparte to inform the emperor, that, if his majeſty did not immediately ſend an ambaſſador to Paris, to treat for peace, the port of Trieſte ſhould be deſtroyed, and all the other Auſtrian eſtabliſhments on the Adriatic be irretrievably ruined. It was become prudent to hold language of a leſs haughty and inſulting nature.

The moderate tone of the letter, which the Directory now addreſſed to that ſovereign, contraſts ſtrongly indeed with the arrogance of its previous mandate. It forms, too, a ſcarcely leſs ſtriking contraſt with the language which, at the ſame period, was uſed to the Britiſh ambaſſador, then employed in negotiating at the French capital. No other proof is neceſſary of the deadly

deadly hatred which was felt againſt the Britiſh government by the rulers of France. It appears, at this moment, to have been their wiſh to obtain a continental peace, in order that they might turn againſt England their undivided efforts.

The miſſive addreſſed to the emperor, and the inſtructions given to General Clarke, who was choſen as the French envoy, place in ſo ſtrong a light the Machiavelian policy of the French directory, that they ought not to be paſſed over with merely a tranſient notice.

"The executive directory," ſaid the preſident Barras, "cannot preſume that your majeſty ſees with indifference the ſufferings by which Europe is afflicted; it cannot perſuade itſelf that you will refuſe to ſeize the hope which it conceives, and which it holds out to you, of putting an end at length to the calamities of ſo long and ſo diſaſtrous a war.

"If your majeſty conſiders what have been the reſult of the preceding campaigns, and will look forward to what may be the probable event of a new campaign, you will be induced to conclude that, even on the moſt favourable ſuppoſition for yourſelf, ſucceſs will be at leaſt balanced, and that, after many viciſſitudes, and many alternations of advantages and reverſes, the ſtate of affairs will not be more decided than it is at this moment; ſince the relative ſituation of the two powers, with the exception perhaps of ſome changes in the limits of the theatre of war, will, in all probability, be very little different from what it now is. The blood of men once more ſhed, and a waſte of reſources, will then be the only fruit which your majeſty will gain from freſh attempts.

"We will not ſpeak of the influence which the allies may produce on the reſult of this campaign; becauſe your majeſty knows that the greateſt part of thoſe who were engaged in the coalition have adopted the happy and wiſe plan of becoming neutral.

"The moment is then arrived when there can be no real intereſt in running any further riſks; when a fatal quarrel, if protracted any longer, would be henceforth without an object; when, whatever may beſides be the reciprocal grievances and the diverſity of political principles of the two governments, their intereſts coincide in this one point, that every thing preſſes them to come to a good underſtanding, for the purpoſe of alleviating the miſeries of the people and reſtoring peace.

"The executive directory, therefore, propoſes to your majeſty that peace which is ſo neceſſary; it invites you to accelerate, by all the means in your power, an epoch ſo deſired, and ſo important to the whole human race.

"The Directory, nevertheleſs, is aware that a ſolid peace, and ſuch as may be ſuitable to both the powers, can only be the reſult of a negotiation maturely conducted, and which may occaſion delays; ſince good faith requires that, on both ſides, the allies ſhould be invited to take a part in it, and that their reſpective intereſts ſhould be provided for, if ſuch be their deſire.

"But, during this interval, muſt blood continue to flow; and, if it be poſſible to ſtop the effuſion of it, ought we not to believe that your

your Majeſty will eagerly adopt the means, eſpecially if it can be agreed to by both the belligerent powers, without any injury to the intereſts, or even to the pretenſions, of either?

"This means exiſts; it is that of a *ſtatu quo*, or general armiſtice between the parties.

"This armiſtice is the more neceſſary, inaſmuch as, independently of its proviſionally putting a ſtop to uſeleſs hoſtilities, and diminiſhing reciprocal exaſperation, by inſpiring all hearts with hope, it offers the advantage of facilitating and haſtening the concluſion of peace, by preventing the occurrence of thoſe chances and events which, ſometimes favourable, and ſometimes otherwiſe, alternately raiſe the pretenſions of the contracting powers, and thus make the negotiation inceſſantly vary, and remove the completion of it to a greater diſtance.

"The two propoſitions, then, which the Directory makes to your majeſty are the following:

"1ſt. A ſimultaneous ſuſpenſion of arms, in every part of the theatre of war, between the French and the Auſtrian troops.

"2d. The aſſembling of miniſters plenipotentiary, to treat of a definitive peace between the two powers and their reſpective allies, in caſe the latter ſhould haſten to accept the invitation to that purpoſe, which ſhall be addreſſed to them.

"A negotiation is, at this moment, already opened between the French government and one of your principal allies, the king of Great Britain; and the ſtep which the executive Directory has now taken, with reſpect to your majeſty, far from being in oppoſition to theſe firſt overtures, is a manifeſtation of its ardent deſire to accelerate the effect of them, to preſs the neceſſary union of the parties, and to ſuſpend from this inſtant the courſe of the calamities ariſing from the war between the republic and your majeſty, by ſettling immediately the important proviſional meaſure of the propoſed armiſtice.

"We addreſs to your majeſty theſe propoſitions by an envoy, inveſted with our confidence, and furniſhed with ſufficient inſtructions and powers to arrange on the ſpot both the mode of the armiſtice, and the place and manner of meeting of the plenipotentiaries."

In the inſtructions which the Directory gave to General Clarke, profeſſions of a ſincere deſire for peace were not ſpared. With reſpect to the armiſtice, which was the immediate object of his miſſion, he was ordered to uſe all his efforts to have it extended to the lateſt poſſible period. It was not, under any pretext whatever, to be at an end before the twentieth of May, 1797, or, if practicable, the nineteenth of June; and even then it was not to be annulled, unleſs the negotiations were cloſed, nor without ten or fifteen days notice, if not a month, being previouſly given by the party which was deſirous of re-commencing hoſtilities. He was to refuſe, as long as he prudently could, to agree to any relinquiſhment of territory; and he was at all hazards to inſiſt upon retaining the bridge heads of Duſſeldorf and Kehl, but, in caſe of abſolute neceſſity, he was authorized to give up thoſe of Neuwied and Huningen, on condition that the Auſtrians ſhould retire from the

the bridge head of Manheim, and ſhould not be allowed to paſs beyond the fortifications of Mentz. Mantua, if not already in the power of the French, was to be victualled from day to day while the armiſtice laſted, and the limits to be aſſigned to the hoſtile armies in Italy were to be fixed according to the data which Buonaparte ſhould furniſh. Should the emperor be anxious to include the pope in the ſuſpenſion of arms, his wiſh was to be acceded to, provided that his holineſs would carry into effect the articles which he formerly ſigned. The laſt ſtipulation was, that his imperial majeſty ſhould immediately ſend to Baſil, or to Paris, plenipotentiaries to treat of peace with thoſe of the French republic.

Theſe were, however, nothing more than mere outlines for the regulation of his conduct at the commencement of the buſineſs. It is in the detailed expoſition of the views of the French goverment, with which he was furniſhed by Delacroix, the miniſter of the foreign department, that we are to look for a picture of the foreign policy of the republican cabinet. General Clarke was not merely charged with the obtaining of an armiſtice; his miſſion extended to various other intereſting objects, on the ſide of Italy. Piedmont, Lombardy, Venice, and the Papal ſtates, were recommended to his particular attention. Commiſſioners were at that moment engaged in fixing the line of frontier between France and Piedmont, and he was deſired to impreſs on their minds the importance of contriving to ſecure to the republic all the military poſts in the chain of the Alps. He was alſo told to procure a knowledge of the diſpoſition of the Sardinian monarch towards France; and it was intimated that it would be adviſable to evade, if poſſible, the concluſion of a treaty of alliance, which was then negotiating, with that ſovereign, as ſuch a treaty might, perhaps, be ultimately more hurtful than beneficial to the republican government. In other words, France was anxious not to have any obſtacles thrown in the way of her plan of expelling the Sardinian king from his continental dominions, whenever ſhe could find, or make, a convenient opportunity. With reſpect to the newly revolutionized territories of Milan, Modena, Reggio, Bologna, and Ferrara, he was coldly inſtructed to enquire, whether they were really ripe for liberty, whether they could defend themſelves alone or with French aſſiſtance, what number of French troops they could ſubſidize, what were their feelings with regard to Auſtria, and whether they would quietly conſent to return under its yoke? The deſertion of them, if required by circumſtances, was evidently not contemplated with an extreme degree of reluctance by the republican miniſter. Something more than a hint was given as to the propriety and facility of revolutionizing the Venetian government, and he was called upon to communicate his remarks on that ſubject. As to the Pope and the other ſovereigns of the Italian peninſula, who lay out of his track, he was referred to the general of the army of Italy for ſuch information as was neceſſary to enable him and his employers to form a clear idea of what was proper to be done.

Having

Having thus marked out the envoy's moral and political line of march as far as the Auſtrian frontier, the miniſter thus continued his inſtructions, "I will now ſuppoſe you arrived at Vienna, obſerving all the great perſonages who play a diſtinguiſhed part on that theatre, and ſketching their portraits with a pencil equally free and correct. Your journey will have been uſeful enough, even ſhould the reſult of it be confined to making us acquainted with the paſſions which animate them, and the means of turning thoſe paſſions to the profit of the French republic and of humanity.

"Without being ſpecially charged to negotiate a peace, you may prepare the way for it, in the converſations which you will have with the perſons who poſſeſs the greateſt ſhare of influence. Indiſputably, we ſhall accompliſh more eaſily the object of concluding a peace, if we can make an offer of deſirable compenſations to Auſtria. This ſyſtem of compenſation affords room for a multitude of combinations, which you may lightly touch upon in the conferences, to enable you to form a judgment as to thoſe which ſeem to be moſt ſatisfactory. Let us try to ſketch out the chief of them:

"1ſt. To reſtore to Auſtria that which ſhe poſſeſſed in Italy; to give her in Germany the biſhopric of Saltzburgh, the diſtrict of Berchtoldſgaben, the biſhopric of Paſſau, with the exception of the city of that name, the upper Palatinate as far as the Naab; and indemnify the elector palatine towards the Rhine. This is doubtleſs the eaſieſt plan, and that which would be moſt pleaſing to the houſe of Auſtria and to all Germany; but it would ſacrifice our new friends in Italy; and thus deprive us of the advantages which we have a right to expect to draw from that beautiful country, in caſe we can ſucceed in withdrawing it from the Auſtrian influence.

2d. To modify the firſt ſcheme, by ſubſtituting in place of the Milaneſe a part of the Papal ſtates, Romagna, the march of Ancona, the duchy of Urbino; to transfer the grand duke of Tuſcany to Rome, give him the remainder of the Papal ſtates, reſerve to him the Sienneſe, and conſent to name him king of Rome; give Florence to the duke of Parma, bring about an exchange of a part of his ſtates with Sardinia, reſerve for ourſelves the iſland of Elba, for which the king of Naples ſhall be indemnified by Benevento, Ponte Corvo and the march of Fermo; ſecure to ourſelves in America a payment for what we allow to be taken in Italy.

"3d. To cede to Auſtria, Bavaria, the upper Palatinate, Salzburgh, Paſſau, and other eccleſiaſtical ſovereignties which are ſituated within their limits, on condition that the houſe of Auſtria ſhall renounce all that it poſſeſſes to the ſouth of the chain of the Alps, ſhall indemnify the duke of Modena, and provide an apanage for the grand duke of Tuſcany; to give to the elector palatine the ſtates of the Pope, with the exception of the march of Fermo, of Benevento, Ponto Corvo, Bologna, and Ferrara; add to this the Sienneſe, and give him the title of king of the Romans. This project would be very agreeable to Italy, and would ſecure our intereſts

tereſts there, but it might diſpleaſe Germany. The means of obtaining the adoption of it would be to find for the king of Pruſſia an ample indemnification. He being ſatisfied, all the reſt would be reduced to ſilence.

"4th. To the houſe of Auſtria that which is aſſigned to it in the preceding article; arrange reſpecting the grand duke and the Italian ſtates as in the ſecond article; procure to the elector palatine the ceſſion of the Auſtrian part of Poland, and make it ſerve as a rallying point for the reſtoration of that ſtate; preſerve to the king of Pruſſia the largeſt portion of that which he has acquired there. It is very doubtful whether Auſtria would lend itſelf to this project; its alliance with Ruſſia and its antipathy to Pruſſia, ſeem to be inſurmountable obſtacles.

"There are a multitude of other combinations which you can form better than I can. Theſe will ſuffice to ſound the buſineſs, and to afford the miniſters and thoſe who are about them an opportunity of explaining themſelves, and unfolding their ſentiments on this head.

"The capital point which you are to ſtrive to carry, is, to perſuade Auſtria that, notwithſtanding the pretended advantage which England holds out to her on the ſcore of compenſations, this latter power, which has intereſts quite oppoſite to her's, can only impede the progress of the negociations; and that the houſe of Auſtria will obtain more, and with greater ſpeed, by treating ſeparately with the republic.

"In returning from Vienna you will have the opportunity of ſeeing ſeveral of the German princes and their miniſters. They are terrified at the ambition of the houſe of Auſtria, and the inveteracy which it manifeſts againſt all thoſe who have ſought to come to a good underſtanding with the republic. They will perhaps be uneaſy reſpecting the conſequences which may arise from the propoſition of an armiſtice; it will, however, be eaſy to make them underſtand that even their own intereſt dictates ſuch a meaſure, that it gives them time to unite and to combine the means of breaking the odious yoke which is endeavoured to be impoſed upon them, and that it alſo gives time to the republic to reſtore a ſevere diſcipline in its armies, and to prepare the means of an attack more vigorous than the preceding ones, and which, if they will but ſecond it, will be the laſt."

The reflections which this document is calculated to excite are certainly not favourable to republican moderation and good faith. The clauſe which relates to England, ſhews how deeply the Directory had it at heart to ſeparate that power from its allies; doubtleſs in the fallacious hope that it would be unable, ſingle-handed, to contend with France. At the moment when these inſtructions were drawn up, lord Malmeſbury, as we have before ſtated, was at Paris, and the ſtudied neglect and inſult with which he was treated, formed an admirable comment on the text of M. Delacroix's injunction to general Clarke. The expedition againſt Ireland, under the conduct of Hoche, was then preparing to ſail, and the republican rulers appear to have indulged in ſuch magnificent expectations of the reſult of its efforts, that they probably thought

thought it quite unneceſſary to obſerve the common rules of decorum towards a government which they ſuppoſed to be on the eve of its diſgrace, and, perhaps, of its fall.

General Clarke arrived in Italy about the commencement of December, and he loſt no time in diſpatching a courier to general Alvinzi, with a letter to his imperial majeſty. The emperor, in reply, declared his willingneſs to liſten to the propoſitions of the Directory; and he accordingly appointed Baron de Vincent to confer with the French negociator. Vicenza was the place which he fixed on for their holding their conferences. It was not, however, till early in January that they had their firſt meeting. By the emperor eſtabliſhing the ſeat of the negociation at a diſtance from his capital, the French were prevented from putting into practice thoſe intrigues upon the effect of which they placed ſome reliance; and, diſappointed as they were by this conduct, they naturally drew from it an unfavourable omen.

One of the moſt formidable of the opponents to the concluſion of an immediate armiſtice was Buonaparte himſelf. He had ſucceeded in repulſing the enemy, he was receiving reinforcements, and was promiſed others ſtill more numerous, his recent fears were diſpelled, his hopes were re-animated, and he conſidered the granting of a ſuſpenſion of arms as a bar to his progreſs in the career of conqueſt and of plunder. He, therefore, oppoſed it with all of argument and of influence that he could bring into play, and he returned to the charge at every poſſible opportunity. In his opinion it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to wait till Mantua had fallen. To deſiſt from hoſtilities before that period, would, he contended, be productive of conſequences of the moſt prejudicial kind. "If we are maſters of Mantua," ſaid he, "they will think themſelves fortunate in being only called upon to allow us to extend our limits to the Rhine. Rome is not in a ſtate of truce with the French republic, it is at war, it will not pay the contribution which has been impoſed on it; nothing but the capture of Mantua can induce it to alter its ſyſtem.

By the armiſtice then, we ſhall loſe,

1. Mantua till May, and, at that epoch, whatever agreement may have been made on this head, we ſhall find that it has been fully proviſioned; and the ſultrineſs of the ſeaſon will render it impregnable at the time when the armiſtice terminates.

2. The emperor, being nearer at hand, and having more means of recruiting, will have in May an army more numerous than ours; for take what precautions we will, as ſoon as fighting is over, every body will depart. Ten or fifteen days reſt would be beneficial to the army of Italy, three months would ruin it.

3. Lombardy is exhauſted; we have no other means of ſupporting the army than with the money of the Pope or of Trieſte. We ſhall be in a very embarraſſing ſituation at the opening of the campaign on the cloſe of the armiſtice.

4. Maſters of Mantua, we ſhall be in ſuch a ſtate as not to be obliged to comprehend the Pope in the armiſtice; the army of Italy will have acquired ſuch a preponde-

rance that, at Vienna, they will think themſelves lucky to be able to retain it inactive for ſome months.

5. If, after the armiſtice, we muſt enter upon a new campaign, the armiſtice will be very prejudicial to us; if there muſt be an armiſtice as a preliminary to a peace, it ought not to be made till after the capture of Mantua; there will then be a double chance for its being good and profitable.

6. To conclude an armiſtice at this moment is to deprive ourſelves of the means and probabilities of obtaining a good peace in the courſe of a month.

"The reſult of all this is, that we ought to wait for the ſurrender of Mantua, and to reinforce this army as much as poſſible, in order that we may procure money to carry on the approaching campaign, not only in Italy, but alſo on the Rhine; and that we may aſſume offenſive operations in a manner ſo determined, and ſo alarming to the emperor, that a peace may be obtained without difficulty, and with glory, honour, and profit.

If the army of Italy be reinforced with twenty thouſand men, including the ten thouſand which are announced as coming from the Rhine, and with fifteen hundred cavalry, we may promiſe, before the month of April, thirty millions of livres for the ſervice of the armies of the Rhine and of the Sambre and Meuſe, and oblige the emperor to bend all his efforts on the ſide of Friuli."

The brilliant proſpect which was thus held up to view, of feeding war by the means of pillage, did not alter the opinion of general Clarke, as to the propriety of concluding an armiſtice, with as little delay as poſſible. He urged that, even under the moſt favourable circumſtances, a month at leaſt muſt elapſe before Mantua, though menaced with a bombardment, could be expected to ſurrender; and that it was by no means certain that the Auſtrian army might not, as it had once before done, compel the republicans to raiſe the blockade. The idea that proviſions for two months would be accumulated in that fortreſs, while the ſuſpenſion of arms exiſted, he conſidered as a chimerical one; and he believed that at the end of the truce the garriſon would be comparatively much weaker than it now was, as ſickneſs would undoubtedly make greater ravages among it than among the inveſting army. It appeared to him that to continue the conteſt at the preſent moment was to put much to hazard; while, on the contrary, the armiſtice would leave the French in quiet poſſeſſion of Italy for ſix months, during which time they might gain new friends who would take up arms in their behalf. Strengthened, too, by a part of the troops from the Rhine, the army of Italy might then recommence hoſtilities with the well-grounded hope of ſplendid ſucceſs. Or, by refuſing its conſent to a rupture of the armiſtice, the Directory might likewiſe, if it pleaſed, acquire the ſignal advantage of throwing upon his imperial majeſty the odium of being the cauſe that the war was continued, in which caſe, it would have with it the voice of the people. Beſides, there was reaſon to expect, ſhould the emperor continue obſtinate, that an armed neutrality would be formed

formed in Germany; a circumstance which could not fail to prove embarrassing to him, and beneficial to France.

As to the Papal power, general Clarke owned that the annihilation of it in 1793 would have been an excellent measure; but he ingenuously confessed that the time was gone by for performing such an operation with safety. He believed that the attempt would unite the Catholic sovereigns round the Pope, and render them the irreconcilable enemies of the republic. Nor was this his only or his most cogent reason for shewing lenity to the Pontiff. "We have," said he, "miscarried in our religious revolution. France is become Roman Catholic again; and we perhaps touch upon the moment when we shall have need of the Pope himself, in order to procure for our revolution the support of the priests, and consequently of the peasantry, over whom they have succeeded in recovering their authority. Would not overthrowing him now, be to expose ourselves to the risk of separating for ever from our government a multitude of Frenchmen, who submit to his holiness, and whom he may rally round him?" In making these observations, it is probable that the western provinces of France were more particularly alluded to by the wily negotiator.

But his strongest argument in behalf of the step which he was commissioned to take, was drawn from the internal condition of the republic. The picture is a striking one, and merits to be preserved, as evidence of the folly of those who, instead of straining every nerve for the contest, and calling forth all their resources, slackened in their efforts at the critical period when the enemy was sinking under the languor occasioned by his own convulsive struggles. "What is," said he, "our situation at the moment in which I write? Through every part of the republic there is felt a weariness of the war. The people ardently wish for peace, the armies loudly murmur that it is not made; that of Italy, and even the bravest of it, talk of and desire peace. The legislative body wills it, and it may be said commands it, no matter on what conditions. Its repeated refusals to furnish the Directory with funds for the continuance of the war, are the proof of this. Your finances are in a state of nullity; agriculture claims, or seduces, or recalls home those hands which she sent forth to protect her abroad; the war will spread, every day, an almost universal immorality, which may, in the end, overthrow the republic; in short, all parties are harassed, and wish for the end of the revolution; and if our state of internal misery should continue, the people, worn out, and not finding their happiness in things as they are, will seek it in another order of things, which will give birth to new revolutions, and thus we shall, for twenty or thirty years, be exposed to all the scourges which such shocks produce.

"During this winter, whether we fight, or whether we do not, a large portion of our soldiers will return to their homes, which nothing will again be able to make them quit; for, in consequence of the want of money, we have neither internal police, nor gendar-

merie, and our conſtituted authorities are far from being all of them pure, and inacceſſible to ſeduction. Peace, then, is neceſſary; and to revive the enthuſiaſm which made us victorious, it is neceſſary that the concluſion of peace ſhould be retarded by our enemies, and that not a perſon in France ſhould remain unconvinced that the government was deſirous of a reaſonable peace, and that it has been refuſed from motives of ambition, or from hatred of our principles."

The Directory ſeems to have been no leſs ſtrongly impreſſed than general Clarke was with the untoward ſtate of affairs in France; and, accordingly, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of Buonaparte, though it made great exertions to ſtrengthen his army, it perſiſted in its project of obtaining an armiſtice. Nor did its miniſter for foreign affairs ſcruple, once more, to declare, that the ſcheme of giving freedom to the north of Italy ought not to be allowed to throw any obſtacles in the way of concluding a treaty. He ſpoke, indeed, in the moſt contemptuous manner of the Italians; deſcribing them as men who were "quite deſtitute of energy, the ſlaves of the moſt degrading prejudices, and who would act wretchedly the part of a free people." The puppets, it appears, had ſerved the turn of their French maſters, and might now be reſigned to their original obſcurity.

In the diſpatch which contains this flattering character of the Italians, and which is dated the thirtieth of December, the miniſter expreſſes his hopes that exiſting circumſtances will induce the emperor at length to lend a favourable ear to the republican overtures, though at firſt he may liſten with reluctance. Some of the circumſtances on which he grounds his hopes, prove, if true, how active in their intrigues were the agents of France. If the Ottoman Porte did really interpoſe in favour of the republic, the debt of gratitude which France thus contracted, was diſcharged, in the following year, by the ſeizure of Egypt and the invaſion of Syria. His mention of the expedition to Ireland cannot but excite a ſmile. At the moment when every thing prognoſticated, as he thought, its ſucceſs, the ſhattered remains of it were ſtealing into the harbour of Breſt.

"I ſhould not wonder," ſays M. Delacroix, "if the court of Vienna were to refuſe, or at leaſt delay much, to ſend you the neceſſary paſſports, ſo cloſely drawn and ſo ſtrong are the ties which connect it with the court of London; nevertheleſs, many circumſtances may combine to ſhake its pride, and that fidelity to its engagements of which it makes a parade: the deſcent in Ireland, of which every thing, up to the preſent period, prognoſticates the ſucceſs; the death of the empreſs of Ruſſia, the pacific diſpoſitions of her ſucceſſor, his leaning towards Pruſſia, and his attachment to the duke of Wirtemberg, whoſe aggrandizement depends upon us; the diſcontent of all the German princes, and the deſire which they have of enlarging their territories at the expenſe of the princes of the prieſts; the menaces of the Ottoman Porte, which demands for us the Rhine as our boundary, and which, as Aubert Dubayet informs me, is marching

marching its troops towards the Danube, to ſupport the mediation which it wiſhes to undertake between its neighbour, whom it does not love, and its old friends. There is alſo a rumour of a coalition to be formed in Germany, to compel the emperor to make peace according to our principles. General Dubayet, in his letter of the nineteenth of Brumaire (9th of November) aſſures me that the Porte has made known to the Internuncio, in a firm and decided tone, that, in taking a part in the treaty between the emperor and the republic, its intention is that, as a preliminary, he ſhould cede entirely and without reſtriction all the left bank of the Rhine, whether conquered or not, evacuating immediately Mentz, Caſſel, and their dependencies; that, at his inſtance, the Porte has ordered the pachas of Romelia and Boſnia to ſend troops on different points of the German frontier, in the ſame time that it has raiſed a new levy of men near Belgrade, to increaſe the garriſon of that place; that this ſervice is punctually performed, and that, in conjunction with the declaration of the Porte, he doubts not that it will operate as a powerful diverſion."

Though diſappointed in the expectation that its envoy would be allowed to proceed to Vienna, the Directory did not deſpair of accompliſhing its purpoſe of inducing his imperial majeſty to withdraw from the conteſt. "If," ſaid its organ, Barras, on the ſeventh of January, "the houſe of Auſtria at this moment joins to thoſe ambitious views which have always characterized it, an exact knowledge of the general tendency of Europe towards political innovations, more or leſs analogous to thoſe which France has undergone, it will feel that its ſyſtem of preponderance, which is now founded on the Germanic conſtitution, ſtands in need of another ſupport. That ſupport is offered in the plan of pacification which we propoſe, and circumſtances can never be more favourable than they now are to render that plan ſatisfactory both to the people and to their governments, and to ſecure the permanency of its effects."

The Auſtrian cabinet, at the outſet of the buſineſs, offered to conſent to a partial ſuſpenſion of arms. This, however, was not agreed to by the French envoy, on the very ſolid ground that it would operate wholly to the diſadvantage of the republican armies. His conduct was approved of by his employers, who conſidered Kehl as already loſt, and Mantua as on the point of falling into their hands; and who knew that, till they were maſters of the latter fortreſs, no attempt could prudently be made to compel the Sovereign Pontiff to purchaſe a peace on onerous terms. But, ſo much had they it at heart to obtain a large portion of the Papal treaſures that their envoy was again peremptorily inſtructed not to admit his holineſs to the benefit of the projected armiſtice, unleſs he executed, on the ſpot, the conditions of that which he had formerly been forced to ſign.

The Directory now diſcovered that, if Auſtria ſincerely wiſhed for peace, it would be as eaſy to ſettle the baſes of a treaty, and to conclude the preliminaries, as to negotiate an armiſtice, and would be

more beneficial. Acting on this new ſyſtem, it accordingly furniſhed its envoy with the neceſſary powers and inſtructions. He was, at the ſame time, cautioned to remember that the formidable ſuccours, which were marching to join the army of Italy, ought to be conſidered in balancing the rights and intereſts of France with thoſe of the emperor. His inſtructions form, in many reſpects, an important document: and therefore, as they cannot now have a place among the ſtate papers of the year, we will inſert them here, in the words of the authors.

"To enable you to carry on the negotiation, either with M. Gherardini, or with any other miniſter or agent of the emperor, the Directory will proceed to point out to you the conditions to which you are authorized to conſent, and from which it is of opinion that it ought not to recede.

"The firſt and the moſt eſſential, to which the Directory is bound by the exiſting laws, is the ceſſion and relinquiſhing, by the emperor and the houſe of Auſtria, of the Auſtrian low countries, the duchy of Luxemburgh, and all that it poſſeſſes on the left bank of the Rhine.

"You are acquainted with the motives which ought to render this ſacrifice leſs painful. This territory has for two centuries been a ſource of perpetually renewed wars between France and the houſe of Auſtria, and the greateſt obſtacle to the ſincerity of their amicable communications. The reſtitution of his Italian dominions will offer him a very advantageous compenſation. He will find a ſecond in the richeſt provinces of Poland, which, being in immediate contact with the body of his ancient ſtates, have added to his ſtrength, while the diſtant provinces, which he is called upon to reſign, only ſerve to exhauſt his reſources by the frequent wars of which they are the cauſe.

"The ſecond condition, on which the Directory equally inſiſts, is that the emperor, as well in that capacity as in that of the head of the houſe of Auſtria, ſhall not oppoſe France remaining in poſſeſſion of the property and ſovereignty of the above-mentioned countries, and of all thoſe which have been ceded by actually exiſting treaties, or united by the laws and the conſtitution, and likewiſe of all the territorial domains in them belonging to princes of the Germanic empire.

"You are aware of the irreſiſtible influence which the emperor exerciſes over the reſolutions of the Diet: the conſent of both is conſidered, in Germany, as being neceſſary to authoriſe the alienation of any part of the German empire. Independently of the Auſtrian poſſeſſions, the laws and treaties have united to the republican territory ſeveral diſtricts which form a part of the empire, ſuch as Porentruy, Montbelliard, the biſhopric of Liege, the abbeys of Stavelot and Malmedy, &c. &c. It is therefore neceſſary, in order to facilitate the peace to be concluded with the empire, that the emperor, as ſuch, ſhould give his conſent to their being united.

"You will demand that the emperor ſhall not make any oppoſition to the republic preſerving the property and ſovereignty of thoſe portions of territory belonging to the empire, which are ſurrounded on ſeveral ſides by, or wholly enveloped

veloped in, either the old frontiers of France, or the newly united departments, or in the ceſſions which have been made to the republic by treaties. This clauſe is requiſite, to give regularity to the frontier line, to facilitate the collection of the cuſtom-houſe duties, and to avoid the ſanguinary diſputes which are occaſioned by the mixture of diſtricts belonging to different governments.

"If to inſiſt on inſerting regularly in the treaty the declarations of non-oppoſition, which are the ſubject of the preceding articles, ſhould be likely to create ſome difficulty, they may be the object of a ſecret article, as may alſo thoſe which the emperor may demand from us, relative to the indemnities which he expects to obtain.

"The Directory adds to the preſent inſtructions a line of frontier conformable to what it has preſcribed to you. You will ſtrongly preſs for its being inſerted in the preliminaries which you are authorized to conclude. If, nevertheleſs, this ſhould give riſe to any delays or difficulties, which however, it is not ſuppoſed that it will, you may confine yourſelf to the above ſtated clauſe, reſerving the right of returning, in the definitive treaty, to the ſubject of the demarcation.

"By various treaties concluded with the Palatine houſe, the bailiwick of Guermeſheim is to be united to France, but the union is to be deferred till after the deceaſe of the elector Palatine. You will demand that the emperor ſhall not make any oppoſition to the republic entering into immediate poſſeſſion of the whole of the bailiwick.

"If the perſon with whom you treat ſhould require for the houſe of Auſtria ſome indemnification on the right bank of the Rhine, you will, as much as poſſible, avoid entering upon this queſtion; nevertheleſs, if it be inſiſted on, you will declare that the republic will not oppoſe any arrangements which that houſe may form with the princes of the empire, in the country ſituated on the right of the Rhine; but you will not make this declaration till you can no longer avoid doing ſo, and the concluſion of the preliminaries is made to depend on it, nor without the emperor equally conſenting that the other princes, who have ſuſtained loſſes, ſhall receive ſuitable indemnifications. If poſſible you will give nothing more than a verbal aſſent.

"You know that, by the treaty of the Hague, we are obliged to comprehend the Batavian republic in the treaties which we conclude: it is, therefore, indiſpenſable that it ſhould be compriſed in our treaty with the emperor, as it has been in our previous treaties.

"You will alſo require, that the emperor ſhall expreſsly conſent, and ſhall uſe his good offices, that the Stadtholder may obtain in Germany, on the right bank of the Rhine, a ſuitable indemnity; but this article may remain ſecret till a definitive peace.

"You will expreſsly ſtipulate that the French republic ſhall continue to occupy and enjoy, on the preſent footing, till the concluſion of a definitive peace with the emperor, the bridges and fortreſſes dependent on the German empire, which are now occupied by the French troops.

"As to the evacuation of the

ſtates of the emperor and king in Italy, the Directory charges you to concert it with the general in chief, Buonaparte, to whom it entirely leaves the deciſion as to the mode and time of that evacuation.

"Our having occupied a part of Germany and Italy has neceſſarily occaſioned the ſpreading of a love of liberty in thoſe countries. A tolerably conſiderable number of the inhabitants of thoſe countries have declared in favour of our principles; to this they have been excited by our example, and perhaps by the direct invitation of ſome of the agents of our government: this is doubtleſs not a ſufficient motive to put to hazard the ſafety and intereſts of the republic, by the emancipation of the country in which they dwell; but republican good faith requires that they ſhould not be the victims of their attachment to us, and the ſervices which they may have done us. You are, therefore, eſpecially charged to ſtipulate, that no individual, belonging to thoſe parts of Germany and Italy which have been occupied by the republican troops, ſhall be called to account, or receive any injury, either in perſon or property, on account of his civil, political, military, or commercial opinions or actions during the preſent war.

"You will ſtipulate the ceaſing of all hoſtilities immediately on the ratification of the preliminaries, and conſequently the reciprocal removal, on the part of the two contracting powers, of the ſequeſtrations which may have been laid by either of them on the goods and rights belonging to the ſubjects of the other, as well as upon the public eſtabliſhments ſituated in their reſpective territories. The French republic will engage to pay whatever annuities or ſums may be due on funds lent by the government and the ſubjects of the houſe of Auſtria, reſiding in the countries under its ſway, and by the public eſtabliſhments there ſituated; and reciprocally the houſe of Auſtria will do the ſame with reſpect to the French government, the eſtabliſhments and citizens domiciliated in the republican departments, and in the territories newly united.

"You are to obſerve, that all this negotiation muſt be conducted, not as a definitive treaty, but as preliminaries of peace, which do not require to be ratified by the legiſlative body, and which the Directory is authorized to conclude of its own authority. You will conſequently demand that they ſhall be ratified with the leaſt poſſible delay, which you will ſettle in concert with his agent. The Directory, on its ſide, will ratify them within the ſame period. You will accelerate the ratification as much as you poſſibly can.

"It may happen, that the emperor will be unwilling to treat ſeparately from England: you will demand that he ſhall agree to the preliminaries for a ſeparate peace, and you are authorized to accept his mediation for our peace with England, which will ſecure him from being expoſed to any reproaches on the part of his ally.

"Theſe are the preliminaries which you will propoſe in the name of the Directory, and to which you will definitively adhere. You will ſtep out of the beaten track of negotiation, and,

as

as ſoon as you are certain that the perſon choſen to treat with you has full powers to do ſo, you will frankly diſcloſe them to him, and will inform him that the Directory will not recede from them.

"You know that the object of the hereditary ambition of the houſe of Auſtria, is Bavaria. The Directory has no doubt that Auſtria will demand Bavaria as a part of its indemnity. You may allow it to be underſtood that the directory will not oppoſe this union, on condition that ſuitable arrangements are made in favour of the republic and its allies; you will not however admit any thing reſpecting this into the preliminaries; but leave open the diſcuſſion of this object till the concluſion of a definitive treaty."

Such were the terms on which republican France was willing to give peace to the continent. That only her own intereſts were conſulted in them, and that they were all calculated to lay the groundwork of future warfare, is abundantly obvious. The negotiator was inſtructed not only to promiſe the emperor that they and all the proceedings relative to the treaty ſhould be kept from the public eye, even if the negotiation were broken off, but he was ſtrictly enjoined to obſerve the profoundeſt ſecrecy, becauſe, ſaid the Directory, "you can eaſily conceive, that ſhould the rumour of the evacuation of Italy get abroad, with ſome appearance of truth attached to it, the moſt ſerious inconvenience to us, may, perhaps, be the conſequence."

The negotiation, however, whatever hopes were built upon it, proved to be abortive. Auſtria at firſt ſeemed diſpoſed to engage in it ſeriouſly, and is even ſaid to have in conſequence evaded ſome overtures for an alliance which were made by the Pope. But this diſpoſition, if it ever exiſted, was ſoon changed; nor did even the final defeat of Alvinzi, nor the certainty that Mantua muſt fall, induce the Auſtrian cabinet to bend to its republican enemy. Before the end of January, the ſimular of treating was put an end to, and an appeal to the ſword was again made with redoubled fury.

CHAP. XIV.

Conſequences of the Abandonment of the Mediterranean by the Britiſh. The Meaſure cenſured by Lord Nelſon and by Mr. Burke. Peace recommended to the Neapolitan Court by the Britiſh Cabinet. Intended Treaty between Naples and Rome, and Military Movements of the combined Force of the two States. Buonaparte declares that, unleſs Peace be made with Naples, he muſt have an additional Reinforcement of twenty-five thouſand Men. He recommends to temporiſe with the Roman Court. The Directory declares that it will not modify the offenſive conditions formerly propoſed to the Pope, but conſents to adopt the temporiſing Syſtem. It ſuddenly changes its Syſtem, and reſolves to negotiate. The Change ſuppoſed to be the Work of Buonaparte. Letter of Buonaparte to M. Cacault, claiming the Merit of having

having inſpired the Directory with pacific Feelings. Previous Proceedings of M. Cacault at Rome. He labours to perſuade the Papal Miniſtry of the good Intentions of his Employers. Anſwer of the Cardinal, Secretary of State. Contradiction in the Reaſoning of M. Cacault. The Court of Rome not diſpoſed to avail itſelf of the new Overtures made by the Directory. Hopes of that Court. It diſpatches an Envoy to Vienna to ſolicit Aid from the Auſtrian Cabinet. Abſurd Demands made by that Cabinet. It at length promises to aſſiſt the Pope. General Colli ſent to command his Army. The Directory, irritated by the Rejection of its Advances, determines to deſtroy, if poſſible, the Papal Authority. Curious Letter to Buonaparte on this Subject. Buonaparte reſolves to attack the Roman States. His manifeſto from Bologna, announcing the Rupture of the Armiſtice. He publiſhes a Proclamation denouncing Vengeance on all Towns and Villages in which the Alarm-bell ſhall be rung. A Proclamation of another kind, in favour of the expatriated French Prieſts. Their Subſiſtence ſecured. His mode of vindicating this Meaſure to the Directory. He writes to Cardinal Mattei to ſet the Pope at Eaſe with Reſpect to his perſonal Safety. Backward State of the Papal Preparations to reſiſt the Invaders. Want of Energy and Wiſdom in the Court of Rome. It relies upon Sermons and Proclamations. Specimen of thoſe Proclamations. Buonaparte commences his March. The Papal Army attempts to make a Stand on the River Senio, but is routed with conſiderable Loſs. The Citizens of Faenza ſhut their Gates, ring the Alarm-bell, and reſolve to reſiſt. The French Army break open the Gates, but Buonaparte ſpares the Town. He harangues the Monks and Prieſts. The French Army purſues its March towards Ancona. Capture of twelve hundred Men on the Heights near that Town. Ancona ſurrenders. Large Quantities of Cannon and Arms taken there. A Detachment of Cavalry ſent to ſeize the Treaſure of the Santa Casa, at Loretto. A Part of the Treaſure conveyed away by General Colli. The Relics are ſent to Paris by the Commiſſioners of Arts. Ludicrous Deſcription of them. The French croſs the Apennines, and are joined by a Diviſion from Leghorn. Conſternation in Rome. Cardinal Mattei writes to Buonaparte in Behalf of the Pope. The Court of Naples alſo interferes. Buonaparte grants five Days for the Arrival of a Plenipotentiary from the Pope. The Pope ſends four Negotiators. Threat of the French General. The Treaty is Signed at Tolentino. Conditions of it. They are in ſome Points leſs offenſive than thoſe which were propoſed by the Directory. Reaſons that induced Buonaparte to diſplay ſo much Moderation. What were his firſt Intentions. The Interference of the King of Naples beneficial to the Pope. Sarcaſtical Reply of the French General to the Neapolitan Envoy. Letter of Buonaparte to the Directory on the Subject of the Treaty. A complimentary Letter addreſſed by him to the Pope. He ſets off to join his Army in the Venetian States. M. Monge diſpatched by him to compliment the little Republic of San Marino, and offer an Addition of Territory. Wiſe Reply of the Government of San Marino. The French General confers ſome Favours on that Republic. He orders the Inhabitants of the Native Place of Virgil to be indemnified for their Loſſes, and a Column to be erected in Honour of the Poet.

THE

THE Papal ſovereign was the firſt victim of the fall of Mantua. The more remote cauſe of the humiliation, and ſubſequent ruin, of that prince, may, however, be traced to the conduct of the Britiſh cabinet, by whoſe impolitic and cowardly abandonment of the Mediterranean, in the year 1796, the ſouthern States of Italy were deprived of that ſupport which would, perhaps, have at leaſt enabled them to limit the progreſs of the republican arms. This ſtep was ſtrongly reprobated by the gallant Nelſon. "We are all," ſaid he in a letter which he wrote home, "preparing to leave the Mediterranean, a meaſure which I cannot approve. They at home do not know what this fleet is capable of performing; any thing and every thing. Much as I ſhall rejoice to ſee England, I lament our preſent orders in ſack-cloth and aſhes, ſo diſhonourable to the dignity of England, whoſe fleets are equal to meet the world in arms; and of all the fleets I ever ſaw, I never beheld one in point of officers and men equal to Sir John Jervis's, who is a commander-in-chief able to lead them to glory." Mr. Burke was alſo hoſtile to this ill-adviſed proceeding.

The firſt conſequence of the withdrawing of the Britiſh fleet, was the ſignature of a treaty with the French republic, by the king of Naples; an act which is aſſerted to have been recommended to him by the Engliſh miniſters. While he had hoped to be aided by the preſence of a friendly ſquadron, he had opened a negotiation with the pope, for a treaty of alliance, in purſuance of which he ſhould furniſh an army of thirty thouſand men, to be joined by eight thouſand of the Papal troops. This conjunct force was intended to advance to the Po; a movement which could not have failed to embarraſs Buonaparte, and would, probably, even had the combined army not ſtruck a blow, have been productive of ſerious peril to him, by compelling him to weaken his line of defence in ſome other quarter.

So convinced was the French general, that if the ſouth of Italy were arrayed againſt him, his ſituation would be critical, that he ſtrenuouſly ſolicited the Directory to avert the danger. Twenty thouſand men more were, he declared, already wanted, and twenty-five thouſand, in addition to that number, muſt be ſent to him, if war were perſiſted in with Naples and with Rome. "Circumſtanced as the republic is at preſent," ſaid he, "I do not believe that you can at once carry on the war againſt Naples and againſt the emperor. Peace with Naples is a matter of the moſt urgent neceſſity." *

With reſpect to Rome, he hinted that a temporiſing ſyſtem might be purſued, till a favourable opportunity arrived of taking vengeance;

* It is a duty which we owe to truth to ſtate that, in our hiſtory of the campaign of 1796 in Italy, the force commanded by Buonaparte is ſomewhat over-rated. Our eſtimate was derived from the beſt accounts then publiſhed; but official and other documents, which have ſince been given to the public, have induced us to believe that the Auſtrians were, in general, at leaſt equal to him in point of number, and ſometimes ſuperior. A larger ſhare of merit muſt, therefore, be allowed to his conduct in the campaign of 1796; a larger ſhare of demerit muſt be attributed to that of his antagoniſts.

and

and he cenſured, with ſomething of aſperity, the blundering policy which, by driving the pope to deſpair, had compelled him to ſtand on the defenſive, and had thus deprived France of the major part of the rich fruits of the armiſtice, at the moment when forbearance for a few days would have enabled her to ſecure them. At the ſame time, he did not fail to remind the French rulers, that Rome was "ſtrong by its fanaticiſm," and that "its influence was incalculable."

Though, by the ſigning of the treaty between Naples and France, the Pope was deprived of an ally upon whoſe aid he had built, in a great degree, his hopes of ſafety, the time was not yet come when the republicans could make him feel all the weight of their revenge. They were ſtill fully engaged in contending with the Auſtrians, in the north eaſt of Italy, and prudence forbade their riſking, by any premature movement to the ſouth, the valuable ſtake for which they were playing in the oppoſite quarter. The Directory, as ſoon as it heard that its haughty and humiliating articles were rejected by his Holineſs, declared to Buonaparte its intention not to modify them; but, at the ſame time, as "it was of conſequence to terminate the campaign by the capture of Mantua, in order the more ſurely to dictate the law in ſouthern Italy, and alſo to ſecure the benefits to be derived from the armiſtice," it informed him that it had directed its envoy at Rome, to protract the negotiation till the happy moment arrived when peace could be imperiouſly impoſed on the Pope, or his power could be overthrown. The latter branch of the alternative, and not peace of any kind, was eagerly deſired by the head of the theo-philanthropic ſect, La Reveillere Lepaux, who was the writer of this diſpatch; and he, no doubt, was ſeverely mortified that circumſtances rendered it neceſſary to poſtpone the fulfilment of his wiſhes.

The ſyſtem of the Directory, in this reſpect, ſeems, however, to have undergone all at once a conſiderable change; and that change appears to have been brought about by the general of the French army in Italy. It is difficult to aſcertain the real feelings of Buonaparte towards the holy ſee; but the weight of evidence rather leans to the favourable ſide. Though he ſometimes ſpoke of the Papal power in the language of contempt, ſometimes in that of anger, and ſometimes in that of ſevere menace, and though he certainly was willing to curtail it exceedingly, yet, at other times, he adopted a more moderate and even a friendly tone, and, either from policy, or from pity, expreſſed eſteem for the ſovereign pontiff, and reluctance to proceed againſt him to the laſt extremities. In the letter which he wrote to M. Cacault, the French envoy at Rome, to announce the alteration in the plan of the Directory, he claimed to himſelf, and apparently with juſtice, the merit of having been the author of that alteration. "Deſiring," ſays he, "to give to the pope a proof of my wiſh to ſee ſo long a war ended, and the misfortunes brought to a cloſe by which human nature is afflicted, I offer to him an honourable manner of ſaving his honour and the head of the church. You may aſſure him, by word

Oct. 28th,

word of mouth, that I always disapproved of the treaty which was propoſed to him, and eſpecially of the mode of negotiating; and that it is in conſequence of my particular and repeated entreaties, that the Directory has charged me with the taſk of opening the way to a new negotiation. I am much more ambitious of being the ſaviour of the Holy See, than of being its deſtroyer. You yourſelf know that our principles have always been the ſame on this point; and, ſince the Directory has entruſted me with unlimited powers, if they are diſpoſed to act wiſely at Rome, we will avail ourſelves of thoſe powers, to give peace to that beautiful part of the globe, and to quiet the timorous conſciences of many people." If this were deception, it muſt be owned that deception was never veiled under a more ſpecious garb.

M. Cacault, meanwhile, ever ſince the rejection of the ſixty-four offenſive articles, had been doing his beſt to ſecond the procaſtinatory ſyſtem of his employers, and to juſtify the witty definition which Wootton has given of an ambaſſador, that he is a man ſent to lie abroad for the benefit of his country. He laboured with an untirable perſeverance to convince the Papal government that the intentions of the Directory were pacific, that Auſtria and Naples were the natural enemies, and that France was the natural protector, of the independence of the Roman territory. This ſage and diſintereſted doctrine he poured into unwilling ears; the more eſpecially as, at the ſame moment, the commiſſioner Salicetti, who was ſtill at Florence, was holding the moſt violent language with reſpect to the Papal power. In a conference with the cardinal ſecretary of ſtate, he alſo urged that Buonaparte was well diſpoſed towards the Pope, and that the late propoſitions of peace, whatever might be the tenor of them, ought not to be conſidered as a grievance; while, on the other hand, a manifeſto recently put forth by his Holineſs, and his refuſal to execute the conditions of the armiſtice, afforded to France a legitimate cauſe of complaint.

It was not difficult to overturn this ſophiſtical reaſoning. The cardinal replied, that the diſmiſſal of the Papal envoy from Paris, and the articles which had been propoſed at Florence, not as the baſis of a negotiation, but as a law which muſt be ſubmitted to without heſitation, clearly proved that the Directory had reſolved upon war, and even upon the deſtruction of the Papal authority. It was manifeſt, then, that the court of Rome had a right to take defenſive meaſures, no other than which had it taken; and that there was neither wiſdom nor juſtice in expecting that it would blindly pay to its enemy a large ſum of money, which certainly would be employed in the accompliſhment of its own ruin. The threats thrown out by various members of the French government, and the attempts to excite inſurrection in Romagna, were likewiſe adduced by the cardinal, as indubitable proofs of a rancorouſly hoſtile ſpirit.

The validity of theſe arguments was, in fact, admitted by M. Cacault himſelf. In his diſpatches to the French general, he owned that even the moſt rational of thoſe at Rome, who were intereſted in the ſtability

ſtability of its government, were convinced by the obnoxious treaty that the Directory deſigned to deſtroy the ſacerdotal power in the Roman ſtates, and that they thought it better not to periſh without, at leaſt, offering ſome reſiſtance to the completion of that deſign. He owned, too, that the Pope would undoubtedly be rejoiced to obtain a peace on the terms of the armiſtice; but that he did not wiſh to be compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion, after having ſtripped himſelf of a ſum which amounted to little ſhort of a million ſterling. Nor did M. Cacault diſſemble that the propoſed treaty was humiliating, revolting to the feelings and doctrines of the Holy ſee, and, in many parts, not capable of being executed without infinite difficulty and embarraſſment. Yet, with a groſs contradiction or confuſion of ideas, he inceſſantly accuſed the Pope and his adviſers of obſtinacy and folly, becauſe they did not haſten to adopt meaſures of a pacific nature.

Such was the ſituation of affairs previouſly to the receiving of Buonaparte's letter by M. Cacault. What were the terms on which, at the interceſſion of the republican general, the Directory was content to reſpite the fall of the Pontiff, is not known. M. Cacault immediately intimated to the Papal miniſtry the change in the diſpoſition of his maſters. Buonaparte himſelf had, a little while before, commiſſioned Cardinal Mattei to obtain an interview with the Pope, and break the ground for a renewal of the negotiation. But the time of fear and ſubmiſſion was gone by. When the change took place in the projects of the French rulers, there ſeems no longer to have been in the Roman cabinet an eagerneſs to treat. It felt no confidence in the ſincerity of the tardy profeſſions which were now made; it doubtleſs knew the critical ſituation of the French army, and hoped that a reverſe of fortune was at hand for that horde of invaders; though Naples had ſigned a treaty, ſomething was even yet hoped from the policy or the friendſhip of the Neapolitan court; and much reliance was placed on the vaſt exertions which his imperial majeſty was making, to recover his aſcendancy in Italy. On the falling off of the Neapolitan monarch from his engagements, the Pope had diſpatched an envoy to Vienna, to ſolicit aſſiſtance; and though the Auſtrian miniſtry, with an abſurd and miſtimed haughtineſs, for a while treated this overture with coldness, complained of the Pope for having, without the emperor's conſent, ſought an alliance with Naples, and is even ſaid to have been inſane enough to demand, among other things, a ſubſidy, and the ceſſion of Ferrara and Comacchio, it at length agreed to ſuccour his holineſs, and to ſend him a general, to be placed at the head of the Papal troops. General Colli was the officer whom it ſelected to aſſume this command. The Roman government, at the ſame time, ſtrained every nerve to the utmoſt to increaſe its regular force, and, as far at leaſt as exhortation would go, to animate its ſubjects with a patriotic ſpirit. The negotiation, therefore, with M. Cacault, made no progreſs during the latter months of the year 1796.

But, whatever were the flattering hopes in which the Pope had indulged,

indulged, they were annihilated by the final defeat and diſperſion of Alvinzi's army. As ſoon as that event occurred, it was evident that Mantua muſt fall; and it was more than probable that its fall would be the ſignal for the immediate overthrow of the Papal power. Irritated by the refuſal of his Holineſs to comply with their demands, the French rulers now denounced againſt him the ſevereſt vengeance. It was, however, ſtill more againſt the Catholic religion itſelf, than againſt the Pope perſonally, that their hatred was directed. The diſpatch which, on this important ſubject, they addreſſed to Buonaparte, ſtrongly expreſſes their abhorrence of Catholiciſm, and their ardent wiſhes for its abolition. "On attentively conſidering," ſay they, "all the obſtacles which ſtand in the way of fixing the French conſtitution on a firm baſis, the executive Directory is induced to look upon the Roman worſhip as that of which, for a long time to come, the enemies of liberty may make the moſt dangerous uſe. You are too accuſtomed to reflect, citizen general, not to have felt, as much as we do, that the Roman religion will always be the irreconcilable enemy of the republic; in the firſt place, by its very eſſence, and, in the next place, becauſe that its followers and miniſters will never forgive the republic the blows which it has ſtruck at the fortune and credit of the former, at the prejudices and habits of the latter. There are doubtleſs means which may be employed, to deſtroy inſenſibly its influence in the interior; either by legiſlative meaſures, or by inſtitutions which ſhall efface the ancient impreſſions, in ſubſtituting to them new impreſſions, more analogous to the preſent order of things, and more conformable to reaſon and to ſound morality.

"To endeavour to diſcover theſe means is the buſineſs of the government; but there is one point which is, perhaps, not leſs eſſential to the attainment of this deſired end; it is to deſtroy, if poſſible, the centre of Roman unity; and to you, who have hitherto ſhown that you unite the moſt diſtinguiſhed qualities of a general with thoſe of an enlightened politician, it belongs to realiſe our wiſh, if you deem it practicable to do ſo.

"The executive Directory, therefore, invites you to do every thing that may appear to you to be poſſible, (without in anywiſe riſking the ſafety of your army; without depriving yourſelf of the reſources of all kinds which, by its agency, you can obtain for its ſupport, and for the ſervice of the republic; and without relighting the torch of fanaticiſm in Italy, inſtead of extinguiſhing it;) to deſtroy the Papal government—ſo that, either by putting Rome under the dominion of another power, or, which would be much better, by eſtabliſhing there a form of government calculated to render odious and contemptible the government of the prieſts, the Pope and the ſacred college may never be able to conceive a hope of ſitting in Rome, and may be compelled to ſeek an aſylum in ſome place, no matter where, in which they ſhall no longer be in poſſeſſion of any temporal authority."

The ſtorm at length burſt on the Roman ſtates. Secure from all attack on the ſide of the Tyrol, or of the Venetian provinces, and being

being certain that Mantua, reduced to the laſt extremity, muſt capitulate in a few days, Buonaparte directed General Victor to advance, with a diviſion of the French army, to Imola, on the frontier of the eccleſiaſtical territory. Having intercepted a part of the correſpondence of the Papal cabinet with the envoy who had been ſent to Vienna, and having thus obtained proof that the Pope was ſoliciting ſuccour from Auſtria, the French general had now a fair pretext for declaring that the armiſtice was broken. He accordingly ordered M. Cacault to quit Rome within three hours after the arrival of the republican courier. On the third of February, he iſſued, from his head quarters at Bologna, a manifeſto, in which he enumerated the various cauſes of complaint which his Holineſs had given, and concluded by denouncing war againſt him. This was accompanied by a proclamation, in the uſual French ſtyle, vaunting highly the republican exploits, making promiſes of protection to thoſe who offered no reſiſtance, but fulminating the moſt direful threats of vengeance againſt all who, not being inveſted with a military character, ſhould dare to reſiſt the progreſs of the invaders. As if it were not one of the moſt ſacred duties of every man to ſtrive, by all the means in his power, to exterminate the armed ruffians who ravage and pollute his native ſoil! As if every wanton and unprincipled violator of the peace of mankind, ought not, in ſpite of his crimſon badge, to be hunted down like a wolf, or any other noxious animal! Buonaparte, however, declared that every village or town in which, on the approach of the French, the alarm-bell was rung, ſhould be immediately burnt, and its municipal officers be ſhot; and that every diſtrict in which a Frenchman ſhould be, as he termed it, aſſaſſinated, ſhould be overrun by a moveable column, and be compelled to deliver hoſtages, and pay an extraordinary contribution. The prieſts, and individuals of monaſtic orders, were to remain uninjured, "as long as they acted according to the principles of the goſpel;" but, if they were the firſt to tranſgreſs thoſe principles, they were to be puniſhed by military law, and with more ſeverity than their fellow citizens.

It was in a more noble ſpirit that he put forth another proclamation, intended to calm the fears of the unfortunate prieſts, who, having been driven from France, had taken refuge in the Papal ſtates, and who, in all probability, were now trembling at the approach of an army of their countrymen. Declaring that he was ſatisfied with the conduct of the refugee prieſts in Italy, he authorized them to continue in the Roman territory, on condition of their taking an oath of obedience to the French republic; he forbad, under the ſevereſt penalties, their being moleſted by his own ſoldiers, or by any other perſons; he ordered them to be lodged in the convents, and fixed at fifteen livres a month the allowance to be made to each of them; and he added, that he ſhould ſee with pleaſure any thing which the biſhops, and other charitable prieſts might do, to ameliorate the fate of theſe unhappy exiles.

It is pleaſing to believe that the French general was not wholly inacceſſible

acceſſible to ſofter feelings, and that this meaſure was the ſpontaneous dictate of his heart. But he evidently thought that it might give offence to his implacable employers, and it is curious to obſerve how carefully he endeavours to dreſs an act of humanity in the colours of policy, and to convince the directors that his kindneſs to the prieſts may be productive of ſolid advantages. He ſuggeſts that it is prudent to tolerate the miniſters of religion; that they may be permitted to exiſt on a foreign ſoil; becauſe, there is a hope that they may be induced to aſſume the characters of emiſſaries and ſpies. "This order," ſays he, "is not contrary to law, and it is in conformity with our intereſts and with ſound policy; for the prieſts are ſtrongly attached to us, and are much leſs fanatical than the Romans. They are accuſtomed to prieſts having no ſhare in the government; and this is a good deal. They are very miſerable; three-fourths of them ſhed tears when they ſee a Frenchman. Beſides, by dint of hunting them about from place to place, we ſhall oblige them to ſeek ſhelter in France. As here we do not meddle with religious affairs, it is much better that theſe men ſhould remain where they are. If you approve of the ſtep which I have taken, and it does not contravene your general principles, I ſhall be able to make theſe people exceedingly uſeful in Italy." There is ſomething touching in the fact, to which he bears teſtimony, that, degraded, baniſhed, reduced to poverty as the prieſts were, by their country, the love of that country ſtill glowed in their breaſts with undiminiſhed ardour; and that the mere ſight of one born on the ſame ſoil with themſelves, even though he were an enemy, could ſwell their eyes with the blended tears of regret and of melancholy pleaſure.

Either really deſirous of removing the rational apprehenſions which the Pope might entertain for his perſonal ſafety, from the reſult of the approaching conteſt, or anxious to prevent the flight of that prince with the cardinals and his treaſures, an event which would retard the raiſing thoſe contributions of which the French ſtood in need, Buonaparte, previouſly to the publication of his menaces from Bologna, had written to Cardinal Mattei, to diſſipate the fears of the Sovereign Pontiff. "Whatever may happen," ſaid he, "I entreat you to aſſure his Holineſs that he may remain at Rome without diſquietude. As firſt miniſter of religion, he ſhall meet with protection, both for himſelf and the church. You may likewiſe aſſure the people of Rome, that they ſhall find in the French army, friends, who will only rejoice at victory, as it may better the fate of the people, and deliver Italy from the dominion of ſtrangers. My particular care ſhall be not to ſuffer any alteration to be made in the religion of their fathers." In theſe few words, the deſign of limiting the authority of the Pope within the bounds of merely ſpiritual matters ſeems to be not obſcurely hinted.

The Pope was but ill prepared to oppoſe, with any chance of ſucceſs, the threatened invaſion. The whole of his troops did not exceed twelve thouſand men, only one half of which were in the legation of

Romagna, the future ſcene of action. They had never been in active ſervice, or carefully trained, and conſequently were unpracticed in the higher ſort of military movements; nor did Colli arrive to take the command till the middle of January, when it was too late to adopt any meaſures for the improvement of their diſcipline and ſkill. In many of the nobles, and in the maſs of the people, there was much zeal; which, however, was not turned to the beſt advantage by the government in whoſe behalf it was ſhewn. A preſiding mind was wanting. There ſeem to have been no preparations made for defending the country ſtep by ſtep, haraſſing the invaders, depriving them of the means of ſubſiſtance, and thus compelling them to win their way by ſlow, painful, and exhauſting efforts; a mode of conduct which, as the French were circumſcribed in point of time, would, perhaps, have had the effect of compelling them to ſuſpend their operations, or at leaſt to grant more favourable conditions to the court of Rome. Inſtead of breaking up the roads, fortifying the paſſes, improving local obſtacles, and organizing and arming the peaſantry, the Papal cabinet appears to have ſuppoſed it to be ſufficient to rouſe the popular fury, by means of ſermons, pamphlets, and proclamations, and ſeriouſly to have expected that a miracle would be performed to arreſt the progreſs of the invaders. One of the proclamations of the Roman government was couched in the following terms, and cannot be ſaid to be a happy ſpecimen of the taſte, wiſdom, or eloquence of thoſe by whom it was framed. It might, nevertheleſs, have anſwered its purpoſe, had it been ſeconded by vigorous and enlightened exertions on the part of its authors.

"Religion for ever! The ſovereign for ever! The diſturbers of public tranquillity, the unjuſt oppreſſors of juſtice, of religion, of all law, are approaching. They burn to make their vices and their villainy triumphant; deaf to the remorſe of their conſcience, they contemn even that God who can thunder-ſtrike and annihilate them in a moment. People, you have to defend religion, your country, and your means of exiſtence. You may rely upon all poſſible aid from thoſe who rule over you. Let each of you ſwear to ſave religion, to defend his country, the ſtate, and the ſovereign, or to die! Death to cowards! Eternal rewards and praiſe to thoſe brave men who hazard their lives for the defence of every thing on earth that is moſt ſacred!"

The capability of the Roman troops was ſpeedily put to the proof. Having joined the diviſion of Victor, at Imola, Buonaparte commenced his march on the ſecond of February. Midway between Imola and Faenza, is the ſmall river Senio, behind which was entrenched the Papal army, conſiſting of not more than between three and four thouſand men. The bridge was deſtroyed, and batteries were erected on the right bank of the ſtream. Unfortunately, the dryneſs of the ſeaſon had rendered the river every where eaſily fordable. While one body of the French attacked in front, another, under General Laſne, turned the enemy's flank, and the Lombard legion, led on by General Lahoz, aſſailed the batteries.

batteries. The Papal ſoldiers boldly awaited the onſet; and they were inſpirited by the prieſts, who went among them, with the crucifix in their hands, exhorting them to perform their duty. In ſpite of their efforts, however, they were ſoon routed, and were purſued beyond Faenza; leaving behind them four or five hundred ſlain, a thouſand priſoners, and fourteen pieces of cannon. The republicans, according to their own account, loſt only forty men in gaining this cheap victory.

When the French reached Faenza, they found the gates ſhut, the alarm-bells all ringing, and the inhabitants reſolved to defend the place. The gates were ſpeedily broken open, by a few diſcharges of the cannon, and the republicans entered the town. A horrible ſcene of carnage would now have enſued, had not Buonaparte, much to the credit of his prudence or his humanity, forborne to act according to the principles of his own proclamation. Inſtead of delivering up the town to pillage, and the inhabitants to ſlaughter, and perhaps alſo ſacrificing many of his own men, he took the better courſe of endeavouring to prevail on the populace to ſubmit, by ſending among them, with promiſes of kind treatment, fifty of the Papal officers whom he had made priſoners. This ſtep had the deſired effect, and no further reſiſtance was attempted. On the following morning, he called together the monks and prieſts, for the purpoſe of exhorting them to conduct themſelves in conformity to the maxims of the Goſpel; and ſo well ſatisfied was he with the effect produced on them by his harangue, that he actually diſpatched two of them to prepare the people of Ravenna and Ceſena for the arrival of the French.

With the capture of Faenza ended all oppoſition from the Papal forces. The republicans puſhed rapidly on, through Romagna, the duchy of Urbino, and the March of Ancona; diſperſing or capturing all the feeble detachments which they found on their paſſage. Near Ancona, twelve hundred of the Roman troops occupied a poſt on ſome heights, with the purpoſe of at once covering that town and deriving protection from it. They were enveloped by the invaders and compelled to lay down their arms, without having fired a ſingle ſhot. Ancona did not wait to be beſieged. It opened its gates, and the republicans found in the place three thouſand five hundred muſkets, which had been ſent by the emperor, and a hundred and twenty pieces of heavy cannon, beſides ammunition and other ſtores.

From Ancona a detachment of cavalry was ſent forward to ſeize upon the treaſures of the Santa Caſa at Loretto. This was an expedition in which the love of plunder and the hatred of Catholiciſm were both to be richly gratified. One of its objects was, however, in part fruſtrated. Previouſly to the arrival of the French, the greateſt portion of the treaſure had been removed by General Colli; the only ſervice which he had an opportunity of rendering to the Papal government. The republicans, nevertheleſs, boaſted that they got poſſeſſion of gold and ſilver, to the value of a million of livres; though this ſtatement is ſaid to be much exaggerated.

The French commiſſioners of arts, as they were called, who accompanied the detachment, amuſed themſelves, and gratified their maſters, by "ſeizing on thoſe portable objects which had been made uſe of to cheat the credulity of the people," and tranſporting them to Paris. "Theſe articles," ſaid they, "conſiſt of a wooden image, pretended to be miraculous, of the Madonna; of a rag of old clouded camlet; and of three broken two-handled porringers, of bad Faenza ware, aſſerted to have been a part of her houſehold ſtuff, but which certainly are not of ſufficient antiquity to juſtify ſuch an aſſertion." That nothing might be wanting to throw ridicule on theſe unlucky relics, they put the ſeal of the general in chief upon them, to remove all doubts of their authenticity, and drew up a circumſtantial report of their proceedings, to which the archdeacon of Loretto was obliged to affix his ſignature. They then ſhut up the Santa Caſa. Thoſe who know with what veneration these relics were regarded by the leſs enlightened Italians, will ſmile at the boaſt of General Berthier, that, during this incurſion into the Papal ſtates, one of the things in which the French army placed its glory, was the giving a ſplendid example of reſpect for the liberty of public worſhip; nor will they credit that, in conſequence of this, all the people of the conquered provinces were happy and content.

From Ancona, the invaders directed their courſe acroſs the Apennines, towards Foligno, where they were to be joined by a diviſion which had advanced from Leghorn, by the route of Sienna and Cortona. This latter body of troops took poſſeſſion of the Perugiano and the northern part of Umbria.

The court of Rome was by this time in the utmoſt conſternation; many of the richeſt families were flying from the city, with whatever property they could ſave, to find a ſhelter at Naples. In this ſituation of affairs, Cardinal Mattei, who had ſome credit with the French general, was authorized to write to him, to implore his forbearance for his holineſs. Naples alſo interpoſed its good offices. This ſtep was a welcome one to Buonaparte, who was exceedingly deſirous of being ſpared the neceſſity of proceeding to Rome. He accordingly replied in moderate language, and granted five days for the arrival of a negotiator at Foligno, on behalf of the Pope, to conclude a peace.

The Pontiff had already anticipated this demand. He had deputed four envoys, one of whom was the cardinal, to treat with the French general, and had addreſſed to him a letter, not ill calculated to conciliate the kindneſs of the perſon for whom it was intended. The conferences were held at Tolentino; but there could be little room for diſcuſſion between two parties, one of which was, or ſuppoſed itſelf to be, at the mercy of the other. The Roman plenipotentiaries endeavoured to obtain ſome alleviation of the pecuniary burthens impoſed on their maſter; but they were ſilenced by the laconic menace of Buonaparte, that, if the articles were not unreſervedly agreed to on the morrow, he would march againſt Rome on the day after. There was, therefore, nothing left to be done except to ſubmit, and the treaty was, in conſequence,

ſequence, ſigned, on the nineteenth of February.

This treaty, which Buonaparte himſelf truly deſcribed to Cardinal Mattei, as being ſimilar to the capitulation granted to a beſieged town, conſiſted of twenty-ſix articles. By the principal of theſe, the Pope agreed to renounce all alliances, offenſive or defenſive, with any power whatever, and to refuſe all ſuccour to ſtates at war with France; to diſmiſs his newly raiſed troops; to ſhut his ports againſt all armed veſſels which belonged to countries hoſtile to the republic; to cede Avignon, the Comtat Venaiſſin, and their dependencies, and the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna; to allow the city and diſtrict of Ancona to remain in military poſſeſſion of the French till the concluſion of a continental peace; to pay, in addition to the ſixteen millions yet due on the armiſtice, an additional ſum of fifteen millions of livres, within a ſpecified period; to execute immediately thoſe articles of the armiſtice which related to manuſcripts and objects of art; to diſavow the murder of Baſſeville, and to pay three hundred thouſand livres as an indemnity to thoſe who ſuffered on that occaſion; and to ſet at liberty all perſons who had been impriſoned on account of their political opinions. The other clauſes were of leſs moment; but, as may well be imagined, they were all favourable to the victorious republicans. *

* With what good faith the French performed their part of a treaty, by which they obtained ſuch immenſe advantages, will appear from the following note, addreſſed to General Buonaparte, by M. Cacault, the French envoy at Rome. This paper does honour to the moderation and candour of M Cacault: but it is a ſevere impeachment of his countrymen, who perſiſted in treating as a conquered territory the dominions of a ſovereign who had dearly bought a peace with his conquerors.

"The Marquis Maſſimi, one of the plenipotentiaries of the Pope, who ſigned the treaty of Tolentino, is deputed to you by his Holineſs, from whom he will preſent you with a letter. I have given him a paſſport to enable him to proceed to you, where he will be accredited, as I am here, by his ſole quality of plenipotentiary who was charged with the ſignature of the peace. He has the entire confidence of the Pope, and of the Cardinal Secretary of State; he is ſent by them; and is one of the moſt conſiderable perſonages of Rome. I believe that, after the legiſlative body ſhall have ratified the treaty, he will be ſent to reſide at Paris as the Papal miniſter; he is one of the beſt informed in this country with reſpect to public affairs.

"This envoy of the Pope is inſtructed, 1ſt. to require moſt urgently, in the name of the Pope, the re eſtabliſhment of the civil authority of his Holineſs at Ancona; the Pope taking upon himſelf the maintenance of the French garriſon, as long as ſhall remain in that city. The ſubjoined memorial, in Italian, No. 1, has been remitted to me by the Cardinal Secretary of State relative to this object, and it contains motives which are worthy of attention. The Roman government contends that if, on the one hand, the French republic has not wiſhed, by the treaty, to do ſo great an injury to all the reſt of the eccleſiaſtical ſtates as that which would be done by the privation of the civil authority at Ancona; on the other hand, famine and political diſorganization in all the reſt of the Papal ſtates, as well as the total ruin of its finances, would be the immediate conſequences of ſuch a privation. The March of Ancona, which is a fertile country, ſupplies all the other provinces of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; but if the liberty of exporting grain is granted in the port of Ancona, the temptation of gain will draw from that port all that now ſerves for the ſubſiſtence of the neighbouring provinces. Likewiſe, if an uniform rule is not followed with reſpect to the duties, the port of Ancona being ſurrounded by an open country, every thing may be eaſily drawn from it, and the finances of the Pope will be deprived of the reſources ariſing from the duties. Laſtly, if an authority independent of the

Yet, hard as were the terms of this treaty, it muſt be confeſſed that, conſidering the helpleſs ſituation, and the palſying terrors, of Pius the Sixth, they were not ſo hard as the conqueror was, perhaps, expected to impoſe. In ſome reſpects they were leſs offenſive than thoſe which were inſiſted on by the Directory, in the preceding September, and which it had declared its determination never to modify.

Pope be eſtabliſhed at Ancona, connected as that place is with the adjacent territory, there will be a ſtate within a ſtate, and the political order of things will be infinitely diſturbed there, or completely overthrown.

" 2d. The Pope alſo claims the power, from this period, of returning into poſſeſſion of the civil government of the other diſtricts, ſuch as Peſcara, Macerata, &c. which ought to be evacuated by the French army. The new authorities which are eſtabliſhed in thoſe diſtricts, being manifeſtly in oppoſition to the power of the Pope, do not ceaſe to purſue meaſures, which take from the government all its reſources, throw it into the greateſt embarraſſment, and diſorder entirely the political and economical ſyſtem of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

" 3d. The municipalities of Ancona, of Macerata, &c. do not ceaſe in the province of the March, to demand the moſt enormous requiſitions of horſes, oxen, cloth, ſhirts, ſhoes, and even of grain, ordering the conveyance of them to Ancona, under the ſevereſt penalties; a conduct that drives to utter deſpair this province, which ſees that it is to be ſtripped of every thing, and that it is on the point of being expoſed to the moſt horrible famine. As it is the nurſing mother of the capital, and that great fears are felt for the city of Rome itſelf, a prompt remedy is demanded for ſo ſerious an inconvenience, in the confidence that, after a treaty of peace, the agents of the French government cannot have in view the total ruin of this province.

All theſe requiſitions are not for the daily ſubſiſtence of the French troops, and the contributions which reſult from them, being impoſed ſubſequently to the ſignature of the treaty, will be placed to my account here, as ſo many payments made towards the contribution which was ſtipulated for at Tolentino; and as, after the concluſion of a peace, nothing beyond that ſtipulated contribution can be required, I cannot, without injuſtice, refuſe to admit the value of theſe new requiſitions to be ſet down as ſo much in diſcharge of the laſt inſtalments of the contributions. Have the goodneſs to let me know your intentions on this head.

" 4th. A great number of eccleſiaſtics, of rich men, and of religious inſtitutions, who poſſeſs eſtates in Romagna, in the duchy of Urbino, and in the March of Ancona, are domiciliated at Rome, or employed by the Pontifical government. They flattered themſelves that, peace being reſtored, they ſhould be ſuffered to enjoy quietly their incomes; but commiſſioners of the French army have every where laid ſequeſtrations on the above-mentioned property, and the proprietors find themſelves entirely deprived of it. If their eſtates were ſituated in France, they would enjoy them freely, as ſubjects of a ſtate in amity with the republic. If a new law and newly invented meaſures of rigour in the conquered countries are to ſtrip them of all their rights, we ſhall be execrated here; while, on the contrary, if every thing be preſerved to them, it will be conſidered as an obligation, and all the great prelates of Rome will in ſome degree be dependent on us. This object ſurely requires to be re-ſyſtematized.

" 5th. The cardinals, prelates, and others, who poſſeſs property in the Milaneſe, and who are in the ſervice of the Pope, conſidering that they belong to a power actually at peace with France, require that they may be allowed to receive their revenues, according to the laws uſually followed in this reſpect: a ſequeſtration has been put not only on their eccleſiaſtical property, but alſo on their patrimonial eſtates. Cardinal Buſca, the ſecretary of ſtate, who is one of the number thus ſituated, aſks nothing for himſelf, if there are any private reaſons which operate againſt him perſonally; but I ought to ſay that, ſince the treaty of peace, he does his duty, and neglects nothing which can manifeſt his good conduct towards us; and, as we can know nothing of hatred or of a ſtate of war with reſpect to individuals, he will doubtleſs be treated like the reſt. I conceive that I have acted here on a proper

The

The legation of Romagna was now, indeed, added to the ceſſions; but the demands, which were before made, of the duchies of Caſtro, Ronciglione, Benevento, and Ponte Corvo, of the power of putting, on the breaking out of every future war, a garriſon into Ancona and Civita Vecchia, and of the liberty of ſending troops through the Papal territories, were abandoned. The pecuniary contribution was encreaſed; but, on the other hand, the Pope was no longer called upon to pay a monthly tribute during the continuance of hoſtilities with the emperor, ſomething was deducted from the ſum claimed to atone for the murder of Baſſeville, and he was not, as before, to be compelled to provide for all French prieſts, friars, and nuns, who might chuſe to reſide in his ſtates. But, above all, and this, in the opinion of the Roman government, was the chief point, no conceſſions were extorted upon religious ſubjects. It is probable that, to ſecure this advantage, the Pope and his adviſers would have conſented to temporal ſacrifices of a ſtill more onerous kind.

For the comparative moderation of the terms of peace the Pope was indebted to various cauſes. Some reſpect for his perſonal character was, perhaps, among thoſe cauſes; but that alone would have availed him little, had it not been ſeconded by conſiderations of a more powerful kind. It was at firſt the intention of Buonaparte to inſiſt on the ceſſion of the duchy of Urbino and the march of Ancona, in addition to that of the three legations, and alſo that his holineſs ſhould give up the whole of his cavalry and artillery horſes, and the arms of all the regiments which had been raiſed ſubſequently to the ſigning of the articles agreed upon at Bologna, in the month of June. The demand of the provinces of Urbino and Ancona he, however, commuted for a ſum of twelve millions of livres. To have inſiſted upon the

view of things, in not ſhowing to any perſon any remembrance of paſt errors or enmities; all is effaced by the treaty, if it be faithfully executed.

* * * * *

"6th. The Marquis Maſſimi is alſo inſtructed to look to what relates to the priſoners who are to be reſtored to the Pope: I have warned him that he will find this object in a confuſed ſtate*.

* * * * *

"When we have nearly, by bits and ſcraps, as well as we can, ſecured the 30,000,000 of livres, without reckoning all the other loſſes which the war has coſt the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, we ſhall have exhauſted every thing; and it is poſſible to go on with this till the laſt, without occaſioning any diſturbance or irritation which may degenerate into fury: it is neceſſary that we ſhould be able afterwards to remain good friends, or at leaſt in a certain degree of harmony. Allow me, then, to requeſt of you, citizen general in chief, that you will have the kindneſs to lend an attentive ear to the Marquis Maſſimi, and to arrange ſo, that whatever you may think to be uſeful and juſt, may be ordered and regulated according to your own ſage ideas, and not abandoned to the wild vivacity of hot-headed perſons."†

* By the treaty, all the priſoners were to be immediately reſtored.

† M. Cacault appears here to allude to M. Azara, of whom, in another part of his diſpatch, he ſays "that he is apt to get chafed, and to involve himſelf in perſonalities." This M. Azara was the Spaniſh miniſter at the court of Rome; but a devoted creature or tool of the French directory.

ceſſion of the march of Ancona, would, in fact, have been inſiſting on nothing leſs than the power of ſtarving the remainder of the Papal ſtates.

The intervention of the King of Naples, in favour of the ſovereign Pontiff, had no ſmall ſhare in relaxing the ſtubbornneſs of the French general. Even had the Neapolitan monarch felt no regard for his Holineſs, it was impoſſible for him to ſee, without much alarm, a French army penetrating to the very frontier of his own dominions. The recently concluded treaty might, for any thing that he was authoriſed to believe to the contrary, prove a feeble barrier againſt French rapacity and ambition, ſhould the republican army find a convenient opportunity for acting againſt him. He was, therefore, exceedingly anxious to avert the approach of a force which, though it could not in ſtrictneſs be deſcribed as conſiſting of enemies, he could hardly be juſtified in conſidering as being compoſed of friends. The Neapolitan ambaſſador at Paris had been repeatedly inſtructed to plead with the Directory the cauſe of the Pope; and, as it was not yet prudent for the republicans to carry their ſchemes into execution, his arguments ſeemed to be productive of the deſired effect. Now, that the danger was imminent, Prince Belmonte Pignatelli, one of the miniſters of the king of Naples, was diſpatched to Buonaparte, to intercede for his Holineſs; at the ſame time that, as we have already ſtated, Cardinal Mattei wrote to the French general with the ſame view.

The prince did not conceal from the republican leader the ſtrong intereſt which his maſter took in this queſtion, nor the length to which he was prepared to go, in order to obtain ſuch a reſult as he wiſhed for. "He told me confidentially," ſays Buonaparte, "and ſhewed me alſo, in the ſtricteſt confidence, and not officially, the article in his inſtructions by which it appeared that the king his maſter was ſo deeply intereſted in the affairs of Rome, that he had put in march a body of troops to ſupport his repreſentations on this head.

"I replied in the ſame confidential manner, that if, three months ago, I did not cruſh the pride of the Pope, it was, becauſe I had no doubt that contrary to the law of nations and the tenor of the treaty, the king of Naples meant to meddle with this buſineſs; and that, in fact, I had not then the means of coping with him; but that now I could diſpoſe of the thirty thouſand men who had been employed before Mantua, and of the forty thouſand men who came from the interior of France, and that if the king his maſter threw down the glove to me, I would take it up; that, nevertheleſs, the republic was willing to give to the king of Naples every ſatisfaction that was compatible with its dignity and its intereſt. Then, reſuming the official tone, he diſavowed the language which he had held confidentially."

A ſeverer ſarcaſm upon the king of Naples could not well be uttered than this ſpeech of Buonaparte; and it is probable that the French general intended it ſhould be felt. It was, in truth, not undeſerved. It had been in the power of the Neapolitan ſovereign to aſſert his independence

independence and dignity by arms; and, perhaps, even to have the glory of contributing largely to reſcue Italy from French domination; inſtead of which he had choſen to procure a diſhonourable and temporary ſafety by a treaty, which, under his circumſtances, muſt be called diſgraceful, as he not only ſhrunk from a conteſt, but conſented to purchaſe a peace by the ſacrifice of eight millions of livres*. He, therefore, well merited the reproof, and the ſneer at his want of wiſdom, which were ſo pointedly implied in the words of Buonaparte.

But, whatever contempt the French general might feel for the Neapolitan court, or however ſure he might be that its armies were not equal in ſkill and valour to thoſe of France, he was aware that this was not the time to put their proweſs to the trial. He had an important taſk to perform in a diſtant quarter, and in this caſe delay would be almoſt as prejudicial as defeat. It would have been the groſſeſt impolicy to engage in a tedious conteſt more than two hundred miles from the Po, and in a dangerous poſition, while the ſucceſs of the approaching campaign, againſt the emperor, obviouſly depended on his taking the field before the imperial army was in a ſituation to oppoſe his progreſs. He himſelf ſummed up, in the following paragraph, his principal reaſons for negotiating. "I prefer an accommodation, to marching to Rome; 1ſt. becauſe that this will ſpare me a diſcuſſion, which may be a very ſerious one, with the king of Naples; 2d. becauſe that, as the Pope and all the princes will take flight from Rome, I ſhall never be able to draw from it what I demand; 3d. Becauſe that Rome, deſpoiled of its fineſt provinces, cannot long exiſt; a revolution will of itſelf take place there; 4th. Becauſe the court of Rome ceding to us all its rights over thoſe countries, this cannot, at a general peace, be conſidered as a momentary ſucceſs but as a ſettled thing; and laſtly, this will render the diviſion of the army, which is here, immediately diſpoſable for the operations in Friuli, and will, before I come to blows with the Auſtrians, give me time to conclude ſome ſecret article with the ſenate of Venice." To theſe valid reaſons he might have added the danger of being expoſed to inſurrections of the people; the great body of whom were decidedly hoſtile to the French, and many of whom had already taken up arms in various parts. All this, together with the preſſing want of money to put his army in motion on the Adige, weighed ſo ſtrongly on the mind of Buonaparte, that, as we have ſeen, he even deſiſted from his pretenſions to the provinces of Urbino and Ancona, and contented himſelf with the more available ſubſtitute of twelve millions of livres. In fact, without the Roman contributions, it was almoſt impracticable for the French to execute their project of penetrating into Germany through the Venetian ſtates. It was alſo another important reaſon for bringing this affair to a cloſe, that Buonaparte had received information that the Archduke Charles was arrived at Trieſte, and

* This circumſtance, which, in our volume for 1796, we mentioned in a doubtful tone, is now proved to be a fact, by a diſpatch of M. Cacault.

that

that the Auſtrian troops, to reinforce their army, were now marching from all quarters.

As ſoon as the treaty was ſigned, the French general wrote a flattering letter to his Holineſs; in which he ſtated that it gave him pleaſure that he had been able to contribute to his repoſe, conjured him to be on his guard againſt thoſe who were ſold to the enemies of France, complimented the pacific and conciliatory virtues of Pius, declared his perfect reſpect and veneration for him, and his deſire always to give him proofs of them, and expreſſed his hope that "the French republic would always be one of the trueſt friends of Rome." How well his hope was accompliſhed, our next volume will diſcloſe. Having arranged every thing to his ſatisfaction in this part of Italy, Buonaparte, with his ſtaff-officers, hurried away to rejoin his army in the Venetian territory; leaving to General Victor the care of receiving the contributions, and carrying into effect the other articles of the treaty.

In the midſt of the horrors and calamities occaſioned by pride, ambition, or paſſions of even a worſe kind, it is gratifying to meet with a few acts which emanate from man's better nature, and which, like flowers among barren rocks, delight us the more by their contraſt with the gloom and deſolation that ſurround them. On his march towards Rome, Buonaparte neceſſarily paſſed at a ſhort diſtance from the little republic of San Marino. This republic which, with the exception of that of Gerſau, on the Lake of Lucerne, is the moſt diminutive in Europe, has exiſted in freedom for twelve centuries, while all around it has been enſlaved, and it has only known from deſcription the miſeries of war. The republic of Venice, in the moſt palmy ſtate of its glory, did not diſdain to be greeted as "the deareſt ſiſter" of this humble but intereſting community. In the ſweeping deſtruction of all the exiſting governments of Italy, which the French ſeemed to have determined on, the citizens of San Marino had too much reaſon to fear that the mere name which their form of government bore, would be a ſlender protection; and it is, therefore, probable, that they looked with conſiderable anxiety on the movements of the French general.

Their fears, whatever might be the extent of them, were, however, removed by Buonaparte, who diſpatched M. Monge to San Marino, not only to aſſure the inhabitants of his eſteem, but alſo to make them an offer of enlarging their ſcanty limits, ſhould any part of the neighbouring territory appear to be abſolutely neceſſary to them. Though the ſpeech of M. Monge was, like moſt French ſpeeches, in a wretched theatrical taſte, and in ſome points wandered far away from truth, yet the ſtrain of compliment in which it was drawn up, and the tranquillizing aſſurances which it gave, could not fail of affording ſatisfaction to thoſe to whom it was addreſſed. The captain-regents and the council of San Marino were, however, not to be ſeduced from the path of prudence by the ſplendid proſpects which were thus opened to them. They expreſſed warmly their gratitude for the proffered favour: but, with a wiſe forbearance which cannot be

too

too much praiſed, they declined availing themſelves of the dangerous gift. "Tell him," ſaid they, "that the republic of San Marino, contented with its mediocrity, fears to accept the generous offer which has been made to it, of extending its territory, ſince that extenſion might, at length, put its liberty to hazard." They, therefore, bounded their wiſhes to a cloſer commercial connection with France, and to a treaty with that power, for the purpoſe of guaranteeing the ſafety of San Marino. On his return from Tolentino, Buonaparte made to this miniature republic a preſent of four pieces of cannon, ordered ſome grain, which it wiſhed to purchaſe, to be gratuitouſly furniſhed to it, and likewiſe exempted from all contributions whatever poſſeſſions were held by its citizens within the legation of Romagna.

In another inſtance, too, about the ſame period, the French general acted in a manner which was honourable to his feelings and taſte. On the right bank of the Mincio, below the fortreſs of Mantua, is the village of Pietola, anciently Andes, the birth-place of Virgil, the country immediately round which, ſtill bears the name of the Virgilian fields. This village had ſuffered ſeverely in the recent conteſts; but, by order of Buonaparte, the inhabitants were now indemnified for their loſſes, and a column, with appropriate inſcriptions, was erected, in memory of the Roman poet.

CHAP. XV.

Campaign againſt the Emperor on the Side of Italy. Poſitions of the Auſtrians and French previous to the Opening of the Campaign. Actions at Lovadina and other Places. Powerful Reinforcements ſent to Buonaparte by the Directory. Mutiny quelled by Bernadotte. Strength of Buonaparte's Army. The Interior of France ſtripped of Troops, in order to enable him to make a great Effort. Exertions of Buonaparte to have his Army well Officered. Diſheartened State of the Auſtrian Army. The Archduke Charles placed at the Head of it. Tardy putting in Motion of the Reinforcements intended for him. Eagerneſs of the Directory for the Opening of the Campaign. It promiſes that the Armies on the Rhine ſhall be put in Motion to ſecond the Army of Italy. Plan of the French General. Proclamation addreſſed by Buonaparte to his Army on the Day on which he commenced the Campaign. Amount of Contributions drawn from Italy. Contemptuous Language uſed with reſpect to the Houſe of Auſtria. Revolutionary Appeal to the People. Inſtructions of the Directory. The Principles of the French Government the ſame as under the Reign of the Convention. Inſtructions of Buonaparte to Joubert, reſpecting his Conduct in the Tyrol. Firſt Movements of the French Armies. Serrurier and Guyeux compel Hohenzollern to retreat behind the Piave. Operations of Maſſena in the Country of Cadore. General Luſignan defeated, and made Priſoner with a Part of his Army. Retreat of General Sporck. Poſition of the Auſtrians

Auſtrians behind the Tagliamento. The Archduke retires from it after a ſlight Action. He takes Poſt behind the Iſonzo. The Poſt not tenable in Conſequence of the Dryneſs of the Weather. Capture of Gradiſca by Bernadotte. Buonaparte diſſatisfied with Bernadotte. Retreat of the Archduke to Wippach. Trieſte and the Mines of Idria taken Poſſeſſion of by the French. Inflammatory Proclamation of Buonaparte to the People of the Province of Goritzia. Deſcription of the Chain of Mountains on the German Frontier. Plan of the Archduke to turn the left Flank, and fall on the Rear of the invading Force. Movements in Conſequence. The Plan is fruſtrated by Maſſena having obtained Poſſeſſion of the Paſs of Tarvis. Miſconduct of General Ocſkay. The Archduke ſends Orders to recover the Paſs. Gallantry of General Gontreuil. He drives the French from Saffnitz. They advance with ſuperior Forces and recover that Place. The Column of General Bayaliſch ſurrounded and made Priſoners. The Archduke reſolves to fall back on his Reinforcements. Preparations for Defence at Vienna. Camps and Works formed. Patriotiſm of the Citizens and Peaſants, Hungarian Levy in Maſs called out. Impolitic Conduct of the Auſtrian Cabinet at the Outſet of the War. The French Army advances to Klagenfert. Letter of Buonaparte to the Archduke Charles, making Overtures. Anſwer of the Archduke. Proclamation of Buonaparte to the Carinthians. Abuſe of England. Falſe Aſſertions of Buonaparte. Cruelties committed by the Republican Soldiers. The Army of the Archduke purſued by Buonaparte. Indeciſive Combats at Freiſach, Neumarkt, and Hundsmarkt. The French advance to Judenberg, Knittelfeldt, and Leoben. Operations in the Tyrol. Joubert defeats Kerpen, and compels him to retreat towards Botzen. After an obſtinate Conteſt he alſo drives back Laudohn to the Valley of Meran. Kerpen defeated a ſecond Time at Clauſen. He falls back to the Neighbourhood of Sterzing. Joubert enters Brixen. Error committed by Kerpen. Joubert fails in an Attempt to drive Kerpen over the Mountains. His embarraſſed Situation. The Tyrolians riſe in Maſs. Advantages obtained over the French by Laudohn. Kerpen advances againſt them. Joubert impedes his Progreſs by burning the Bridges. He ſucceeds in effecting a Junction with the main Body of the French Army. The French driven from the Italian Tyrol. Laudohn advances to the Neighbourhood of Verona. Situation of Buonaparte. His Intentions. The Emperor reſolves to treat. He ſends two Generals to propoſe an Armiſtice. An Armiſtice concluded for ſix Days. Line occupied by the French Army. Recapture of Trieſte, and Fiume by Colonel Caſimir. The French inſiſt on re-entering Trieſte.

SUBSEQUENTLY to the defeat of Alvinzi, in January, the Auſtrian army was cantoned in the Trentine, and in the Venetian provinces of Feltre, Belluno, and Treviſo. Its right extended, by the Val di Non and the Val di Sole, to the mountains of Boremo and the upper Engadine, whence the Adda, the Aglio, the Adige, and the Inn derive their widely-diverging waters. Its centre ſtretched from the Adige, by the Lavis, along the Val di Cembra and the Val di Taſſa,

Taſſa, acroſs the mountains, and down the Cordevole, to Feltre, on the river Piave. The left wing held the left bank of the Piave, from Feltre to the Adriatic ſea. In the beginning of February, the Archduke withdrew behind the Tagliamento a part of his army, conſiſting of about fifteen thouſand men, in order to ſend it into cantonments in Carinthia and Friuli. The remainder was about twenty-three thouſand ſtrong, of which eleven thouſand on the right, under general Liptay, afterwards replaced by generals Kerpen and Laudohn, defended the territory from the mountains of the Engadine to Salurn, and, covering the valley of the Adige, barred the entrance of the Tyrol; general Luſignan with ſeven thouſand men, took charge of the country between Salurn and Feltre; and general Hohenzollern, with five thouſand troops, watched the Piave from Feltre to the mouth of the river.

In front of this line, and at no great diſtance, was that which was held by the republican army. The French line commenced, on the left, at Vezzano, in the Trentine, and, paſſing by Trent, followed the valley of the Brenta to Baſſano, whence it was continued to the vicinity of Treviſo. Joubert commanded in the Trentine, Maſſena in the centre, and the diviſion on the right was under the immediate direction of Buonaparte himſelf.

During the period that Buonaparte was engaged in the conqueſt of the Eccleſiaſtical ſtates, nothing of any importance took place in the Trentine, or the Venetian ſtates. Several ſharp actions did indeed occur between the out poſts, and detached bodies, particularly at Deutſchmetz and Cembra, in the Tyrol; and at Lovadina, on the Piave; in which the French were ſometimes worſted, and in two inſtances with conſiderable loſs; but theſe affairs did not produce any change in the relative ſituation of the two parties. Whatever trifling advantages might be gained by the Auſtrians, they were too weak to improve them; and their antagoniſts had no intention to move forward till they were enabled to do ſo with effect, by the arrival of the whole of their reinforcements.

The rapid incurſion into the Eccleſiaſtical ſtates had at length furniſhed Buonaparte with thoſe pecuniary means which were indiſpenſible, to enable him to put his forces in motion againſt the German provinces of the emperor. It was the care of the Directory to render his army ſufficiently ſtrong to bear down whatever reſiſtance might be oppoſed to its progreſs. "Give me men," ſaid he to the Directory, "and I will ſupply you with money." Accordingly it ſpared no exertions to accompliſh that deſirable purpoſe; or, in its own facetious language, to exchange reinforcements for a few millions in caſh. From the army of the coaſts of the ocean it drew one diviſion of infantry, and two other diviſions from the armies of the Rhine and of the Sambre and Meuſe. Theſe diviſions conſiſted nominally of forty thouſand men; but it is probable that not more than thirty four or thirty five thouſand effective men joined the army of Italy. To theſe muſt be added a body of about fifteen hundred cavalry.

Theſe

These reinforcements arrived in Lombardy at various periods, between the latter end of January, and the latter end of February; the major part of them towards the close of February. Those from the Rhine were led by Bernadotte, and are said to have crossed the Alps without the Austrian government having obtained the slightest information of their movements; a fact which, unaccountable as it is, and not a little disgraceful to the Austrians, appears, nevertheless, to be true. At Milan a mutiny of a part of these troops took place, in consequence of their not having been paid; but it was crushed by the firmness of Bernadotte, who resolutely rushed among them, and threatened to run his sabre through the body of the first man who dared refuse to march.

By the junction of these divisions Buonaparte was placed at the head of a more powerful army than any which he had hitherto commanded, and he might reasonably hope that he should be enabled to increase the military renown which he had already acquired. The number of men which he had now under his orders, including three thousand Italians and Poles, fell scarcely short of eighty thousand. Much was indeed expected from him, by the French rulers, who had, as they informed him, absolutely stripped the interior, so as to leave it without a single corps of reserve, in order that he might have the means of pushing his conquests in the most vigorous manner. They also warned him, that it would be impossible for them to send him any further succour, unless by his victories he put it in their power to draw more troops with safety from the armies on the Rhine; nor did they forget to remind him, that the barren treasury of the republic stood greatly in need of being fructified by his active exertions.

It was not alone to the numerical amount of his army that a strict attention was paid by the republican general. He was anxious that it should excel in its composition as much as in its strength; and, especially, that it should be officered by men on whose skill and ready obedience he could confidently rely. In consequence, he requested that, to act under him, young men might be sent, who would habituate themselves to a war of rapid movement and of manœuvring; he deprecated the burthening of him with any who had fought in Vendee, as they, he said, understood nothing of war; he pointed out to the Directory many officers whose services he wished for; and he subjoined to his dispatch a list of those whom he desired to be recalled from Italy, because their lack of talent rendered them unfit to be entrusted with command. His army was chiefly composed of veterans, and, by these judicious measures, he supplied it with leaders who were capable of turning the courage and experience of those veterans to the best account. It is manifest that an army so constituted must take the field with many advantages on its side; and, consequently, with the well grounded and cheering anticipation of obtaining an almost certain triumph.

The Austrian army, on the contrary, was in a very different situation. It was not less morally than it was physically weakened. The greatest part of the veterans had

had fallen, or been made prisoners, in a succession of defeats, and the few who were left had lost that confidence and alacrity without the possession of which nothing praiseworthy can be achieved. The remainder of the troops were new levies, who had seen no service, and who could not but consider as an ill-omened one that on which they were now sent. Nor was despondency confined to the mere soldiery; it extended to the officers, many of whom seemed also more disposed to criticise each other's faults than to strive to repair them. It is even said, that a worse evil prevailed, and that French gold had been profusely employed, to seduce a portion of them from the paths of honour and duty. It is certain that, before the opening of the campaign, it was found necessary to make examples of some, who, either from treachery or from incapacity, had proved that they no longer ought to be trusted with an authority which, in their hands, might endanger the safety of their country.

As the best remedy that could be applied in this precarious state of affairs, the Austrian cabinet resolved to give to the Archduke Charles the command on the Italian frontier. It was hoped that his splendid talents would counterbalance those of the French general; and, above all, that the glory which he had so recently gained, would revive the dejected courage of the Austrian soldiers. The measure was undoubtedly a wise one, and might have been effective, had it been promptly followed up by others of equal wisdom. This, however, was not the case. Large reinforcements of excellent troops were indeed ordered from the Rhine, but this order was so tardily issued, that it was not possible for them to reach their destination till long after the commencement of the campaign. Nothing could be more impolitic than this slowness, as it was evident that, whichever of the contending parties succeeded in striking the first successful blow would, in all probability, preserve the ascendency thus obtained over his defeated antagonist.

In this situation of affairs, it was manifestly to the advantage of the French to open the campaign at as early a period as possible. Their military chest was replenished, their reinforcements were arrived, their preparations were completed, and they had, therefore, nothing to gain by delay. By attacking immediately they might, on the contrary, strike a blow against the Archduke Charles before the arrival of the succours which he expected, and cripple his army in such a manner that even those succours, when they did arrive, would be incompetent to their intended purpose. So strongly impressed was the Directory with this idea, that, although the French armies on the Rhine were not yet in a condition to take the field, it twice importuned its general in Italy to commence the campaign; promising him that every exertion should be timely made to second him on the side of Franconia and Suabia. He was thus induced to believe that the Rhine would be crossed about the same period that he himself effected the passage of the Tagliamento. This promise was not performed, and the consequences of the breach of it had nearly proved fatal. Buonaparte, however,

however, relying upon its execution, and naturally diſpoſed to daring meaſures, reſolved without heſitation, to attempt the bold and hazardous enterprize of leading his army under the walls of Vienna. He was no doubt urged on likewiſe by the additional and potent ſtimulus of rivalſhip, and the flattering hope of rending the recently acquired laurels from the brow of his princely antagoniſt.

It appears to have been the plan of the French general to penetrate, with his centre and right wing, through the paſſes of the Noric and Julian Alps, into the heart of Carinthia, turning, if poſſible, the right flank of the forces under the Archduke, while his left wing moved up the Tyrol, expelled the Auſtrians fr m all the ſouth of that country, and at length effected its junction with him by the valleys of the Rientz and the Drave. He might then, as circumſtances ſhould dictate, either move upon Vienna, or direct his march to Saltzburg, and enter Bavaria by the valley of the Inn, for the purpoſe of uniting with Hoche and Moreau. By this latter movement the enemy would, he was of opinion, be compelled to abandon the northern Tyrol. His conqueſts he conceived to be adequately guarded on the ſide of the Trentine by the garriſons and fortreſſes of Peſchiera and Mantua, the entrenched camp of Caſtel Nuovo, and five or ſix thouſand men, under general Kilmaine. General Victor with a diviſion, conſiſting of about eight thouſand men, was deſtined to occupy the three Papal legations, garriſon Ancona, and keep a watchful eye over the Neapolitan monarch. The force led by Buonaparte, through the Venetian territory, was, perhaps, betwen forty and fifty thouſand men; that which was entruſted to Joubert, in the Tyrol, was about half that number.

With the French republicans the weapon, as they called it, of proclamations was a favourite one, and by no perſon was it more uſed than by Buonaparte. From Baſſano, on the ſame day March 10th. on which he opened the campaign, he iſſued one of theſe provocatives, addreſſed to his ſoldiers, and partly intended to ſtimulate them to exertion, but deſigned alſo to produce, in another quarter, a beneficial effect to his cauſe. In the outſet of it he made a pompous enumeration of the many ſplendid triumphs which his army had obtained; not forgetting to ſtate that it had, for the firſt time, planted the flag of France "on the ſhores of the Adriatic, and within twenty-four hours ſail of ancient Macedonia." He alſo talked of its having given liberty to the Lombard and Ciſpadan republics; though he well knew that, if it were neceſſary for her own intereſt, France was prepared to ſacrifice that liberty to the Auſtrian ſovereign. One paragraph might have given a leſſon to kings, if any thing could give it, that it is not only more honourable, a point not always regarded by them, but alſo more cheap, to reſiſt an enemy bravely, than to purchaſe from him an inglorious, and conſequently precarious ſafety. "The contributions," ſaid, he, "exacted from the countries which you have conquered, have fed, clothed, and paid the army during the whole campaign, and you have, beſides,

beſides ſent thirty millions of livres to the miniſter of finance, to aſſiſt the public treaſury."

The moſt important part of this ſtate paper was, however, its concluſion. "Of all the many enemies, who coaleſced to ſtifle the republic in its birth, the emperor alone," ſaid the French general, "continues in arms againſt us. Degrading himſelf from the rank of a great power, that prince has entered into the pay of the merchants of London. He has no longer any policy, any will, but that of thoſe perfidious iſlanders, who are ſtrangers to the calamities of war, and ſmile with pleaſure at the miſeries of the continent.

"The executive Directory has ſpared no pains to give peace to Europe. The moderation of its propoſals formed a contract to the ſuperiority of its armies. It was not your courage that it conſulted, but humanity and the wiſh of ſeeing you return to the boſom of your families. The Directory has not been liſtened to at Vienna. There is, therefore, no hope of obtaining a peace, but by marching to ſeek it in the heart of the hereditary ſtates of the houſe of Auſtria. You will find there a brave ppeole weighed down to the earth by the war againſt the Turks, and by the preſent war. The inhabitants of Vienna and of the Auſtrian ſtates lament the blindneſs and the deſpotiſm of their government. There is not one of them who does not believe that the miniſters of the emperor are corrupted with Engliſh gold. You will reſpect their religion and their cuſtoms; you will protect their properties; you will beſtow liberty on the brave Hungarian nation.

"The houſe of Auſtria which, for three centuries, has loſt in every war a portion of its power, and which excites diſcontent among its ſubjects, by robbing them of their privileges, will, at the end of the ſixth campaign, (ſince it compels us to make it) be reduced to accept ſuch a peace as we ſhall think proper to grant; and, in fact, to deſcend to the rank of a ſecondary power, in which rank it has, indeed, already placed itſelf, by receiving the wages and putting itſelf at the diſpoſal of England."

This manifeſto to the Germans and Hungarians, for ſuch it was in fact, was evidently drawn up in ſtrict conformity with the inſtructions ſent to Buonaparte, ſeveral months before *, at the moment when he was expected to penetrate into Germany. In thoſe inſtructions, he was directed to preſerve the ſtricteſt dicipline among his troops, in order to conciliate the inhabitants of the theatre of war; and it was added, "but it will not be enough to prevent them from becoming our enemies, it is neceſſary to render them the enemies of their government, and even to ſow the ſeeds of inſurrection in countries into which our arms have not penetrated." Hungary then was particularly pointed out, as the country which was likely to be roufed into rebellion by "energetic proclamations in the vulgar tongue." Theſe inſtructions are in the genuine ſpirit

* Letter of the Directory to Buonaparte: 4th. Vendemiaire, An. 5. (26th. September, 1796.)

of the famous decrees of November and December 1792, and they irrefragably prove, that the republicans, after a lapſe of four years, though they had occaſionally found it politic to diſavow their offenſive doctrines, were ſtill animated by the ſame ſubverting fury that inſpired them under the reign of the Convention. The laws of the Medes and Perſians were, in truth, not more immutable than the principles and ſchemes of the rulers of France.

A ſimilar ſyſtem to his own was directed, by the commander in chief, to be purſued by general Joubert, on the ſide of the Tyrol. There was, however, one curious variation. The Tyroleſe have always been attached to the houſe of Auſtria, and therefore, it was probably imagined that they would not liſten with complacency to abuſe of their ſovereign. Joubert was conſequently inſtructed "to ſpeak well of the emperor, and exceedingly ill of his miniſters, and of thoſe who adviſed him." It was at the ſame time recommended to him, "to cajole the prieſts laviſhly, to endeavour to form a party among the monks, by taking care to treat with diſtinction the theologians and other learned men of the monaſtic orders, and alſo to diſplay much amenity, and to ſtrive to conciliate the people;" and, for the better accompliſhing of this latter purpoſe, he was forbidden to touch any property, or magazines, except thoſe which belonged to his imperial majeſty.

In order to advance into the Auſtrian dominions, without expoſing himſelf to be taken in flank by any of the imperial diviſions, it was neceſſary that Buonaparte ſhould be the aſſailant on all the three acceſſible paſſes into Germany, and this his ſuperiority of force enabled him to be. The banks of the upper and lower Piave were the ſcene of the firſt operations; the object of which was to drive back the diviſion of Hohenzollern to the Tagliamento, and alſo, which was the main point, to break the connecting link between the Auſtrian armies in the Tyrol and in Friuli. This connecting link, as we have before ſtated, was the weak diviſion of Luſignan, which guarded the Cordevolo and the upper Piave.

In purſuance of this ſcheme, three French diviſions made a ſimultaneous movement on the tenth of March; one of them, under Maſſena, proceeding to Feltre, while the two others, led by Serrurier and Guieux, marched towards the lower Piave. The two latter croſſed the Piave, unoppoſed, on the twelfth, at San Vito and Oſpidaletto, and took poſt at San Salvador and Conegliano; the Auſtrians, under Hohenzollern, retiring, on the approach of the French, from their camp of Campana. At Sacile, general Guieux came up with the retreating Auſtrians, and had a ſkirmiſh with their rear guard, in which all his advantage was confined to the capture of a few priſoners. Nor could he, though aided by a column on the ſide of Portohuſole, prevent Hohenzollern from effecting his retreat in ſafety behind the Tagliamento.

Maſſena, meanwhile, was more ſucceſsful in carrying into execution his ſhare of the plan. As he puſhed forward from Feltre, the imperialiſts

imperialiſts withdrew from the Cordevolo, and continued their retrograde movements in the direction of Pieve de Cadore. Near Longara, Maſſena came up with the rear guard of general Luſignan, which he ſpeedily ſurrounded. The Auſtrians, nevertheleſs, were not diſheartened; they threw themſelves into a ſquare, and defended themſelves for thirteen hours with the utmoſt valour. At length, their ammunition being exhauſted, and having failed in an attempt to open a paſſage with the bayonet, they were under the neceſſity of laying down their arms. Luſignan himſelf was taken priſoner, with five or ſix hundred of his men. General Sporck, with his diviſion, was fortunate enough to accompliſh his retreat by Cortina, and to ſave the whole of his artillery, notwithſtanding the badneſs of the roads and other obſtacles; and he ſubſequently, after a tedious and perilous march, joined the Archduke Charles in the valley of the Muehr.

Theſe preliminary movements having ſucceeded to his wiſh, Buonaparte marched towards Valvaſone, on the Tagliamento, with the diviſions of Bernadotte, Guieux and Serrurier, while Maſſena puſhed up the river, in the direction of Spilimbergo and Oſopo, with the deſign of manœuvring on the right of the imperial army. The Tagliamento has uſually a ſufficient depth of water to require the conſtruction of a bridge by an invading army; but, unfortunately, the dryneſs of the ſeaſon had now rendered it eaſily fordable in almoſt every part. Its left bank was defended by a part of the Auſtrian forces, chiefly cavalry, who occupied the villages of Torrido and Rivas, and had thrown up ſome ſlight entrenchments, rather with the view of retarding than preventing the paſſage of the ſtream. The reſt of their army held, further back, the villages of Codriopo, Goritzia, and Gradiſca, neither of which laſt two places muſt be confounded with towns of the ſame name on the river Iſonzo. By the aid of a heavy cannonade from their batteries, which were ſo placed as to procure a croſs fire, the republicans gained a footing on the left bank; not, however, without having ſuffered conſiderably from the fire of the Auſtrians. The archduke made two efforts to arreſt the progreſs of the enemy, by attacking their flanks, but, finding that he was too far outnumbered to have a chance of ſucceſs, he abandoned his poſition, and retired ſlowly towards Palma Nova, and thence beyond the river Iſonzo. His retreat was covered by his cavalry, who baffled all the attempts of the republicans to break in upon his march. The French took, on this occaſion, twelve pieces of cannon, and about four hundred priſoners, among whom was General Schutz. They boaſted that they had put the Imperial army completely to the rout; an aſſertion of which the falſehood is proved, by the ſcantineſs of the trophies that remained in their poſſeſſion. March 16th.

At any other ſeaſon the Iſonzo would probably have proved, on this ſide, a barrier which could not eaſily be forced. The entrance of an army into Carniola is only practicable in that ſmall portion of the courſe of the river which lies between Gorizia and the neighbourhood

hood of Monfalcone, the upper part of the river being bordered, for many miles, by lofty mountains, and the lower part being embarraſſed by impracticable marſhes on its banks. The Iſonzo, however, like the Tagliamento, no longer deep and rapid, was dwindled to an inconſiderable ſtream which might be every where forded. The poſition was, therefore, no longer tenable with the archduke's inadequate army, and was only occupied to protract the conteſt, and thereby gain time for the arrival of the reinforcements. The Auſtrian army halted in the vicinity of Gorizia. On its left flank, but on the right ſide of the river, a garriſon of four weak battalions, conſiſting of about two thouſand men, was placed in Gradiſca, which had been ſtrengthened with ſome field works, that it might ſerve as a bridge head, in caſe the Auſtrians ſhould be able to make a ſtand in this quarter.

Buonaparte too well knew the value of time, to allow it to be loſt by himſelf, or gained by his adverſary. Accordingly, on the nineteenth, he was again in motion. It ſeems to have been his plan to turn the left of the archduke, cut him off from the Carniolan road, and compel him to entangle himſelf in the narrow and winding valley of the upper Iſonzo, by which means that prince would be placed between the main body of the French and their left under Maſſena. If this were his intention, he did not accompliſh it. In every other reſpect his movements were perfectly ſucceſsful. While the diviſion of Bernadotte advanced againſt Gradiſca, by the road of Palma Nova, the diviſion of Serrurier forded the river near San Pietro, and inveſted the place ſo cloſely as to prevent the garriſon from retreating. Bernadotte, as ſoon as he reached the town, attacked the entrenchments; but he was received with a tremendous fire of grape and muſketry, and was beaten off, with the loſs of five hundred men. Having brought up his cannon, and made preparations for a general aſſault, and being alſo ſeconded by the coming up of Serrurier's diviſion, he ſent into the place a ſummons, in the language of which there is but little to applaud. As, however, the governor had now neither the hope of ſuccour, nor the means of reſiſtance, he conſented to ſurrender, on condition that he ſhould receive the honours of war, and that the officers ſhould be allowed to return to their homes, there to remain till they were regularly exchanged.

The French general in chief is ſaid to have been much diſſatisfied with Bernadotte, for his having thoughtleſsly loſt ſo many men, in the aſſault of a place which, he knew, muſt ſoon be compelled to open its gates by the want of proviſions. On the other ſide there ſeems alſo to be cauſe for cenſure. The retreat of the Auſtrian general may, perhaps, though that is doubtful, have been ſomewhat facilitated by the temporary reſiſtance of Gradiſca; but, in the weak ſtate of his army, the advantage was ſcarcely a ſufficient compenſation for the loſs of ſo conſiderable a detachment.

To fruſtrate Buonaparte's ſcheme of turning the Auſtrian left, Prince Charles continued his retreat, with the main body of his army, towards Wippach, while a column, with a large

large quantity of baggage, aſcended the valley of the Iſonzo, in the direction of Tarvis. He was followed towards Laybach by the diviſion of Bernadotte; but no action took place between the two parties. The quickſilver mines of Idria were immediately taken poſſeſſion of by the republicans, and, according to their own account, they found there a booty to the value of two millions of livres. Trieſte was occupied on the twenty-third of March, and the French poſts were ſhortly afterwards puſhed forward as far as Fiume.

No ſooner did Buonaparte ſet foot on the Auſtrian territory than he began to act on the revolutionary ſyſtem of his employers. On his entrance into the province of Gorizia he iſſued another of thoſe proclamations which are ſo characteriſtic of the arrogance and the vanity of his countrymen. It is difficult to ſay whether this compoſition is more remarkable for its vain boaſting, or for its utter contempt of truth. "An unjuſt terror," ſaid he, "has forerun the French army. We do not come here either to conquer you, or to effect a change in your cuſtoms or your religion. The French republic is the friend of all nations; woe to thoſe kings who are fooliſh enough to make war againſt it.

March 25th.

"Prieſts, nobles, citizens, people, who compoſe the population of the province of Gorizia, baniſh your fears; we are good and humane. You ſhall perceive the difference there is between the mode of acting of a free people, and that of courts and the miniſters of kings.

"You will not meddle in a quarrel with which you have no concern; and I will protect your perſons, your properties, and your worſhip, I will increaſe your privileges, and will reſtore to you your rights. The French people value victory much more for the power which it gives them of righting thoſe who have ſuffered injuſtice, than for the vain glory which it produces to themſelves."

By this mandate of Buonaparte, all adminiſtrative bodies, under whatever name, were aboliſhed, and a proviſional government, to conſiſt of fifteen perſons, was eſtabliſhed in their ſtead, under the name of the central government. This new adminiſtrative body was ordered to preſent to the French general, within twenty-four hours, a plan of civil and criminal organization, and likewiſe a plan of municipal organization, for the whole of the province.

Before we proceed to trace the ulterior operations of the hoſtile armies, it may not be improper to render them more eaſily comprehenſible to our readers, by deſcribing the nature of the country in which thoſe armies were acting. The duchy of Carinthia, through which the French muſt penetrate in order to reach Vienna, is walled in on all ſides by lofty mountains; links of that enormous chain which is prolonged from the frontier of Piedmont to that of Croatia. It is traverſed, nearly from weſt to eaſt, in its whole length, by the valley of the Drau or Drave, into which, below Villach, in the centre of the province, opens the valley of the Gail, running almoſt parallel with that of the Drave to the border of the Tyrol. The ſouthern line of Alps, which divides Carin-

thia from Carniola and the upper part of Friuli, can be croſſed only by three roads or paſſes, the firſt of which extends over Mount Loibl, from Laybach and Kraunberg, to the valley of the Drave, and thence to Klagenfurt; the ſecond, by Kraunberg and Rotmanſdorf, to the valley of the Gail, near the confluence of the Gail and the Drave; and the third into the valley of the Gail, from Upper Friuli. This latter paſs is approached, from Lower Friuli and Gorizia, by two unconnected routes, one of which aſcends the Tagliamento and the Fella, and the other the Iſonzo, till they meet at Tarvis; and, between theſe routes and thoſe which proceed through Carinthia, there is no communication whatever; they being ſeparated by that branch of the Alps anciently denominated the Julian, which ſtretches from Tarvis to the Adriatic Sea, at the Gulf of Quarnero. A line, ſlightly deflected from a perpendicular, and let fall from a horizontal line, will expreſs, with ſufficient correctneſs, the form of that portion of the Alpine mountains, which runs through the ſouth of Carinthia, and the weſt of Carniola. It is evident, therefore, that any force which was moving on the Friulian roads, muſt be wholly inſulated, and could receive no ſupport from that which was acting in the duchy of Carniola. At the ſame time, this peculiar configuration of ground offered ſome advantages, of which a ſkilful general might avail himſelf, againſt an invading army.

It was on this circumſtance that the archduke relied, for the ſucceſsful execution of a plan which he had formed, to reſume the offenſive ſuddenly, and to place the republicans in a much worſe ſituation than that in which they were labouring to place him. This plan conſiſted in rapidly moving round the Julian alps, to the ſide of Tarvis, and there falling with ſuperior numbers on the left wing of the French army. If he could overwhelm that wing, not only the flank of the French would be completely turned, but they would even be aſſailed in the rear, and the moſt deciſive conſequences would, in all probability, be the reſult of his attack. The means for executing this project were at hand, a portion of the reinforcements from the Rhine, led by General Mercantin, having reached Villach, and with theſe troops he now ordered a part of his centre to join, by forced marches from Laybach. He himſelf travelled poſt to Villach to make the neceſſary arrangements.

To carry this ſcheme into effect, however, it was neceſſary that the Auſtrians ſhould be ſtill in poſſeſſion of thoſe roads which lead, by the valleys of the Fella and the Iſonzo, to the paſs of Tarvis. But this they no longer were. The defence of the firſt of theſe valleys had been entruſted to General Ocſkay, who was poſted with the ſmall fort of Chiuſa Veneta in his front, and behind him the defile of Pontaffel; while General Koblotz, with four battalions, guarded the valley of the Iſonzo, and that of Natiſone, which joins it at Caporetto. It was along theſe two latter valleys, as we have already mentioned, that a part of the Auſtrian army retired from the vicinity of Gorizia.

While

While Buonaparte was following the Archduke Charles to Gorizia, Maſſena, with the French left wing, had advanced from Oſopo up the valley of the Fella. On the twentieth of March, he made himſelf maſter of the fort of Chiuſa. Ocſkay fell back to Caſaſola, the bridge at which place he endeavoured to defend, but he was driven from it with conſiderable loſs. Inſtead of making a reſolute ſtand in the ſtrong poſition of Pontaffel, he precipitately continued his retreat, and laid open to the enemy the paſs of Tarvis, which was immediately ſeized.

At the ſame time that his left wing was thus profiting by Ocſkay's want of courage or want of ſkill, Buonaparte was making ſuch a diſpoſition of his centre as to complete the triumph. As ſoon as the Archduke quitted Gorizia, the French commander diſpatched the diviſion of Guieux to Cividale, whence it was to purſue its march up the valley of Natiſone. He himſelf, ſhortly afterwards, aſcended, with the diviſion of Serrurier, the left bank of the Iſonzo, by Canale and Caporetto. Near Puſero, Guieux fell in with an Auſtrian column, under General Bayalitſch, which he attacked, and compelled to haſten its march to Caporetto, leaving behind it two pieces of cannon, many ſlain, and two hundred priſoners.

Before the Archduke could arrive at Villach, he learned the diſaſtrous abandonment of the paſs of Tarvis. The columns of General Gontreuil and Bayalitſch were ſtill in the valley of the Iſonzo, and to theſe, and alſo to General Ocſkay, he ſent orders to advance without a moment's delay, and expel the republicans from the poſition which they had ſo eaſily won. Bayalitſch was probably at too great a diſtance to conform to theſe inſtructions, and Ocſkay appears either not to have received or not to have obeyed them. Gontreuil alone executed the orders of his chief, and he did it with a promptitude and gallantry which cannot be too highly applauded. He ſucceeded in driving the republicans from Saffnitz, opening the paſs of Tarvis, and giving time for the reſerve of artillery to croſs the mountains in ſafety.

This poſition was of too much importance to the future operations of the French, for Maſſena to ſuffer it to remain in the power of the Auſtrians. If it were not recovered the republican plan of campaign would, moſt probably, be rendered abortive. On the following morning, therefore, having collected together about ten thouſand men, he attacked Gontreuil with the utmoſt fury. Gontreuil had not more than three thouſand men, but he, nevertheleſs, defended the poſt of Saffnitz with the moſt ſtubborn reſolution. During the heat of the combat, the Archduke arrived, threw himſelf on a priſoner's horſe, and expoſed himſelf in the heavieſt of the fire. For many hours the republicans were unable to make any impreſſion whatever, and had the troops of Bayalitſch or Ocſkay come up, the enemy would, perhaps, have failed to attain their purpoſe. Unfortunately, no ſuccour was at hand. About four in the afternoon, the republicans again advanced, with two ſtrong columns, againſt the Auſtrian flanks, and as General

March 23rd.

Gontreuil was ſeverely wounded, and his men were thinned in numbers and exhauſted, the imperialiſts were at length compelled to abandon the long-conteſted poſt, and retire over the mountains. This battle was in part fought above the clouds, in the midſt of ice and ſnow, the latter of which in many places was three feet in depth. The loſs of the Auſtrians in this engagement was very conſiderable.

This reverſe of fortune was productive of another which was ſtill heavier. The column under Bayalitſch had, in the meanwhile, purſued its courſe up the valley of the Iſonzo; and, though it was followed by the diviſion of General Guieux, its leader hoped that the progreſs of the enemy would be ſtopped by the fort of Chiuſa di Pletz, which barred the paſſage, and which was held by General Koblotz with a garriſon of five hundred grenadiers. Embarraſſed as he was with the baggage of the army, the march of Bayalitſch was neceſſarily ſlow. Guieux tracked his footſteps cloſely, and, after an obſtinate conteſt, carried the fort of Chiuſa by aſſault. Much to the honour of the French general, the garriſon was ſpared. Bayalitſch, thus deceived in his calculations, moved forward with all the ſpeed that circumſtances would allow. Here, however, another danger awaited him. Victorious at Saffnitz, Maſſena deſcended the valley to Reibel, and the Auſtrian general was thus placed between two fires. He made an effort to break through the enemy, but haraſſed, out-numbered, and completely ſurrounded, his effort was made in vain, and he was reduced to the hard neceſſity of laying down his arms. The fruits of this ſucceſs to the republicans were, between three and four thouſand men and four generals priſoners, four hundred baggage-waggons, and twenty-five pieces of cannon.

Theſe diſaſters put it out of the power of the Archduke to perſiſt in attempting offenſive operations. The republicans were in poſſeſſion of the neareſt road into the heart of Carinthia, and he was not ſtrong enough to venture upon offering battle; the reinforcements which had hitherto arrived from the Rhine, not being more than ſufficient to fill up the gaps which had been made in his ranks ſince the opening of the campaign. The loſs of a battle, if not fatal, might at leaſt be exceedingly prejudicial to the Auſtrian monarchy. He, therefore, determined not to riſk a general engagement, but to fall back towards his ſuccours; defending the ground only when it was peculiarly favourable, and in as far as was neceſſary to retard the progreſs of the enemy, and give time to the government to call into action its numerous reſources.

Neither that government nor the people over which it ruled were ſlack in the performance of their duty. The firſt feeling of the inhabitants of Vienna, on learning the approach of the French towards the capital, was naturally that of anxiety even in the braveſt, and of conſternation in thoſe of leſs reſolute minds. The holders of bonds on the copper mines and other eſtabliſhments, haſtened to the Exchange, in order to convert them into money, but no purchaſers were to be found. A run upon the bank alſo took place immediately, and would ſoon have exhauſted its ſtock

ſtock of ſpecie, had not the government interfered by ſuſpending payments for a day or two, and then making arrangements to exchange large notes for ſmaller, and to allow caſh to be iſſued only in ſums of from five to twenty-five florins. It likewiſe gave its guarantee to the notes, and ordered that they ſhould be received in all private payments, as well as in payment of the taxes. Theſe meaſures ſufficed to ſuſtain the credit of the bank.

The panic, however, ſoon wore off, and was ſucceeded by a determination to ſubmit to every ſacrifice, both of perſon and of property, that might be required for making the republican invaders repent of their temerity. The government appealed to the people, and the people cheerfully anſwered the call. To encourage them ſtill more, though this additional ſtimulus, proper as it was, ſeems to have been quite unneceſſary, penſions were promiſed to the widows of all who fell in the cauſe of their country; and it was added, that whatever damage might be done to the city or ſuburbs, by the preparations neceſſary for defence, or againſt the aſſault of the enemy, ſhould, after the reſtoration of peace, be repaired at his Majeſty's own expence. In a ſhort time, almoſt every man came forward with the offer of his ſervices. The citizens enrolled themſelves, to the number of more than thirty thouſand men, volunteer corps, fifteen thouſand ſtrong, were rapidly raiſed, and the ſtudents of the colleges quitted their ſtudies, and prepared to join the banner of the Archduke Charles. As a meaſure of precaution, all foreigners were ordered to quit the capital within three days. There was, in fact, more to be feared, in the approaching conflict, from treaſon within, than from force without.

The peaſantry of Upper and Lower Auſtria were not behind the citizens of Vienna in the fervour of their zeal. They roſe in maſs, and provided themſelves with muſkets, pikes, ſcythes, and ſuch other rude weapons as they could moſt readily obtain. The inhabitants of each village formed a ſeparate company, led by a commiſſary and an officer, and bearing in their ſtandard the portrait of their patron ſaint. Such was the eagerneſs of the Auſtrians, that the government is ſaid to have been obliged to ſend back many of them to their homes, with an aſſurance that they ſhould be called forth whenever their aſſiſtance was wanted. Undiſciplined as theſe men were, their bravery, their knowledge of the localities, and the mountainous nature of the country in which they dwelt, would have rendered them enemies almoſt, if not quite, as formidable as regular ſoldiers.

All the reſources of art were alſo called in, to aid the patriotiſm of the people, and the obſtacles which nature herſelf oppoſed to the career of the enemy. Lines were drawn round the capital, works were thrown up on the iſlands of the Danube, an entrenched camp was formed on the Wienberg, at a ſhort diſtance from the lines, another entrenched camp, ſtill more extenſive, was conſtructed at Neuſtadt, about thirty miles from Vienna, and the heights which command the narrow and winding paſs of

of the Murzthal, leading from Styria into Auſtria, were crowned with redoubts and batteries.

While theſe exertions were making on the immediate theatre of danger, equal exertions were making to bring into play the military ſtrength of the more diſtant members of the Imperial dominions. Bohemia was ſummoned to ſupply its proportion of men, for the defence of the ſtate, and it unheſitatingly obeyed the ſummons. Hungary inſtantly ſent into the field a large body of troops, under Prince Eſterhazy; offering, at the ſame time, to call out the levy in maſs, an offer which was gladly accepted; and, in another quarter, all the frontier regiments of Croatia and Sclavonia prepared to take the field. With ſuch numerous reſources as thoſe at its command, in addition to the reinforcements which were now coming up from the Rhine, the Auſtrian cabinet could have little reaſon to tremble for the ſafety of Vienna.

It is much to be regretted, that the ſtep of raiſing the people in a maſs was not adopted at an earlier period. Had it been reſorted to at the opening of the campaign, the population of Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria, a hardy race of mountaineers, might have ſeconded the Archduke's army with powerful effect; as thoſe three provinces contain upwards of a million and a half of inhabitants. The government, however, was ſo abſurdly averſe from availing itſelf of this reſource, that it began by enjoining the people to remain neuter; nor was it till thoſe provinces were overrun, and the near approach of the French to the capital arouſed all its fears or its energies, that it conſented to let the loyal peaſantry ſhare in the toils and dangers of the war.

After the combat of Saffnitz, the Archduke Charles retired to St. Veit, in the road to Upper Styria, leaving at Klagenfurt a diviſion, under Mercantin, where it remained unmoleſted for nearly a week; the French general being engaged in bringing up his troops, and taking ſuch other meaſures as were requiſite to enable him to follow up his blow. On the twenty-eighth of March, the diviſions of Maſſena, Guieux, and Serrurier, were united at Villach, and General Zayonſcheck was diſpatched up the valley of the Drave towards Lienz, in order to open a communication with the army of Joubert. Bernadotte was, meanwhile, continuing his circuitous march through the province of Carniola. Maſſena advanced, on the twenty-ninth, from Villach, and fell in with Mercantin's diviſion, at a ſhort diſtance from Klagenfurt. After a brief conteſt, the Auſtrians, who had no intention of ſeriouſly engaging, retired to join the reſt of their army, in the poſition of St. Viet. The republicans entered Klagenfurt on the ſame evening.

Buonaparte was not ſo blinded by his ſucceſs as not to perceive that he was playing rather a hazardous game. The French armies on the Rhine, on whoſe co-operation he relied, were not yet in motion, and it was evident that all the military weight of the Auſtrian monarchy would, ere long, be brought to bear againſt his inſulated army. Whatever might be his confidence in his own talents, it was impoſſible that he could contemplate

contemplate the future without some degree of apprehension. It appeared to him to be a desirable thing to open, if possible, a negotiation, while he was yet apparently a conqueror; and as he knew that there was a noisy and pertinacious peace faction at Vienna, he had hopes that its influence would, on this occasion, turn the scale against that part of the cabinet which was resolute to continue the war. He probably was not without some secret intimation that this effect would really be produced. Accordingly he addressed, from Klagenfurt, a letter to the Archduke, which has been criticised with more severity than it seems to deserve. If, as some have objected to it, the humane professions of Buonaparte were merely hypocritical, at least it cannot be denied that they were conveyed in language which was moderate and decorous; and that he wisely forebore from any affectation of superiority or triumph over his illustrious rival; a virtue this, which has not always been displayed by French republican generals. The following is the letter.

March 31.

"Sir, and Commander-in-chief, Brave soldiers make war and desire peace. Has not this contest lasted for six years? Have we not slain men enough, and inflicted misery enough on suffering humanity? From all quarters her appealing voice is heard. Europe, which took up arms against the French republic, has laid them down. Your nation stands alone; yet blood is about to be shed more profusely than ever. The sixth campaign opens with sinister omens: whatever may be the result of it, we shall kill on both sides some thousands more; and, after all, we must come at last to an understanding, since all things must have an end, even the malevolent passions.

"The Executive Directory of the French republic made known to his majesty the emperor its desire to put an end to the war which afflicts the two countries: that desire was frustrated by the intervention of the court of London. Is there then no hope of our coming to a good understanding? and must we continue to butcher each other for the interests or the passions of a nation which knows not the miseries of war? You, Sir, who by your birth are placed so near the throne, and who are above all the petty passions which so often influence ministers and governments, are you resolved to merit the title of the benefactor of humanity, and of the true saviour of Germany? Think not, Sir, that by this I mean to imply that it is not possible for you to save it by force of arms; but, even granting that the chances of war should become favourable to you, Germany will not the less be laid waste. For my part, Sir, if the overture which I have the honour of making to you can save the life of a single man, I shall be far prouder of the civic crown, which I shall then feel that I have deserved, than of the melancholy glory which arises from military success. I entreat you, Sir, to believe in the sentiments of esteem and high consideration with which I am, &c. &c.

"BUONAPARTE."

To this the Archduke replied, in polite but guarded terms, that, however

however anxious he might be, for the ſake of humanity, to witneſs the return of peace, it did not belong to him to ſcrutinize or to terminate the quarrel between the belligerent powers, he being unauthorized to enter into any negotiation, and being, therefore, under the neceſſity of waiting for ſuperior orders, on a queſtion of ſuch vaſt importance.

Not having been immediately ſucceſsful in this attempt, Buonaparte reſorted to his uſual mode of proceeding. From Klagenfurt, on the firſt of April, an ominous day, he addreſſed to the people of Carinthia a proclamation, in the ſame taſte as thoſe which he iſſued at the opening of the campaign, and on his entrance into the province of Gorizia. Like the firſt of thoſe papers, it was remarkable for the inveterate hatred which it manifeſted of England, and its low abuſe of that country. After the accuſtomed aſſertion, that the French army was the friend of all nations, to which was now added, "particularly of the brave German people," the French general enlarged on the efforts which, by ſending General Clarke to negotiate, the Directory had made, "to put an end to the calamities which deſolated the continent;" and he attributed to the machinations of the Auſtrian miniſters the refuſal of a paſſport to the negotiator, to enable him to continue his journey to Vienna. He then proceeded in the following ſtrain. "Thoſe miniſters, corrupted by Engliſh gold, betray Germany and their ſovereign, and have no other will than that of thoſe perfidious iſlanders, on whom all Europe looks with horror.

"Inhabitants of Carinthia, I well know that you abhor, as much as we do, both the Engliſh, who are the only gainers by the preſent war, and your miniſtry, which is ſold to them. If we have been at war for ſix years, it is againſt the wiſh of the brave Hungarians, of the enlightened citizens of Vienna, and of the ſimple and good natives of Carinthia.

"Well then! in ſpite of England and the miniſters of the court of Vienna, let us be friends! The French Republic has over you the right of conqueſt, may that right diſappear before a contract which ſhall reciprocally bind us. You will not take any part in a war which has not your conſent; you will ſupply us with the proviſions of which we may ſtand in need. On my ſide, I will protect your religion, your cuſtoms, and your properties; nor will I levy upon you any contribution. Is not war, of itſelf, ſufficiently horrible? Do you not already ſuffer too much, innocent victims as you are, of the follies of others? All the taxes which you uſually paid to the emperor ſhall ſerve to indemnify you for the damage which is unavoidably done by the march of an army, and to pay for the ſubſiſtence with which you ſupply us."

It is a trite but true remark, that what we eagerly wiſh, we eaſily believe. Buonaparte ſeems, in fact, to have perſuaded himſelf that his deteſtation of the Engliſh was ſhared by the Germans; but whether he attributed this to the perſuaſive virtue of his addreſſes does not appear. "The people of Carniola and Carinthia," ſaid he, in one of his diſpatches to the Directory, "have an inconceivable contempt

contempt of the miniſtries of Vienna and of England. The Engliſh nation ſo completely monopolizes the hatred of the continent, that I believe, ſhould the war laſt ſome time longer, the Engliſh will be held in ſuch execration that they will be no where admitted." On the other hand, he, at a later period, aſſerted, that there was not a ſingle complaint heard againſt the French in all that part of Germany which his army had traverſed, and he exultingly propheciedthat the time would come when France would be able to turn to account "the prudent conduct" of his troops, which would be "more fatal to the imperial throne than all the victories that had diſtinguiſhed the war of liberty."

What confidence is to be placed in the truth of his language reſpecting the general hatred felt againſt England may, however, be judged from the veracity of his aſſertion relative to the exemplary conduct of his own army. Thoſe troops againſt whom, as he was bold enough to affirm, there was not a ſingle complaint, were guilty of the moſt brutal and diſgraceful crimes. Kuttner, who travelled over the country in queſtion, in the year 1799, has drawn a frightful picture of that French "goodneſs and humanity" which was ſo much vaunted by Buonaparte. "Three females," ſays he, "died here under the hands of their brutal raviſhers; and it is not a little extraordinary, that the prieſt refuſed them the rites of Chriſtian burial, and they were interred by the public executioner. I never heard ſo much of this ſpecies of atrocity as at this place. I was told of a woman who eſcaped with her life, though ſhe had been abuſed by thirty men; a violence which human nature could ſcarcely be thought capable of ſupporting. Weary of their oppreſſions and enormities, the peaſants collected, and murdered all the French wherever they were able to overpower them. They then plundered and buried them on the ſpot. Many were thrown into the river Murg, and not leſs than two hundred dead bodies are ſaid to have been carried away by its waves. At Bruck, &c. &c. in Styria, I have every where obſerved that the people were exceedingly diſſatisfied with the government, for having forbidden the country people to make any oppoſition to the French; indeed this is the only complaint againſt the government that I have heard in this country. Some of the men ſtill ſpoke of it with indignant warmth; and confidently maintained that very few of the French would have eſcaped out of the country, if the people, a hardy race of mountaineers, had been ſuffered to defend themſelves. It is two years ſince theſe events occurred, and they are ſtill the theme of general converſation."

Though every ſtep which he now moved forward lengthened his line of operations in a manner which might ultimately prove extremely prejudicial, and though his army was much diminiſhed by combats and detachments, yet, as the Auſtrian cabinet ſhewed no ſigns of being diſpoſed to yield, Buonaparte determined to puſh on, in the hope that the Archduke might poſſibly afford him an opportunity of ſtriking a deciſive blow againſt the imperial army. After the capture of Klagenfurt by the

the French, Prince Charles had drawn back his army from St. Veit, to beyond Freiſach, in the defile which leads into Styria, over the Noric Alps. At Freiſach, Maſſena came up with the Auſtrian rear-guard, which defended the place againſt him for a conſiderable time, and at length retired unbroken to the main body. On the following day, the ſecond of April, the republicans attacked the Archduke's poſition, in front of Neumarkt. The conteſt was obſtinate and bloody, and it terminated by the Auſtrians maintaining their poſt. The object of Prince Charles, in making a ſtand here, appears to have been to give time to the column of General Sporck to effect its junction from the valley of the Upper Muhr, which object being accompliſhed, he decamped in the night, and directed his courſe to Hunſmarkt, in Upper Styria. His rear-guard was followed to that place, and attacked by the republicans, who, however, gained but a trifling advantage; as the Imperialiſts defended every foot of ground with the utmoſt vigour, nor did they loſe a ſingle piece of cannon in all their retrograde movements. Still faithful to his Fabian ſyſtem, the Archduke continued to fall back towards the frontier of Auſtria, to join his reinforcements, and accordingly he abandoned Judenberg, Knittelfeld, and Leoben, which were ſucceſſively occupied by the republican army. The head quarters of Buonaparte were eſtabliſhed at Judenberg.

Thus far we have followed the march of the republican centre and right wing. We muſt now turn back to trace the movements of their left wing, which as we ſtated at the outſet, was deſtined to penetrate through the Tyrol, under the command of Joubert. Before, however, the left wing could begin to perform that part of the military operations which was allotted to it, there was a neceſſity that the Auſtrian diviſion on the Upper Piave, and the army under the orders of the Archduke, ſhould be compelled to retire from the Venetian territory. This, as we have juſt ſeen, was accompliſhed by Maſſena and Buonaparte. In conſequence of their ſucceſs, Joubert put his army in motion on the twentieth of March. His firſt effort was made againſt the corps of General Kerpen, which was poſted on the left bank of the Adige, on the heights of Cembra, covering the road to Botzen, and having the ſmall river Lavis in its front. Joubert's plan of attack was ſkilfully combined. While two diviſions of the army acted againſt the Auſtrian right, on the high road to Botzen; a third diviſion croſſed the Lavis, at Sevignano, to turn the left of the enemy. This ſcheme was crowned with ſucceſs. After an obſtinate conteſt the Imperialiſts were defeated, and purſued as far as Saint Michel, whence they precipitately retreated, by the mountains, to Botzen. Salurn and Neumarkt were occupied, on the following day, by the victors. The loſs of the Auſtrians, on this occaſion, though not to ſuch an extent as was aſſerted by the republicans, was undoubtedly ſevere. It was not leſs than three thouſand men, of whom two-thirds were priſoners. That of the French was about half of that number. Two

ſtandards

ſtandards and two pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the conquerors.

In order to prevent the communication from being cut off between his army and that of Kerpen, General Laudohn quitted the Val di Nos, and aſcended the right bank of the Adige towards Neumarkt, with the intention of croſſing the river at that place. He was too late. The French were already in poſſeſſion of the bridge, and they availed themſelves of it to throw over a powerful body of troops, and fall upon Laudohn, in the neighbourhood of Tramin. Nowiſe diſconcerted by this unexpected circumſtance, the Auſtrian general made a gallant reſiſtance, and the combat hung long in ſuſpence. The ſcale was at length turned on the ſide of the French, by the arrival of ſucceſſive reinforcements, and Laudohn, worſted but not routed, was compelled to give up his deſign of retreating on Botzen, and to retire from the field of battle, with the loſs of ſeveral hundred killed and priſoners, and two pieces of cannon. The road to Botzen being cloſed, he withdrew over the mountains to the valley of Meran; and ſucceeded in effecting his retreat without having encountered any further diſaſter.

March 22.

Having, as he ſuppoſed, ſo far crippled the force of Laudohn as to put it out of his power to make any offenſive movement, Joubert puſhed on to Botzen, which he found evacuated by Kerpen, who had fallen back on the poſition of Clauſen. The French general, leaving at Botzen a ſmall force to obſerve the motions of Laudohn, moved forward, on the twenty-third, to diſlodge Kerpen. The poſition which the Auſtrian commander occupied was an excellent one; it being at the termination of a defile, covered on the flanks by the mountains and the river Eiſach, and defended by artillery advantageouſly poſted. The conteſt which now took place was accordingly of the moſt obſtinate kind. The Auſtrians defended themſelves with ſuch gallantry that, for many hours, the aſſailants were unable to gain an inch of ground. At laſt, nearly at the cloſe of the day, a detachment of the French light infantry contrived to climb the rocks which flanked the right of the imperial army, whence they ſhowered down huge maſſes of ſtone upon their foes. Some confuſion having been occaſioned among the Auſtrians, by this novel mode of annoyance, Joubert took advantage of it to fall on their centre, with two regiments formed in cloſe columns. Too weak to reſiſt this combined effort, Kerpen was driven from the field of battle with conſiderable loſs; and he took up a poſition at Mittelwald, between Brixen and Sterzing. The invaders, on the next day, entered Brixen, where they found a part of the Auſtrian magazines.

In retiring to Mittelwald, Kerpen ſeems to have committed the only error that can be attributed to him in the courſe of theſe operations. By poſting himſelf there, it is true that he covered the Innſbruch road; but he left open the Puſterthal, or valley of the Rientz, by which Joubert could effect a junction with the army of Buonaparte. He appears not to have ſuſpected that the French general meant to abandon the Tyrol. At Brixen

Brixen the waters of the Rientz unite with thoſe of the Eiſach. The Eiſach flows from the Brenner in nearly a ſouthern direction; the Rientz riſes in the mountains which divide Carinthia from Tyrol, and runs along the valley from eaſt to weſt till it reaches Muhlbach, when it ſuddenly turns to the ſouth, and runs for ſome diſtance almoſt parallel with the Eiſach, before it mingles with that river. Had the Auſtrian general taken poſt on the heights of Muhlbach, he would have barred the paſſage of both the valleys, and Joubert muſt have diſlodged him before he could have advanced up the valley of the Rientz.

But, though the army of Kerpen had retreated ſo far, Joubert appears to have thought that it was yet too near to him for his ſafety. Accordingly, on the twenty eighth, he attacked it with great fury. Kerpen had been reinforced by ſome battalions of troops from the army of the Rhine, and he oppoſed an obſtinate reſiſtance to the enemy. He was, indeed, finally obliged to relinquiſh his poſt; but this, and the capture of ſome priſoners, were the only advantages which the French derived from their exertions on this hard-fought day. They could neither deſtroy nor ſhatter the Auſtrian army, nor even compel it to retire over the Brenner, and leave them in quiet poſſeſſion of the ſouth of the Tyrol. It ſtill perſiſted to maintain its ground in the vicinity of Sterzing.

After this fruitleſs attempt, the French general remained quiet at Brixen for a week, during which no blood was ſhed, except in trifling ſkirmiſhes between the outpoſts of the hoſtile armies. He was, in fact, in a ſituation of much embarraſſment; it being almoſt impoſſible for him to procure any information reſpecting the progreſs of the centre and right of Buonaparte's army, by the movements of which thoſe of his own diviſion were to be governed. Reconnoitring was practically found to be a ſervice of extreme danger. Four companies of Maſſena's diviſion, which had marched up the valley of the Drave, as far as Lienz, to open a communication with Joubert, had already been cut to pieces by the Carinthian peaſantry of the valley, who had riſen in arms. It was, at laſt, by the aid of ſtratagem, that Joubert ſucceeded in obtaining intelligence of the progreſs of Buonaparte.

It was, however, fully time for him to adopt ſome meaſures to avert the danger which now began to impend over his army. A net was drawing round that army, in which, if not ſpeedily broken through, it might be inextricably entangled. The Tyrolians are a bold and vigorous people, accuſtomed to toil, poſſeſſing a deadly ſkill in the uſe of fire arms, and ſtrongly attached to their government and their country. They laughed to ſcorn the proclamations which menaced them with fire and ſword, if they dared to offer reſiſtance to the republican invaders; and their minds were as inacceſſible to the influence of ſeduction as they were to that of fear. Laudohn had already rallied round him all the militia of the weſtern Tyrol, and the daring natives of the valley which bears the name of the Vintſchgau. Count Lehrbach, a noble-

man

diſtinguiſhed by his courage, ability, and patriotiſm, called the remainder of the Tyrolians into the field, and marched at their head. In the courſe of a few days, twenty thouſand men had joined Laudohn and Kerpen, and a few days more would have doubled the number. Old men, children, and even women, were eager to come to blows with the republicans; and every thing that could be converted into a weapon was ſeized with avidity. To provide againſt the worſt, the peaſantry of Swabia were alſo called out, to occupy the paſſes in the north of the Tyrol.

Having collected together about fifteen thouſand men, of whom more than one half were volunteers, Laudohn, on the ſecond of April, began his operations, by attacking the republicans, who were poſted to watch him, between Meran and Botzen. They were overthrown, and they retired to Botzen, which place, however, as they were cloſely preſſed, they did not endeavour to defend. Deſirous of re-eſtabliſhing his communication with Kerpen, Laudohn vigorouſly followed up his ſucceſs, by purſuing the rear of the enemy in the valley of the Eiſach, and driving it from the poſts of Clauſen and Steben. At the ſame time, he diſpatched a part of his force to Deutchenoffen and Branzol, to cut off the connection of the French with the Italian Tyrol. While all this was paſſing, general Kerpen had not been idle. He had moved from Sterzing, driven in all the French poſts, and advanced towards Brixen. In order to impede his progreſs as much as poſſible, the republicans, in retreating, burnt all the bridges on the Eiſach, between Ober Au and Aiſcha. By this means his march was retarded for ſeveral hours.

Availing himſelf of the time thus gained, and having collected his troops, Joubert abandoned Brixen, on the night of the fifth of April, leaving there a part of his magazines, and began his march up the valley of the Rientz, towards the mountains which ſeparate Carinthia from Tyrol. He had ſo much the ſtart of his purſuers, and moved with ſuch rapidity, that Kerpen, who entered Brixen on the enſuing morning, was unable to interrupt his retreat; and he accordingly penetrated, through the Puſterthal and over the frontier mountains, into the valley of the Drave, without being brought to action by the Auſtrian forces, though not without being ſeverely haraſſed by the peaſantry who had taken up arms. Near Spital, in Carinthia, theſe ruſtic but determined opponents thickened round him in ſuch a manner, and became ſo formidable, that they barred his progreſs, and he was compelled to open his way by a ſharp engagement, before he could reach Villach, which was his point of junction with the army of Buonaparte. Had the Auſtrians trodden cloſely on his footſteps, it is probable that he would have found it difficult to extricate himſelf, without at leaſt ſuſtaining a heavy loſs. Kerpen, however, did not reach Lientz till two days after Joubert had quitted it. From Lientz he entered into communication with the army of the Archduke Charles.

The German Tyrol was now delivered from the republicans. It only remained to clear the Italian Tyrol of the comparatively tri-

fling French force which was ſtill in poſſeſſion of it. This was effectually performed by general Laudohn. Near Lavis, he overtook the retreating enemy, and put them to the rout. Still puſhing forward, he divided his army into two columns, ſucceſſively drove the French from Trent, Roveredo, Torbole, and Riva, ſurrounded and compelled a part of them to lay down their arms near Caſtel Nuovo, and obliged the reſt to retire for ſhelter to the citadel of Verona. Several magazines, twelve pieces of cannon, and more than five hundred priſoners, fell into the hands of the Auſtrians. Laudohn advanced into the neighbourhood of Verona, and was in a ſituation to ſecond the efforts of the Venetians, who were beſieging the citadel, when his career was put a ſtop to by his receiving intelligence of the concluſion of an armiſtice, between the Archduke Charles and the general in chief of the republican army.

We muſt now return to Buonaparte. The ſituation of that general, after the retreat of prince Charles to the Auſtrian frontier, was apparently a brilliant one, but it was, in reality, not a little dangerous. He had indeed marched as it were in triumph through three provinces, his antagoniſt ſtill retreating before him; but he had no ſolid footing, nor ſcarcely the probability of gaining any. He was far from his magazines, his communications were tardy and unſafe, with enemies on all ſides, and no ſuccour at hand; for the armies of Hoche and Moreau had not, even yet, made a ſingle movement indicative of an intention to croſs the Rhine. If he perſiſted in attempting to reach Vienna, from which he was ſtill a hundred miles diſtant, he muſt traverſe the narrow valley of the Murz, thirty miles in length, and not only defeat the Archduke Charles, but alſo break through all the formidable array, of camps and lines, which was interpoſed between the frontier and the capital. In the rear of his left, an Auſtrian diviſion, more than fifteen thouſand ſtrong, was poſted in the archbiſhopric of Saltzburgh. Still further on his left, the Tyrol was ſwarming round the imperial ſtandard, and Laudohn was breaking into the Mantuan; on his right he was menanced by the congregated forces of Hungary and Croatia; in his rear the three nominally conquered Auſtrian provinces waited but the ſignal of a backward motion on his part to purſue and haraſs him; and the peaſants of ſome of the Venetian territories were already in arms. He himſelf, as we ſhall ſee in another chapter, felt all the precarioufneſs of his ſituation, and meditated a retreat to Italy; and although he has talked of his deſigning firſt to levy contributions in the ſuburbs of Vienna, this can have been no more than an idle boaſt, ſince it is not probable that he would have ſtill further entangled himſelf, and riſked the deſtruction of his army, for the remote chance, if indeed a remote chance there were, of obtaining an uſeleſs victory, and a few millions of livres.

The French general had not, however, the mortification of ſeeing his laurels expoſed to be blighted by defeat. His overture from Klagenfurt ſeems to have produced its intended effect; for on the fourth

fourth of April, it was officially announced to the public, by Count Saurau, the president of administration in lower Austria, that the emperor intended to negotiate, and would consent to put an end to the war, if honourable terms could be obtained from the enemy. Generals Bellegarde and Meerveldt were accordingly dispatched to the head quarters of Buonaparte, at Judenberg, where they arrived on the seventh, to propose an armistice for six days, in order to afford an opportunity of settling a preliminary treaty. Buonaparte, though he had previously resolved to pause for a few days in his present encampment, strove to enhance the merit of his agreeing to this proposal, by affecting to consider delay as disadvantageous to the interest of his army, and as being yielded to by him only in consequence of his love of humanity. The night of the thirteenth was fixed upon for the expiration of the armistice, in case the negotiators should be unable to agree upon the terms of a treaty.

By the armistice the French gained some advantages, as it allowed them to occupy a line in advance of that which they now held. This new line commenced between Fiume and Trieste, passing by Littay, Windisch-feistriz, Mahrburg, and the valley of the Muehr, including Gratz, and thence, by Bruck, Leoben, Rottenman, Rastadt, and Spital, to the valley of the Drave. The demarcation in the Tyrol was left to the respective commanders in that quarter. Fiume and Trieste were recovered by colonel Casimir, with a Croatian force, before he received information of the signature of the armistice; but, on pretence that he had been acquainted with and violated the suspension of arms, the French insisted upon re-entering Trieste, and their claim was allowed.

CHAP. XVI.

Brief Campaign in Germany. Strength and Situation of the Imperial and French Armies during the Winter. Judicious Advice given by the Archduke Charles. It is neglected. French and Austrian Generals and Positions on the Upper and Lower Rhine, at the Period of Hostilities being recommenced. Plan for the Campaign of 1797 *the same as that of* 1796. *Unaccountable Delay in the Opening of the Campaign. The Necessity of making a Diversion in Favour of Buonaparte, compels the Directory to order the Generals on the Rhine to take the Field. Lower Rhine. General Kray solicits an Armistice, in Consequence of the Suspension of Arms, on the Side of Italy, but it is refused, except on hard Conditions. Injudicious Distribution of Werneck's Force. The Army of Reserve cannot be sent to his Assistance. Description of the Position held by the Austrians to mask the Bridge-head of Neuwied. The right-hand centre of the French Army, under Hoche, cross the Rhine at Neuwied. Attack of the Republicans upon the Austrian Position. They carry by Assault the greatest Part of the Entrenchments. Gallant Defence made by two of the Redoubts. The Austrians*

Auſtrians are entirely defeated. They are again attacked, at Dierdorf, and compelled to retreat. Championnet, with the French left Wing advances from the Siege. He defeats the Auſtrians at Uckerath and Altenkitchen, and joins Hoche. Heavy Loſs ſuſtained by the Auſtrians in theſe various Engagements. Hoche purſues the retreating Auſtrians. Error committed by him. The Auſtrian Army falls back to Wetzlar, with ſome loſs. Hoche endeavours to reach the Mayn before his Auſtrian Opponent. Operations of Lefebvre, with the Republican left Wing. Defeat of an Auſtrian Diviſion at Wiſbaden. Lefebvre advances to Frankfort. Retreat of Werneck. Intelligence arrives of the Preliminaries of Peace being ſigned, and terminates the Campaign in this Quarter. Upper Rhine. Army of Moreau not quite ready. It is, however, ordered to commence its Operations. Meaſures taken by Moreau. The Auſtrians deceived as to the Point of Attack. Moreau reſolves to attempt the Paſſage of the Rhine oppoſite Kilſtet. Diſpoſitions for that Purpoſe. He fails in effecting the Paſſage by Surpriſe. Effects a landing by Force, and drives the Auſtrians from Dierſheim. The Auſtrians immediately endeavour to recover the Village, but are foiled. They repeat the Attempt ſeveral Times with the ſame ill Succeſs. Final Defeat of the Auſtrians after a terrible Struggle. The Republican Army advances into the Interior. The Auſtrians ſustain a heavy Loſs in their Retreat. Further Progreſs of the French. Latour marches to oppoſe them. News arrives of the ſigning of the Preliminaries. Negotiations for Peace. The Armiſtice prolonged. Lofty Language of Buonaparte. Arrival of the Imperial Plenipotentiary with full Powers. Artful Conduct of Buonaparte. Diſcuſſion of minor Points. The Seat of Negotiation declared Neutral Ground. The firſt Propoſitions of the Plenipotentiaries and of Buonaparte. Diſhonourable Conduct of the Auſtrian Cabinet. Three Projects of a Treaty diſpatched to Vienna. Intentions of Buonaparte in Caſe of their being Rejected. His Anger at the Inaction of the Armies on the Rhine. The Preliminaries are agreed upon. Letter of Buonaparte to the Directory, announcing the Signature of the Articles, and explaining the Reaſons for his Conduct. Contents of ſome of the Articles. Buonaparte requeſts to be recalled. The Directory declines to conſent to his quitting the Army, and authorizes him to attack the Venetian Government.

THE ſtate of affairs which had made it more than prudent for the general of the French army in Italy to conſent to an armiſtice, afforded, alſo, a powerful motive to the Directory to put in motion their armies on the Rhine, in order to effect a diverſion in his favour, without which it was obvious that he muſt at leaſt relinquiſh all his recent advantages, if not be expoſed to the moſt ſerious danger. Before, however, we proceed to narrate the movements which conſequently took place, it will be proper to give a ſketch of the relative ſtrength and ſituation of the two parties on the upper and lower Rhine.

In the campaign of 1796, the victorious armies had alike ſuffered ſeverely; both had need of repoſe, and the winter, therefore, paſſed away without any blood being ſhed

on

on the line from Baſil to Duſſeldorf. On each ſide ſtrenuous efforts were made to prepare for the coming campaign. The ſcale, however, preponderated heavily againſt the Auſtrians. In the courſe of the winter 40,000 picked men were detached from their armies on the Rhine, to ſtrengthen thoſe in Italy; and though 25,000 men were ordered from Bohemia and Upper Auſtria to repulſe them, they were as inadequate to the purpoſe in value as they were in numbers, being almoſt wholly raw recruits, or young ſoldiers who entered for the firſt time on active ſervice. From the French army, indeed, a reinforcement of 30,000 men was likewiſe diſpatched into Italy in February; but the gap thus made was ſpeedily filled up by the arrival of more than as many veteran troops from Holland, the Netherlands, and the coaſt of France.

The effective force which the Auſtrians could call into the field, on their extenſive line, from the frontier of Switzerland to the Sieg, did not exceed 80,000 men. Previouſly to his leaving Germany, the Archduke Charles had recommended to concentrate the imperial troops as much as poſſible; but this judicious advice was neglected, and they were ſcattered according to the old ſyſtem, over a wide extent of country, in the vain hope of covering every acceſſible point; a ſyſtem for their perſeverance in which they had already dearly paid.

On the upper Rhine, the command was held by general Count Latour, who had with him about 40,000 men, 6,000 of whom were cavalry. He was entruſted with the defence of the territory between Baſil and Manheim. The protection of the lower Rhine, comprehending the ſpace between the Mayn and the Sieg, was committed to general Werneck, who for this purpoſe had not more than 30,000 men. A diviſion of 6000 infantry and 3000 cavalry, commanded by general Simbſchen, intended to move alternately to the points menaced on the right and left, was ſtationed on the Mayn, between Aſchaffenburg and Mentz. The fortreſſes of Mentz, Ehrenbreitſtein, Philipſburgh and Manheim, were garriſoned by nearly 20,000 men, and theſe covered, in ſome meaſure, the centre of the Auſtrian line, but the flanks of that line were wholly expoſed.

The French armies were far ſuperior in ſtrength to the Auſtrian. On the lower Rhine, the command was given to the active and daring general Hoche, whoſe army, as appears from one of his own letters to the Directory, was not leſs than 86,000 men. It was amply provided with artillery and cavalry. His operations on the right bank of the Rhine were rendered comparatively eaſy, by the circumſtance of his poſſeſſing the entrenched camp at Duſſeldorf, and the bridge head at Neuwied. Previous to the opening of the campaign, his troops occupied cantonments between Duſſeldorf and Coblentz. General Moreau was continued in the command on the upper Rhine, and his force cantoned along the Rhine and in the duchy of Deux-Ponts, may be eſtimated at from ſixty to ſeventy thouſand men. The taſk which he had to perform was more difficult than that aſſigned to Hoche, as he

had no means of croſſing the river but by ſurpriſe, or under the fire of the enemy.

The plan of the French rulers, for the campaign of 1797, was the ſame that was adopted in the preceding year; the two armies being intended to move ſimultaneouſly, from oppoſite points, into the interior of Germany. Either the diſaſters of the laſt campaign had not opened the eyes of the Directory to the danger of a double line of operations, or, which is more probable, that body relied on the danger being now removed, by the ſuperior ſtrength of its armies. In the latter caſe, the Directory may, perhaps, be excuſed; the diſparity of force between the French and the Auſtrians being ſuch, as to render either of the republican armies almoſt, if not quite, a match for both of the imperial.

It is not equally eaſy to account for the long delay of the French in opening the campaign. Their army of the upper Rhine, was, indeed, not yet fully furniſhed with all its equipments and the means of paſſing the Rhine near Straſburgh: but it has been ſaid, and apparently with reaſon, that it might have croſſed the river in the vicinity of Mentz, and thus have acted in immediate connection with the army of Hoche, which was ready to take the field at an earlier period. Undoubtedly, had the republicans been ſooner in motion, they would have found their adverſaries but ill-provided to reſiſt their progreſs; the Auſtrians being weakened by the departure of the veteran troops to Italy, and a part of the new levies not being yet arrived.

At length orders to take the field were given by the Directory, to Hoche and Moreau. Not, however, before it would have been too late to aid Buonaparte, had he perſiſted in puſhing forward to the Auſtrian capital. General Kray, who commanded the imperial diviſion near Neuwied, had meanwhile received information that an armiſtice was concluded in Italy, for the purpoſe of ſettling the preliminaries of peace, and he, therefore, propoſed to Hoche that the uſeleſs effuſion of blood ſhould be avoided, by the concluſion of an armiſtice in this quarter. Either being really ignorant, or affecting to be ſo, of the ceſſation of arms which had taken place, Hoche refuſed to liſten to the propoſition of Kray, unleſs the Auſtrians would put into his power the fortreſs of Ehrenbreitſtein and the courſe of the Lahn. To this the general of the imperialiſts could not conſent, as the loſs of a battle could not poſſibly be more injurious than ſuch a conceſſion. At the ſame time it muſt be owned, that, unleſs Hoche had been almoſt certain that a peace would enſue, he would hardly have been juſtified, ſuperior as the ſtrength of his army was, in ſuſpending his march, without having previouſly obtained ſome compenſation for delay at ſo critical a period. Hoſtilities were, therefore, inevitable.

Already too weak to reſiſt the threatened attack, the force under Werneck was rendered more feeble by his injudicious diſtribution of it. He knew that he ſhould be attacked by the French left wing, from Duſſeldorf, and by their right and centre, from Neuwied; and he flattered himſelf with the hope

hope of being able to crush or drive back their left, before the right and centre could come to its aid. But he was as deficient in skill as he was in numbers to accomplish this scheme. Instead of concentrating his army as much as possible, he extended it over a line of eighteen leagues, a portion of his right wing being posted as far off as Siegen, on the upper part of the Sieg. To render his situation quite desperate, the reserve, under general Simbschen, on which he had reckoned to second him, and which had, in consequence, been ordered to march on Limburg, for the defence of the lower Lahn, was detained by general Latour, who was in hourly expectation of being assailed by the army of Moreau.

At the moment when hostilities commenced, the main body of Werneck's army was posted between Dierdorf and Neukirchen, awaiting the approach of Championnet, who, with the French left wing was advancing towards the Sieg, from Dusseldorf. In his front, the strong passes of Uckerath and Altenkirchen, the scene of former combats, which Championnet must traverse, were held by Austrian detachments; too weak, however, to perform the important service with which they were charged. The Austrian left, consisting of about ten thousand men, of which not more than six thousand could be immediately brought into action, was under the orders of general Kray, and was intended to prevent the right and centre of the French from forcing their way into the German territory from the bridge head of Neuwied. For this purpose the Austrians occupied a chain of redoubts, which, during the winter, had been constructed between the little rivers called the Sayn and the Wied. This entrenched line was supported on the left by the village of Bendorf, and on the right by that of Hedderstorf, both of which were entrenched. Between the villages six redoubts commanded the road from Neuwied to Ehrenbreitstein; while three others, on a rising ground near Hedderstorf, were designed to take the enemy in flank, should he endeavour to advance on the road which leads to Dierdorf. Much labour had been bestowed on the construction of these redoubts; but the force allotted to Kray was not adequate to the defence of this line against an enemy so superior in numbers as were the centre and right of the enemy.

At three in the morning of the eighteenth of April, the army of Hoche crossed the Rhine, and by eight o'clock it was formed in order of battle, in the plain which separated the bridge head from the Austrian entrenchments. This movement was not disturbed by the Austrians, there being only six battalions and five squadrons remaining in the lines; the rest of Kray's division having been directed by Werneck to march to Dierdorf, for the purpose of joining in the projected attack upon the division of Championnet. On his way thither, Kray received counter-instructions, and he immediately hurried back his columns by Anhausen and Bendorf; but he was too late to embarrass the movements of the French while they were engaged in passing the bridge and forming on the plain.

As soon as the dispositions were

made, the French right wing, in two columns, under Lefebvre, marched againſt Bendorf and the redoubts on that ſide, while Grenier, with the centre, in two diviſions, proceeded againſt Hedderſdorf. After ſome ſtruggle, Lefebvre made himſelf maſter of the endmoſt redoubt on the left, and expelled the Auſtrians from the village of Zoll Engers. The defeated troops withdrew to Bendorf, where, covered by the Sayn and their works, they hoped to make a better ſtand. Lefebvre now led up his infantry to the attack of Bendorf; but he met with ſuch a determined reſiſtance there, that, for ſome time, he was unable to obtain any advantage. The coming up of the horſe chaſſeurs, under general Richepanſe, turned the ſcale in his favour; and by a deſperate charge the Auſtrians were compelled to quit the village in diſorder. A battalion of Gemmingen and two hundred of Latour's dragoons were driven towards the defile of the village of Sayn, and obliged to lay down their arms. The reſt of the fugitives were purſued, in the direction of Montabaur, by two diviſions of infantry, and the cavalry of Richepanſe. The purſuers took ſeven pieces of cannon, five ſtandards and fifty ammunition waggons, beſides many priſoners.

On the other wing, the fortune of the field was equally adverſe to the imperial forces; Hedderſdorf and moſt of the redoubts being carried by aſſault. Two of the redoubts, however, one towards the centre and another on the Auſtrian left, ſtill held out with the moſt reſolute gallantry. Two aſſaults on the centre redoubt were repulſed, with a heavy ſlaughter of the aſſailants. It was not till the work was a third time aſſailed on all ſides, by freſh and numerous troops, that its brave defenders were overpowered. The hundred and fifty men, by whom the redoubt on the left was maintained, were animated by the ſame noble ſpirit as their comrades in the centre. Four pieces of cannon and a howitzer were mounted in this work, and they were ſerved in ſuch a manner as to ſpread carnage among the republicans. The diviſion of Watrin advanced twice to the aſſault, and twice it was driven back with ſome loſs. While it was preparing for a third attack, a ſhell blew up the Auſtrian powder magazine. Taking advantage of the confuſion occaſioned by this accident, the French ruſhed forward, and penetrated into the work; upon which, further reſiſtance being impoſſible, the garriſon ſurrendered.

The light cavalry of Ney, and ſome of the light artillery, had already been diſpatched to haraſs that part of Kray's diviſion which retired on Dierdorf. In the neighbourhood of that place the routed troops were joined by a ſtrong reinforcement from Werneck's army, which enabled them to rally and to pauſe. They took up a poſition behind a rivulet, and ſkirmiſhed with the republicans, whoſe object it was to keep them in play till the heavy cavalry and Grenier's diviſion of infantry could arrive. Theſe were puſhed forward by Hoche as ſoon as the laſt redoubts were taken; and, having at length reached Dierdorf, they attacked the Auſtrians, who, overmatched and diſcouraged, were ſpeedily driven

driven from their poſt with conſiderable loſs, and were purſued till night-fall, on the road to Hachenburg.

While the centre and right of the French were thus bearing down all before them, Championnet, with the left wing, was ſeconding them in the moſt effectual manner. That general paſſed the Sieg on the night of the ſeventeenth, with twenty-five thouſand men, and directed his march on Uckerath and Altenkirchen.—Theſe poſts, ſo obſtinately conteſted and ſo dearly bought in the two preceding campaigns, were now but a ſlight obſtacle to the progreſs of the enemy. The trifling Auſtrian detachments, which were ſtationed in them fought gallantly, and did all that was in their power to retain their ground; but they were finally routed, and they ſuffered ſeverely. By the capture of Altenkirchen a junction was formed between the hitherto ſeparated diviſions of the republican army.

This diſaſtrous day coſt the Auſtrians nearly five thouſand men, in killed, wounded, and priſoners. The loſs of the French was about half that number.

With the ſhattered main body of his army, Werneck withdrew to a good poſition at Klein Neiſter, which he occupied on the nineteenth, and where he might, perhaps, have defended himſelf for ſome time, had not his own army been too much weakened to hold ſo extenſive a line, and that of his antagoniſt ſo numerous as to enable him to act with a powerful force upon the Auſtrian flanks. He had in vain diſpatched repeated meſſages to haſten the arrival of general Simbſchen, with the reſerve, for the purpoſe of covering the lower Lahn, and his own left, againſt the right wing of the French. When Werneck arrived at Klein Neiſter, Simbſchen was yet two marches from the Lahn. It was, therefore, not practicable to continue at Klein Neiſter; and, conſequently, after having given his troops a ſhort repoſe, he quitted it at midnight, and took the road of Herborn.

Lefebvre, in the mean time, with the French right wing, followed up his ſucceſs. From Montabaur he advanced to Limburg, which the Auſtrians abandoned at his approach, leaving behind them ſeven pieces of cannon. The republicans then puſhed a diviſion to the left bank of the Lahn, to watch the roads of Mentz and Frankfort. Other diviſions took poſſeſſion of Naſſau and Dietz, and drove back into Ehrenbreitſtein an imperial detachment. Simbſchen at laſt arrived with the Auſtrian reſerve; but finding that Limburg was in the hands of the enemy, and not thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to cope with them, he fell back to Neuhoff, in order to keep open, by Hoffheim, his retreat to the Mayn.

Had the firſt movements of Hoche with the centre, from Dierdorf, been rapidly directed towards the Lahn, it is almoſt certain that he would have cut off the retreat of Werneck's army to that river. But, fortunately for his routed foes, he moved in the oppoſite direction, apparently with the intention of falling on their right flank. He ſeems, however, to have ſoon diſcovered his error, and to have reſolved

reſolved to make an effort to repair it, and to intercept his enemy, by attacking Werneck with his left, while one diviſion of his centre took poſt at Weilburg, and another at Grieffenſtein. By this arrangement he hoped to ſhut out Werneck from Wetzlar, and entangle him among the republican diviſions.

Had the Auſtrian general perſiſted in remaining at Klein Neiſter, the project of Hoche would probably have been crowned with ſucceſs. But when, at dawn on the twentieth, Hoche put his troops in motion towards that place, he diſcovered that his antagoniſt was already in full retreat to Herborn. The republican advanced guard and huſſars were immediately diſpatched in purſuit. Near Roth they came up with the Auſtrian rear-guard; and, during the reſt of the retreat, a ſucceſſion of ſmart ſkirmiſhes occurred, in ſome of which the French were worſted, while in others they had the upper hand. Having, however, ſucceeded in gaining by the bayonet the height of Flerſbach, the republicans planted there three pieces of artillery, by which a column of the imperialiſts was thrown into ſo much confuſion that, at the paſſage of the bridge of Sindt, it was unable to reſiſt a charge of the huſſars, who took from it four hundred priſoners, and an immenſe quantity of ſtores and baggage. Werneck, nevertheleſs, accompliſhed his retreat to Wetzlar.

Though he had failed in anticipating the Auſtrians on the Lahn, Hoche hoped that he might prevent them on the Mayn; at leaſt ſo far as to ſeparate them from Frankfort, and compel them to retire by the circuitous route of Aſchaffenburg. With this view Lefebvre was ordered to puſhforward to Frankfort by forced marches. It ſeems, indeed, wonderful that this ſtep was not adopted at the outſet, there being no army in the field which was capable of oppoſing the French right wing, and the road from Montabaur to Frankfort being much ſhorter than that by which Werneck retreated; the one forming only a chord, while the other formed an arc of a circle.

While the Auſtrians were thus menaced with being turned on one of their flanks, the centre and left of the French preſſed hard on their retreat. Aware of the impoſſibility, and even peril, of attempting to make a ſtand on the upper Lahn, Werneck evacuated Wetzlar and Gieſſen, called in all his detachments, and withdrew to Muntzenberg, on the road to Frankfort. He did not effect this movement unmoleſted. His rear-guard was ſo vigorouſly attacked near Steinberg, that it loſt two hundred men, and two pieces of cannon, and would, perhaps, have been utterly deſtroyed, had not he himſelf turned back to extricate it with a diviſion of infantry. A ſharp conflict enſued, in which the republicans were worſted, and general Ney was taken priſoner. Of the reſpite afforded by this flight check, Werneck prudently availed himſelf to croſs the Nidda, during the night, and draw nearer to Frankfort.

Lefebvre, meanwhile, had nearly executed the taſk which was aſſigned to him. In order to clear that part of the country which lies in the angle formed by the junction of the Rhine and the Mayn, he

he diſpatched the diviſion of Watrin to defeat and drive into Mentz the Auſtrian reſerve, under Simbſchen, which was poſted near Wiſbaden. Simbſchen was routed, with the loſs of many killed and wounded, eight hundred priſoners, and three pieces of cannon. At the ſame time, another French diviſion paſſed the Mayn, and occupied the left bank of that river from Hochſt to Ruſſelheim. Lefebvre himſelf marched in two columns to Konigſtein, and thence, on the twenty-ſecond, to Rudelheim, a ſhort diſtance from Frankfort. He drove before him a diviſion of Auſtrian cavalry, and appeared under the walls of the city; but while, on the one hand, he was preparing to attack the place, and, on the other, Werneck was haſtening forward ſuccours from his poſition of Bergen, hoſtilities were ſuddenly put a ſtop to by the arrival of a courier, with diſpatches from Buonaparte, to announce the ſigning of preliminaries of peace. The generals of the French and imperial armies immediately met at Ilbenſtadt, and agreed upon a line of demarcation, behind which their forces were to remain, till the terms of a treaty were definitively ſettled.

This news arrived at the critical moment to reſcue Werneck from imminent danger; the republican diviſions having cloſed upon him in ſuch a manner, that it ſeems almoſt impoſſible for him to have continued his retrograde movement without at leaſt being expoſed to ſome very ſerious diſaſter. His conduct, in this brief campaign, was ſo unſatisfactory to the Auſtrian cabinet, that, after a trial, in which general Kray was his accuſer, he was excluded for ever from the military ſervice, being compelled to retire on the uſual penſion.

On the upper Rhine the republican invaders commenced their operations in an equally fortunate manner. It appears to have been expected by the Auſtrians, that the capture of Kehl and Huningen would ſecure them in this quarter, as the want of a bridge would, they thought, prove an inſuperable obſtacle to the invaſion of Swabia; there being in the hands of the French no regular communication between the two banks of the river, and nearly the whole of the bridge eſtabliſhment of the enemy having been taken or deſtroyed in the preceding campaign. If ſuch were their expectations, they were built upon a very ſandy baſis, and were ſpeedily overthrown.—— "Never," as Buonaparte juſtly obſerved in a letter to the Directory, "never did a river prove a real obſtacle to a general who was determined to paſs it;" and even recent experience ought to have taught the Auſtrian commanders that a long line of defence, like that on which they were ſtationed, was ſure to be penetrated in ſome point or other by a ſkilful and enterpriſing antagoniſt, eſpecially when that antagoniſt was at the head of an army which far outnumbered their own.

It was originally intended that the French armies of the upper and the lower Rhine ſhould open the campaign on the ſame day. This, however, was rendered impracticable by the backward ſtate of the preparations on the upper Rhine. The pontoons and veſſels that had been ordered to be built were not yet

yet completed; nor were the artillery and draught horſes, and other neceſſary articles, which had been promiſed by the government, yet arrived at their deſtination. Leaving the command of his troops to Deſaix, general Moreau haſtened to Paris, to ſtimulate the Directory to activity. He was ſent back with promiſes of prompt aſſiſtance, but alſo with orders to avail himſelf of the few reſources which he poſſeſſed, and to attempt immediately the paſſing of the Rhine.

Moreau returned to Straſburgh on the ſeventeenth of April, and, great exertions having been made during his abſence, the twentieth was the day fixed upon for carrying his enterpriſe into execution. He had already directed that all the boats and barges upon the river Ill ſhould be ſeized, and conveyed towards the junction of the Ill and the Rhine. His directions were punctually executed. All the veſſels between Colmar and Straſburgh were taken poſſeſſion of; and, at the ſame time, in order to miſlead the enemy, as to the point where they were to be uſed, it was reported that they were to be removed over land to the vicinity of Briſach. This report, and the circumſtance of a diviſion of troops having been collected at Colmar, appears to have deceived the Auſtrians into a belief that it was in the neighbourhood of Briſach that the French army would endeavour to force a paſſage over the river. This erroneous belief had the prejudicial effect of inducing them to diſſeminate their forces ſtill more, by aſſembling a conſiderable part of them in that quarter.

The ſpot at which the Rhine was croſſed in the preceding campaign was, from its proximity to Straſburgh, and from other circumſtances, one of the moſt convenient that could then be choſen for effecting the paſſage. The operation, however, could not now be attempted at the ſame place, as that branch of the Rhine called the Mabile was at this moment nearly dry, the enemy had erected numerous batteries on the other ſide of the river, and had alſo left in exiſtence all the trenches which were thrown up during the ſiege of Kehl, ſo that it was become utterly impoſſible for an army to form or to advance on the plain. It was, therefore, neceſſary to find ſome acceſſible point, and this was not an eaſy taſk, the unuſual lowneſs of the water rendering it difficult and tedious to paſs the ſhoals by which the navigation was obſtructed. At length it was reſolved that the embarkation ſhould take place at a ſhort diſtance from Kilſtet, near the junction of the Iil with the Rhine. The landing was to be effected on three points, between Freyſtett and Dierſheim. About fifteen thouſand men, commanded by general Duheſme, who was ſeconded by generals Vandamme, Davouſt, and Jordy, were deſtined for this ſervice. Only a ſmall part of this force could, however, be conveyed at one time to the German bank of the Rhine. To facilitate the main attack, by drawing off the attention of the enemy, three falſe attacks were alſo to be made; two of them above Straſburgh, at point des Epis and the battery of Beclair, and the third conſiderably below it, from the iſles of Dalhunden, oppoſite the village of Grefferen.

An

An inceſſant cannonade was likewiſe to be kept up, on the whole of the left bank, from Briſach to fort Vauban.

The campaign commenced, on the twentieth of April, by the execution of theſe movements. It was intended that the principal attack ſhould be made at half-paſt three in the morning, in order to procure over the enemy the advantage of taking him by ſurpriſe; but this ſcheme of the aſſailants was fruſtrated by the ſtormineſs of the night, the difficulty of paſſing the ſhoals, and other unforeſeen obſtacles. The alarm was given to the Auſtrians by the falſe attacks, before the true one could be begun, and they were conſequently on their guard. As, however, the falſe attacks were vigorouſly puſhed, as the point which was really in danger was not known, and the imperial troops were ſpread on a line extending from Stolhoffen to Briſach, the defenders of the right bank were not in a condition to reſiſt in any quarter with promptitude and vigour. Moreau, therefore, reſolved to accompliſh his end by force, ſince ſecrecy and ſtratagem were no longer available. This reſolution was dictated by prudence, ſince delay would undoubtedly have afforded his antagoniſts an opportunity of diſcovering where they were ſeriouſly menaced, and of concentrating their ſtrength in ſuch a manner as to overbalance any thing which he might gain by greater completeneſs of preparation.

It was ſix in the morning before the boats with the firſt diviſion of the troops could get clear of the ſhoaly navigation of the Ill, and deſcend into the Rhine. As ſoon as they appeared, they were received by a heavy fire from the Auſtrian poſts and batteries, under which they were obliged to proceed for a conſiderable diſtance, without the power of returning it. They, nevertheleſs, boldly puſhed on. As, however, an adherence to the original plan, of landing in three places, would have kept the troops for a long while expoſed to a murderous fire of grape and muſketry, and would have given the enemy time to collect his forces, it was reſolved that the whole ſhould be landed at the point neareſt at hand, which was that deſtined to be attacked by the third diviſion. This point was a ſandy iſland, nearly oppoſite to Dierſheim, ſeparated from the right bank by two narrow and fordable branches of the ſtream. It was occupied by three hundred men of the free corps of Michaelowitz.

Unable to reſiſt the numbers of the aſſailants, the three hundred Auſtrians fell back to a toll-houſe and timber-yard, in which they entrenched themſelves; but from this poſt they were driven by the bayonet, and they retired to Dierſheim. The diſembarkation of the firſt diviſion of the republicans was then completed, and the veſſels were ſent back to bring over the remainder. In the meanwhile, the French advanced to attack Dierſheim, in order to ſecure their footing on the left bank of the river. Their firſt effort was not fortunate. They were repulſed with ſome loſs, and general Duheſme, who endeavoured to bring them back to the charge, was ſeriouſly wounded. The arrival of freſh troops enabled them, however, at length to accompliſh their purpoſe

purpoſe, and they became maſters of the village. They were now covered on their right flank. On their left, they alſo drove the Auſtrians from a battery, by which they had been much annoyed.

Thus fixed on the German ſide, the French laboured inceſſantly to eſtabliſh a flying bridge, and to accelerate the embarkation of the remaining diviſions.

The Auſtrians, meanwhile, were not idle. Having been ſtrengthened by two additional battalions, they, at eight o'clock, made a vigorous effort for the recovery of Dierſheim. The French were expelled from the place; but it was a poſt of too much importance to them to be lightly relinquiſhed; and, accordingly, on being joined by the diviſion of general Davouſt, they returned to the conteſt, and at length once more obtained poſſeſſion of the village. They then extended their right towards Honau; thus occupying a ſemilunar line, of which the flanks were protected by the Rhine, and Dierſheim was nearly the central point.

A freſh reinforcement of four battalions, from the camp of Bodeſchwir, enabled the Auſtrians to make, before noon, another attack on the republican poſition. It was directed againſt the centre and right. In the centre they were repulſed. On the right, where their principal puſh ſeems to have been made, they perſiſted more tenaciouſly, and, at firſt, with more effect. The Auſtrian column, which moved from Honau, drove the enemy from an angle of the dike that ſupported the republican right flank, and thus gained a ſituation where their artillery could bear in flank and rear on the whole of the hoſtile line. As the moſt dangerous conſequences would reſult from allowing the aſſailants to fix themſelves firmly on this ſpot, the French took inſtant meaſures to expel them from it. At the head of two battalions, generals Deſaix and Davouſt advanced againſt the Auſtrians. The ground being marſhy and interſected, and the imperial troops keeping up a heavy fire, the ſtruggle was an obſtinate one. At laſt, however, the republicans won back the dike, and compelled the enemy to retreat in diſorder to Honau, leaving behind them many ſlain, and two hundred priſoners. In this engagement Deſaix was wounded in the thigh.

The ſituation of the republicans was, nevertheleſs, a precarious one. The flying bridge was not yet eſtabliſhed; they had conveyed to the right bank but a ſmall part of their artillery, and ſcarcely any of their cavalry; the paſſage of the troops, though continual, was neceſſarily ſlow; and thoſe who had landed, having the river at their back, had no other alternative, in caſe of defeat, than drowning or ſurrender. The Auſtrians, on their ſide, were fully aware of what importance it was to them to diſlodge the enemy without loſs of time; ſince, if the republicans once gained a firm footing, the imperial army was too weak to do more than retard their progreſs in Swabia. On the other hand, a deciſive ſucceſs now gained over the invaders might fruſtrate their ſchemes on the upper Rhine, and enable the Auſtrians to reinforce their army on the lower Rhine, ſo as to turn the ſcale againſt the victorious Hoche.

Accordingly, at three in the afternoon,

afternoon, freſh troops having arrived from Kehl, Stolhoffen, and Offenburg, general Starray determined to make a vigorous effort. Dierſheim was the main object of the ſtruggle. His columns were preceded by twenty pieces of cannon, from which ſuch a terrible fire was kept up, that the French field pieces were ſpeedily diſmounted, and the village itſelf was in flames. The Auſtrian infantry then advanced to the attack, and penetrated into the burning place. The French defended themſelves with that deſperate courage which is inſpired by the knowledge that retreat is hopeleſs. In the midſt of the flaming ruins the battle raged in the moſt furious manner. At laſt, in ſpite of the ſuccours which their antagoniſts received, the Auſtrians drove them as far as the church, and became maſters of the chief part of the village. Freſh aid, however, enabled the French to make a ſtand in their laſt poſition, and the conflict was renewed with greater fury than ever. In this critical ſituation of affairs the fortune of the day was decided in their favour by a well-timed manœuvre of the French generals. While the Auſtrians were occupied in front by the defenders of Dierſheim, they were charged on both their flanks by new forces; and, being thus preſſed on all ſides, they were compelled to relinquiſh, and in conſiderable diſorder, the ground which they had ſo hardly won. Yet it was not till after a hard ſtruggle, hand to hand, in which two French adjutant-generals were ſeverely wounded, that the republicans remained in poſſeſſion of the long-conteſted poſt.

To ſtrengthen the column directed againſt Dierſheim, the Auſtrians committed the error of weakening their wings. Of this error generals Vandamme and Davouſt ſkilfully availed themſelves, and, after a ſhort reſiſtance, they carried the village of Honau, which covered the Auſtrian left. On the French left, meanwhile, Starray made an attempt to penetrate, but the republicans were too ſtrongly poſted, and the aſſailants were repulſed. At the cloſe of the battle the two armies continued as they were at the commencement of it, ſave that Honau was held by the extreme right of the French army. The victors were too weak in cavalry, and too exhauſted by their exertions, to purſue the retiring enemy. The loſs was heavy on both ſides.

Though the republicans had repelled their antagoniſts, they were not yet entirely at eaſe with reſpect to their ſafety. The flying bridge was completed previous to the battle, and had been actively engaged in bringing over the troops during the conflict; but, even aided by the boats, this mode of conveyance was too tardy to render ſecure the eſtabliſhment of the invaders on the right of the Rhine. In the afternoon, therefore, a bridge of boats was commenced, and, notwithſtanding a heavy cannonade kept up by the Auſtrians, it was completed before midnight. A new and vigorous attack of the imperial forces upon the republican left wing, which had a momentary ſucceſs, but was finally foiled, operated as an additional ſtimulus to hurry on the completion of the bridge.

At two in the morning of the twenty-firſt, the French infantry, cavalry, and artillery, began to pour over the bridge in a continued

nued ſtream. As faſt as they reach the right bank they were ranged in order of battle; it being the intention of Moreau to aſſail immediately the poſition of the Auſtrians, which extended, in a concave form, from the junction of the Holchenbach with the Rhine, along a low ridge, by Hobine and Lings, towards the Rhine near Litzenheim. The onſet was to be made in three diviſions, led on by Generals Dufour, Vandamme, and Lecourbe.

General Starray, however, did not wait to be attacked. Believing that the bridge could not yet be finiſhed, he determined to make a deſperate and laſt effort againſt the invaders before they were become ſo numerous as to put it out of his power to cope with them. In the courſe of the night he called to his aſſiſtance all the remaining troops, to the number of about eighteen thouſand men, from the valleys of Kinzig, Renchen, Acheren, and Murg. At ſix in the morning, while the French were preparing for battle, the Auſtrians made a furious aſſault upon their centre and right, at Dierſhiem and Honau. At the outſet, the aſſailants obtained ſome advantages on the ſide of Honau; but they were ſoon deprived of them by the coming up of ſucceſſive and freſh bodies of republicans, and they then ſlackened their exertions in that quarter. It was at Dierſheim, the key ſtone of the whole French poſition, that the ſtruggle was maintained with the moſt perſevering and ſanguinary fury; each individual of both armies fighting as if the ſucceſs of the battle depended on him alone. Theſe were inſpired by revenge, and the deſire of preſerving their country from ravage; thoſe, by the wiſh for plunder, and by the conſciousneſs that only victory could ſave them from captivity or from certain death. The attack on Dierſheim was preluded by an inceſſant cannonade from three Auſtrian batteries which poured upon the village, in front and on both flanks, a ſhower of balls and grape ſhot. By this well-ſupported fire a great part of the French artillery was diſmounted. This being accompliſhed, the Auſtrian infantry rapidly advanced againſt the left of the village. It made the attack with the utmoſt gallantry, and was as gallantly reſiſted. After the conteſt had continued for ſome time, General Davouſt, at the head of two battalions, ſallied from the right of the village, and endeavoured to break in upon the left flank of the aſſailing column. Perceiving the danger which threatened their infantry, the Auſtrian cavalry ruſhed upon Davouſt's diviſion, which was, in its turn, ſupported by the republican cavalry. This complex combat of horſe againſt foot, foot againſt foot, and horſe againſt horſe, was maintained with inveterate obſtinacy, and all was confuſion and indiſcriminate ſlaughter. For a while, however, the Auſtrians had the aſcendency; and ſeveral times drove back the French cavalry as far as the gardens of Dierſheim. But no efforts of valour, on the part of the imperial troops, could avail againſt an enemy who was perpetually reinforced. A charge of a freſh body of their cavalry finally decided the conteſt in favour of the French; and the Auſtrians, who were now much weakened, and two of whoſe generals, Starray, and Immeus, were wounded, reluctantly

luctantly retired from the field of carnage, to take up the position whence they had marched in the morning. The victors were not yet sufficiently strong in cavalry to disquiet the retreat of their baffled enemy.

The Austrians, nevertheless, were not suffered to remain long undisturbed. The battle was scarcely ended before Moreau was joined by a considerable part of his troops, from the other side of the Rhine. He was thus enabled to follow up his advantage, and he lost not a moment in doing so. As soon as the necessary preparations could be made, he gave orders to carry into effect the plan which he had formed in the morning, the execution of which had been interrupted by the sudden onset of the enemy. At two in the afternoon, the French centre advanced between Lings and Hobine, while their right moved on Litzenheim, in the direction of the Kintzig, and their left on Freystett, towards the valley of the Renchen.

Convinced that he had no chance of making a stand against such an overpowering force, Starray had already begun his retreat. He was unfortunately too late. Near Lings, the regiment of Dalton, which formed a part of his rear, was overtaken by the republicans, who charged it with such impetuosity that it was broken, and the whole of it was either killed or taken prisoner. This disaster completely dispirited the Imperialists; their retreat degenerated into a rout, during which they were severely pushed, and sustained a heavy loss in men, artillery, and baggage. It was in vain that Major-general O'Reilly strove to rally the Austrian cavalry; his troops were dispersed, and he himself fell into the hands of the French. Between Offenberg and Gengenbach the night put a stop, on this side, to the progress of the republican centre. Their left took post at Freystett; having its advanced guard on the Renchen. In the mean time, their right, under Dufour, had proceeded to Kehl, and summoned the fort, which was in a defenceless state, and guarded by no more than fifty men. It surrendered at the first summons; and thus a fort which, but a few months before, was bought with the lives of ten thousand of the bravest of the Austrian soldiers, now reverted into the hands of the republicans, without their having been at the trouble of firing against it a single shot. Moreau immediately ordered that the bridge between Strasburgh and Kehl should be re-established.

The loss of the Austrians on this unfortunate day was between three and four thousand prisoners, nearly as many slain and wounded, and the greater part of the baggage and cannon. What the French suffered they did not disclose; but the number of their killed certainly could not be less, and was probably more, than that of the Austrians, as during a considerable period they were exposed to a destructive fire from a superior artillery. Among their wounded were six generals; a circumstance which affords reason to believe that their ranks were seriously thinned in these murderous engagements.

The utmost expedition being, on this occasion, indispensably necessary, Moreau halted no longer than was needful to marshal the troops

troops under their reſpective generals, according to the original arrangement, ſo that each general might be at the head of thoſe diviſions with which he uſually acted. The right was deſtined to advance up the Rhine towards Briſach and Friburg; while, acting in concert with it, a large diviſion was to proceed up the valley of the Kintzig, threaten to cut off the retreat of the Auſtrians on the upper Rhine, and penetrate to the ſources of the Danube. The left and centre, in two columns, were to deſcend the valley of the Rhine towards Raſtadt; detaching a body of troops to ſeize the paſs of the Kniebis, and take poſt in the valley of the Murg, whence it could either move on Raſtadt, or continue its march to the banks of the upper Necker. One great object with Moreau was, to follow up ſo vigorouſly the remains of Starray's corps as to complete its deſtruction before General Latour could arrive to its aſſiſtance with the troops from Manheim.

The French army moved forward on the morning after the battle of Dierſheim. The right wing continued its unreſiſted march from Kehl to Cappel and Ettenheim; while Davouſt aſcended the Kintzig to Biberach with equal eaſe, and would have taken priſoners a diviſion of huſſars, had it not been ſaved by the unexpected appearance of an Auſtrian column which was making its eſcape by this road. The centre and left of the Republicans purſued their courſe with ſcarcely leſs facility; the former driving before it two ſmall bodies of Auſtrians from Zimmern and Nider Acheren, the latter forcing the paſſage of the Renchen, which was but weakly defended. At night the Republicans occupied a line, which extended from Ettenheim, by Lohr, Gengenbach, Overkirch, and Nider Acheren, as far as Lichtenau. They had the power of puſhing on in whatever direction they thought proper, and their communication with Straſburgh was open and ſecure.

There was only one Auſtrian general, in this quarter, who was at all in a condition to make head againſt the French; and it may be doubted whether he was ſtrong enough to ſuſpend, or even ſeriouſly obſtruct their progreſs. This was General Latour. As ſoon as the Republican irruption into Germany was known to him, he haſtily collected all the diſpoſable troops in the neighbourhood of Manheim, conſiſting of fifteen thouſand infantry, and three thouſand horſe, and began his march to Raſtadt. Near that town, or near Ettlingen, he hoped to join the ſhattered army of Starray, and thus be ſufficiently reinforced to give battle to the enemy. Moreau, on his ſide, was appriſed of his antagoniſt's deſign, and was prepared to anticipate it. But, while each party was thus making ready for a deciſive conteſt, the effuſion of blood was happily prevented, by the arrival of a courier, on the 23d of April, who brought the welcome intelligence that the preliminaries of peace had been ſigned at Leoben.

Thoſe preliminaries were, of courſe, the reſult of the conferences which took place after the ſigning of the armiſtice between Buonaparte and the Archduke Charles. The French leader was deſirous that the negotiation ſhould be conducted by General Clarke, who was then at Turin, and ſtill retained the full

powers

powers which were given to him by the Directory, towards the close of the preceding year. From some unexplained cause, however, ten days elapsed without the Republican plenipotentiary having made his appearance, and consequently the whole weight and responsibility of treating with the Austrian envoys devolved upon Buonaparte. This arduous task it must be owned that he performed with no mean degree of diplomatic skill.

At the outset of the conferences he seems to have thought it politic to talk in lofty language to the Austrian generals, Bellegarde and Meerveldt. The cession of the German territory as far as the left bank of the Rhine must, he told them, be considered as a preliminary step to any negotiation for peace. Without noticing this demand, they, in their turn, desired to know what was intended to be done with respect to Italy. To this question he declined giving an answer. His refusal to explain drew from them a pointed remark, that, if the emperor was to be called upon to sacrifice every thing, he would prefer quitting Vienna, and staking every thing upon the chance of war. To this decisive declaration Buonaparte adroitly replied, that the circumstance of his having spoken out definitely as to the limits on the Rhine, while he avoided speaking as to those on the Italian frontier, ought to be looked upon as a proof that he meant to leave open to discussion the latter essential article.

In his dispatch to the Directory, on this occasion, Buonaparte recommended the conclusion of peace upon reasonable terms. At this moment he appears to have hoped, that an extension of the Republican limits to the Rhine would be readily granted. He did not conceal from the French government the delicacy of his military position; but frankly owned that the failure of the negotiation would embarrass him much, and that after having, if possible, beaten the imperial army, and driven the emperor from Vienna, he should, unless seconded by the armies on the Rhine, be under the necessity of falling back upon Italy.

The full powers of the emperor to his plenipotentiaries arrived at Leoben on the night of the 12th of April, and were communicated to the French general on the following morning. The negotiators chosen by his imperial Majesty were general Meerveldt and the Marquis de Gallo, the latter of whom was the Neapolitan ambassador at Vienna. To the admission of the Marquis as a party Buonaparte at first objected; on the ground that his quality of ambassador from a friendly power was incompatible with that of plenipotentiary from a hostile one. Reasons of policy, however, induced him to desist from his opposition. To continue obstinate on this point would, he told the Directory, be productive of great delay; the Marquis, too, possessed the entire confidence of the emperor; and besides, which was, perhaps, a more important object with Buonaparte, in case the treaty should be broken off, the circumstance of the Neapolitan minister having been employed might be made a means of exciting discontent against the imperial court, the Austrians and Hungarians being exceedingly indignant to see a foreigner taking the lead

in an affair of ſuch high importance.

Previouſly to entering on the main buſineſs, it was neceſſary to ſettle a few minor points, and one or two of theſe gave riſe to ſome diſcuſſion. A reciprocal promiſe of ſecrecy was the firſt thing that was propoſed. This, however, could not be reduced into writing; the Imperial envoys inſiſting upon the name of the emperor being inſerted before that of the republic, a conceſſion which Buonaparte peremptorily refuſed to grant.

The formal acknowledgment of the new order of things in France was the next topic of debate. On this head the French general haughtily told them, that the republic cared nothing about being acknowledged. "The French Republic," added he, "is in Europe that which the ſun is above the horizon: ſo much the worſe for thoſe who will not ſee it and profit by it." The Plenipotentiaries, notwithſtanding this rebuff, declared that, even ſhould the negotiation be unſucceſsful, the emperor was willing to make the propoſed acknowledgment, on condition that the republic ſhould preſerve towards him the ſame etiquette that had been obſerved by the kings of France. To this Buonaparte readily replied, "as we are exceedingly indifferent about every thing that relates to etiquette, it is probable that we ſhall not be averſe from conſenting to that article."

In the ſame ſpirit he treated a requeſt, certainly one which excites a ſmile, that a ſpot of ground, to continue the conferences on, might be made neutral territory. "A garden," ſaid he, "in the middle of which is a pavilion, has been declared neutral; a farce which I had no objection to join in playing, that I might humour the puerile vanity of theſe gentlemen. This pretended neutral point is ſurrounded on all ſides by the French army, and is in the midſt of the bivouacs of our diviſions. The thing would have been very juſt and very proper, had the ſpot choſen lain between the two armies." Leoben was the ſpot thus happily exempted from hoſtile tread.

The ceſſion of the Netherlands, and of the diſtricts united to France by the decrees of the convention, ſeems to have been eaſily agreed to by the Auſtrian plenipotentiaries. They, however, demanded a compenſation for this ſacrifice, and they declared that his Imperial Majeſty would not accept of any which ſhould be ſituated within the limits of Germany. The reſtitution of the Milaneſe, and the ceſſion of a part of the Venetian ſtates, or of the Roman legations, are ſaid to have been the terms on which they offered to ſign immediately the preliminaries of peace. Little can be ſaid in defence of their readineſs to accept the provinces recently wreſted from the Pope, that very ſovereign whom Auſtria had ſtimulated to reſiſtance; and ſtill leſs can be ſaid in behalf of the wiſh to diſmember Venice, againſt the government of which the chief accuſation urged by France was, that it was too warmly attached to the Imperial cauſe. If it may be pleaded that the Roman provinces were already made over to the Republic, and might, therefore, be legitimately accepted; what plea can be put in to juſtify, or even to palliate, the deſire of robbing a government

vernment againſt which France had not yet declared war, nor could do ſo on any other pretext than that it was the friend of Auſtria?

Theſe conditions Buonaparte was not diſpoſed to grant. Not that he felt any repugnance to the ſpoliation of Venice, on which he had already determined. Inſtead of that which was aſked, he offered to reſtore the Milaneſe and Lombardy, thus manifeſting his willingneſs to abandon thoſe who had been prompted to declare againſt Auſtria, and to aſpire to independence. This propoſal was as unſatisfactory to the Imperial envoys as theirs was to him.

It was at length agreed, that three projects of a treaty ſhould be ſent to Vienna, by an extraordinary courier, for the conſideration of the Auſtrian cabinet. The firſt of theſe conſiſted of the ſix following articles. "1. The ceſſion of Belgium; the conſtitutional limits of France. 2. On the concluſion of peace with the empire every thing ſhall be ſettled reſpecting the country which is occupied by France as far as the Rhine. 3. The two powers ſhall, in concert, make arrangements to give to the Emperor all that part of the Venetian territory which is ſituated between the Mincio, the Po, and the Auſtrian ſtates. 4. That part of the Breſcian which is compriſed between the Oglio and the Mincio ſhall be given to the Duke of Modena. 5. The Bergamaſco, and all that part of the Venetian dominions which lies between the Oglio and the Milaneſe, together with the Milaneſe, ſhall form a Republic; Modena, Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, ſhall alſo form a Republic. 6. The city of Venice and the Archipelago ſhall continue independent."

Of the ſecond project the two opening articles were the ſame as thoſe of the firſt. The third article, the only remaining one, ſtipulated the evacuation of the Milaneſe and of Lombardy. This was the ſcheme that had already been rejected by the Imperial envoys.

The third project was, in its firſt two articles, the ſame as the others. The third article called upon his Imperial Majeſty to renounce all his claims upon the Milaneſe and Lombardy; in return for which, the fourth article promiſed that France would engage to give him compenſations proportioned to the Milaneſe and the duchy of Modena, which ſhould be the object of a negotiation, and of which he ſhould be put in poſſeſſion within the term, at the lateſt, of three months. It is manifeſt that a project of this kind, which held out nothing definite, was not likely to meet with acceptance.

When, on the 16th of April, Buonaparte acquainted the Directory with the progreſs thus far of the conferences, he alſo informed it, that ſhould all theſe propoſals be rejected at Vienna, it was his intention to make an offer of an armiſtice for three months, which ſhould include the armies on the Rhine as well as thoſe on the Italian frontier. During this pauſe from war, the negotiations might, perhaps, be brought to a happy iſſue; or, if they were not, the army of Italy might be reinforced in ſuch a manner as to compel the emperor to be contented with ſtill harder terms than thoſe which he had refuſed. In caſe of even a prolongation of the armiſtice being

denied, he intended to fight; but it was plain that he had little or no proſpect of an advantageous reſult. He indeed hoped, faintly hoped, that the army of the Sambre and Meuſe might be now on its march to the Rednitz, and might be able to ſtrike important blows, and advance to that river, in the courſe of a week from the period at which he wrote. We have, however, ſeen that the army of Hoche did not move till the 18th of April, nor that of Moreau till the 20th; and it was, therefore, impracticable for them to reach the Rednitz and the Lech in time to accompliſh a diverſion in his favour. How completely unſupported he was, he could not at that moment know, but he knew enough to excite his anger, to which he gave vent in hurried and indignant language. "The beſt generals and the beſt troops," ſaid he, "are here arrayed againſt *me*. When there is good will to open the campaign, there is no obſtacle which can prevent it from being done; and never, ſince military operations have been recorded in hiſtory, has a river proved a real obſtacle. If Moreau wiſhes to paſs the Rhine, he will paſs it, and if he had already paſſed it, we ſhould now be in a ſituation which would enable us imperiouſly to dictate, and without running any riſk, the conditions of peace. But, whoever fears to loſe his glory is ſure of loſing it. I have croſſed the Julian and the Noric Alps over three feet of ice; I have conveyed my artillery through roads which a cart had never travelled, and every body believed the thing to be impoſſible. If I had conſulted only the eaſe of the army, and my own private intereſt, I ſhould have halted beyond the Iſonzo. I precipitated myſelf into Germany, to extricate the armies of the Rhine, and to prevent the enemy from undertaking offenſive operations in that quarter. I am at the gates of Vienna, and that inſolent and haughty court has its plenipotentiary at my head quarters. The armies of the Rhine can have no blood in their veins! If they leave me to ſtand alone, then I ſhall return to Italy. All Europe will judge the different conduct of the two armies. They will ere long have upon them all the forces of the emperor; they will be overwhelmed by thoſe forces; and the fault will be their own."

Either the fears, however, or the policy of the Auſtrian cabinet, but more probably the latter, prevented it from continuing its appeal to the ſword. It probably thought that the loſs of the Netherlands, a diſtant and always precarious poſſeſſion, and of its Lombard provinces, would be adequately compenſated for by the acquiſition of a territory which would give roundneſs and compactneſs to the Auſtrian dominions; and it perhaps alſo looked forward to the moment when, France having no longer an army in Italy, it might recover the rich territory which it now reſigned. Be this as it may, on the arrival from Vienna of M. de Vincent, his Imperial Majeſty's aide-de-camp, the negotiations were reſumed; and in the courſe of two days they were brought to a favourable cloſe. The preliminaries were ſigned at Leoben, on the 18th of April.

The diſpatch in which Buonaparte announced to the Directory this important event, is worthy of notice,

notice, not only as containing an expoſition of his motives, of the relative ſituation of the contending powers, and of the advantages to be drawn from the peace, but alſo as diſplaying much of that ſpirit of univerſal ſubverſion and conqueſt which ſo fearfully and unfortunately diſtinguiſhed his ſubſequent life.

"All that which, by the laws of the convention, has been formed into departments, remains in the poſſeſſion of the republic.

"The Lombard Republic is not only confirmed, but likewiſe augmented by the whole of the Bergamaſco and the Cremaſco, which are at this moment united to it by the inſurrection of thoſe two countries. That part of the Mantuan which is on the right bank of the Oglio and the Po is equally incorporated with it; the duchy of Modena and of Reggio, which, by the principality of Maſſa and Carrara touches on the Mediterranean, and by the part of the Mantuan touches on the Po and the Milaneſe, is alſo compriſed. We ſhall, therefore, have in the heart of Italy a Republic, with which we can communicate by the Genoeſe ſtates and the ſea; and in all future wars in Italy this will give us an aſſured communication. The king of Sardinia will, henceforth, be entirely at our diſpoſal.

The fortreſs of Pizzighttone, and the towns of Bergamo and Crema, the works of which will be reſtored, will ſecure the new Republic from the incurſions of the emperor, and always give us time to come to its aſſiſtance. On the ſide of Modena, there are alſo ſeveral poſitions which may as eaſily be fortified; for which purpoſe we can employ a portion of the immenſe artillery which we now have in Italy.

As to the renunciation of our rights on the provinces of Bologna, Ferrara and Romagna, in exchange for the Venetian ſtates, they remain ſtill in our power. Should we and the emperor in concert ſucceed in making the ſenate conſent to this exchange, it is evident that the republic of Venice will find itſelf under the influence of the Lombard republic, and at our command. If the exchange be not effected, and the emperor enter into poſſeſſion of a part of the ſtates of Venice, without the ſenate conſenting to accept of a compenſation which is unſuitable and inſufficient, the three legations will remain in our hands, and we may unite Bologna and Ferrara with the Lombard republic. The government of Venice is the moſt abſurd and tyrannical of all governments: beſides it is paſt all doubt, that it wiſhed to take advantage of the moment when we were in the heart of Germany, to raiſe its poignards againſt us. Our republic has no bitterer enemy. Its influence is conſiderably diminiſhed, and this is entirely to our advantage: this likewiſe binds the emperor and France together, and will oblige that prince, for ſome time after the concluſion of peace, to act in that manner which is moſt agreeable to us. This common intereſt which we have with the emperor reſtores the balance to our hands. By this means we are placed between Pruſſia and the houſe of Auſtria, with both of which we have important affairs to ſettle.

Beſides, we ought not to conceal from ourſelves that, though our military ſituation is a brilliant one,

we have not dictated the conditions. The court had left Vienna; Prince Charles and his army fell back on that of the Rhine; the people of Hungary and all parts of the hereditary ſtates were riſing in maſs; and, even at this moment, the head of their force is already upon my flanks. The Rhine was not paſſed; the emperor waited but for that, to quit Vienna, and put himſelf at the head of his army. If they had committed the folly of waiting for me, I ſhould have beaten them; but they would have continued falling back before us, would have joined a part of their troops from the Rhine, and would have overpowered me. A retreat would then have become difficult, and the loſs of the army of Italy might have cauſed the ruin of the republic. I was, therefore, reſolved to try to impoſe a contribution on the ſuburbs of Vienna, and not to ſtir a ſingle ſtep further. I have not more than four thouſand cavalry, and inſtead of forty thouſand men, which I aſked of you, not twenty thouſand have arrived.

If, at the opening of the campaign, I had been obſtinately bent upon marching to Turin, I ſhould never have paſſed the Po; if I had been obſtinately bent upon advancing to Rome, I ſhould have loſt Milan; if I had been obſtinately bent on penetrating to Vienna, perhaps I ſhould have loſt the republic. The true plan of a campaign to deſtroy the emperor was that which I formed, but with ſix thouſand cavalry and twenty thouſand more infantry: or, even if, with the forces which I had, the Rhine had been croſſed at the ſame time that I croſſed the Tagliamento, as I believed that it would be, ſince two ſucceſſive couriers brought me orders to open the campaign.

The inſtant I perceived that the negotiation was ſeriouſly entered into, I ſent a meſſenger to General Clarke, who, ſpecially charged with your inſtructions on ſuch an eſſential object, would have conducted the buſineſs better than I could; but when, after a lapſe of ten days, I found that he did not arrive, and that the favourable moment was beginning to go by, I diſcarded all ſcruples, and ſigned the treaty. You have entruſted me with full power over all diplomatic operations; and, independent of this, in the exiſting ſituation of affairs, the preliminaries of peace, even with the emperor, were become a military operation. This will be a monument of the glory of the French republic, and an infallible preſage that, if it will ſtrongly organize its armies, and eſpecially the cavalry, it may, in the courſe of two campaigns, reduce to ſubjection all the continent of Europe."

The preliminary articles were not publiſhed by either of the parties. The tenor of a part of them may, however, be gathered from the preceding letter, and from ſome ſcattered expreſſion and alluſions in the diſpatches of Buonaparte and the French government. The Venetian ſtates ſituated on the Adriatic were to be given to the emperor, as a compenſation for his loſſes; with the exception of the Dogado and the whole or ſome part of the Treviſan, which appear to have been reſerved. The three legations were, as we have ſeen, to be offered to the Venetian government, in return for the valuable provinces of which it was deprived.

ed. The holding of a congreſs at Berne, for the eſtabliſhment of peace, was alſo one of the conditions of the treaty, and was one of thoſe which were leaſt acceptable to the Directory. On the part of the emperor it was vaunted as an act of generoſity, that he had ſtipulated for the integrity of the Germanic empire; yet, modified as it was by a conſent that France ſhould retain the biſhopricks of Liege and Baſil, and all that ſhe had united by her decrees, this boaſted ſtipulation was, in fact, little more than an illuſory form of words, which was merely intended to anſwer a political purpoſe. It was buying golden opinions at a cheap rate, or, more correctly ſpeaking, with a counterfeit coin.

Having thus brought his military and diplomatic proceedings to a happy iſſue, Buonaparte, who at leaſt ſuſpected that ſome of the members of the French government looked on him with a jealous eye, either really felt, or artfully affected to feel, an earneſt deſire to be recalled from the ſcene of his triumphs. "Calumny," ſaid he, "will ſtrive in vain to attribute to me perfidious intentions. My civil career will be, as my military career has been, ſimple and uniform. Nevertheleſs, you muſt feel that I ought to leave Italy; and I urgently requeſt you to ſend, along with the ratification of the preliminaries, inſtructions relative to the firſt ſteps to be taken with reſpect to Italian affairs, and alſo a permiſſion for me to return to France."

The Directory, however, did not think proper to take him at his word. He was told, in anſwer, with many compliments to his patriotiſm and talents, that his preſence was ſtill neceſſary in Italy, to conſolidate the new order of things which he had created; he alone being the moſt intereſted in, and the moſt capable of performing, that important ſervice. Another powerful motive was alſo pointed out, for prolonging his ſtay at the head of his army. Meaſures muſt be adopted againſt the Venetian government, and of what kind they ſhould be, ſo that they were hoſtile, was left entirely to his own diſcretion. What thoſe meaſures were, will be ſhown in the ſucceeding chapters.

CHAP. XVII.

Declining State of Venice for a long Period. The Venetian Government refuſes to join the Coalition againſt France. It recognizes the French Republic at the Moment of its Eſtabliſhment. Efforts of Peſaro to induce it to put its Territories in a State of Defence. They are momentarily ſucceſsful, but are ſoon rendered abortive. The Venetian Government receives a French Ambaſſador. Aſſerted Deſigns of France againſt Venice at this Period. A Venetian Envoy appointed to reſide at Baſil. He furniſhes Intelligence to the Government reſpecting the Feelings of the French towards Venice. Anger of the French at the Reſidence of Lewis XVIIIth at Verona. The Venetians ſend an Ambaſſador to Paris. Addreſs of the Preſident of the National Convention to M. Querini, the Ambaſſador. Entrance of Buonaparte into the Venetian States. Jeſuitical Inſtructions

given to him by the Directory. Lewis the Eighteenth is sent away from Verona. Proclamation of Buonaparte on entering the Venetian Territory. The Directory instructs Buonaparte to raise a Loan from Venice, and to lay Verona under Contribution. Strange Language of Buonaparte with respect to Verona. A Pretext made for quarrelling with the Venetians, in Consequence of Beaulieu having seized on Peschiera. Insolent Conduct of Buonaparte to the Proveditor. Buonaparte's own Account, acquitting the Venetian Government as to the Seizure of Peschiera. The Directory, however, make the seizure of Peschiera a Reason for insisting on certain Demands. Buonaparte thinks it more prudent to delay for the present bringing those Demands forward. His Account of his Conduct. His Dislike of the Venetian Government. Incessant Requisitions made upon the Venetians. Enormous Amount of the Sums thus obtained. Barbarous Conduct of the French towards the Venetians. Specific Charges of Cruelty brought against them. Proof, afforded by their Officers, of the licentious State of the French Soldiery. Insults offered to the Venetian Insignia. The Venetian Fortresses seized by the French. Sclavonian Troops expelled from Verona. Speech of Buonaparte. The Venetians arm to defend the Capital, and appoint an extraordinary Proveditor to reside at Brescia. Distress of the Venetian Finances. Angry Remonstrances of the French Envoy respecting the Venetian Preparations. Humble Reply of the Senate. Pesaro appointed as Deputy to confer with the French Envoy. Conference, in which Pesaro vindicates his Goverment, and expresses its Fears. M. Lallemant bears Testimony to the pacific Intentions of the Venetian Government. Plan of the Directory for an Alliance between France, Spain, Turkey, and Venice. It is rejected by the Senate. Alliance of Prussia offered. Conduct of the French during the remainder of the Year 1796. *Arrogance of Buonaparte. Seizure of the Castle of Bergamo.*

THE victim which was sacrificed to seal the peace between France and the emperor was the republic of Venice. That republic, the rulers of which could once with justice assume the proud title of "lords of one fourth and a half of the Roman empire," and could also claim for their country the still prouder honour of being one of the bulwarks of Christendom, had long since declined from her ancient glory; the war which ended in the treaty of Carlowitz, saw the gaining of her last trophies from her old enemy the Ottoman; and, since the disadvantageous peace of Passarowitz, she had been sunk, for more than three-fourths of a century, into a state of languor and inaction, interrupted only by a momentary though spirited exertion against the Tunisian pirates. Amidst the contests which so often desolated Italy, Venice preserved a strict neutrality, and, by her neglect of her army and her fortresses, seemed to abandon, for the future, all pretensions to military renown. The presumed wisdom of her government still appeared, however, to shed a lustre around her; her past struggles and triumphs in the cause of the European commonwealth were still remembered with respect, perhaps with gratitude; other powers had no pretext, nor

even

even a wiſh, to attack ſo harmleſs a neighbour; and Venice might yet have continued to exiſt in her happy mediocrity, and to believe herſelf to be the miſtreſs of the Adriatic, had ſhe not been doomed to deſtruction by the malignant influence of revolutionary France.

In ſtriking at the exiſtence of the republic of Venice, that of France was not only guilty of injuſtice, but of ingratitude. At the commencement of the war, the Venetian government, though preſſed by the emperor and the kings of Sardinia and Naples to enter into an alliance againſt the French, had ſteadily refuſed to liſten to their ſolicitations. It recognized the depoſers of Lewis the Eighteenth, and received an envoy from them, while their garments were yet dripping with the blood of revolt and maſſacre. It was in vain that, after the conqueſt of Savoy and Nice, and the attempts of the invaders to penetrate into Piedmont, Francis Peſaro recommended that Venice ſhould arm, and ſhould garriſon her fortreſſes on Terra Firma, in order to make her neutrality reſpected. The ſenate rejected this prudent counſel, and reſolved not to incur any expence for the purpoſe of averting a danger which was ſuppoſed to be merely imaginary. In the year 1794, Peſaro made another effort, and had a tranſient triumph. The ſenate decreed an armed neutrality, and ordered that the artillery ſhould be provided, the fortreſſes repaired, and the troops held in readineſs to repel any aggreſſion on the part of the combined powers. The Council of the Wiſe, however, improperly ſo named, oppoſed this meaſure, and continued to throw ſo many obſtacles in the way of its execution, as at length to render it abortive, and the Venetian territory was ſtill left, in caſe of an emergency, with no other protection than what might be afforded by the juſtice or the policy of the republican invaders and their imperial enemy.

In November, 1794, the French rulers diſpatched M. Lallemant, as their ambaſſador to Venice. He was received by the Venetian government with every mark of diſtinction. Yet even at that moment, and there ſeems but too much reaſon to credit the charge, his maſters are ſaid to have been ſecretly intriguing, to corrupt the Venetian functionaries, to ſtimulate the people to revolt, to excite diſcontents among the Griſons, the neighbours of the provinces of Breſcia and Bergamo, and to prevail upon the Porte to take up arms, and ſeize the maritime poſſeſſions of Venice.

Foiled in his plan of an armed neutrality, Peſaro procured the appointment of a miniſter to reſide at Baſil, to obtain correct information reſpecting the views of the warring powers, and eſpecially of France. Rocco Sanfermo, an active and intelligent character, was appointed to execute this miſſion. The count de Provence, now Lewis the Eighteenth, had for ſome time found a ſhelter at Verona, where he lived in retirement; and this act of hoſpitality the Venetian envoy at Baſil diſcovered to have rouſed the diſpleaſure of the Committee of Public Safety. In the month of February, 1795, Rocco Sanfermo appriſed his government of this circumſtance, and alſo that the

the French were offended that no Venetian ambaſſador had been ſent to reſide at Paris, though a republican envoy had been ſent to Venice; and he concluded by communicating the ſtill more important intelligence, that France had determined to attack Italy with a formidable armament, by land and ſea, and to revolutioniſe the whole of that country.

The expulſion of a fallen, perſecuted, homeleſs individual, from its territories, was a degree of baſeneſs to which, eſpecially as there was no danger imminent from a refuſal, the Venetian government could not yet bring itſelf to ſubmit. It, therefore, pleaded in his behalf; urging the privacy of his life, and the moderation of his conduct, as irreſiſtible reaſons againſt compelling him to quit the aſylum which he had choſen. But on the other point it reſolved to give ſatisfaction, and Aloys Querini was accordingly deputed to proceed to Paris as the repreſentative of the Venetian republic. With reſpect to the fears of invaſion, it ſucceeded, by that ſort of ſophiſtry with which men are ſo often ſelf-deceived, in perſuading itſelf that they were wholly unfounded.

The reception of M. Querini was undoubtedly ſuch as to contribute to diſſipate any alarm which the government of Venice might have previouſly felt. The preſident of the National Convention addreſſed to him a flattering harangue, in which as it were by anticipation, and with ſomething of a prophetic ſpirit, he paſſed ſentence on the future proceedings of the republican French. "France, always great," ſaid the ſpeaker, "will reply to generous conduct, by a conduct equally generous. When on all ſides our new-born republic was aſſailed in its cradle, and the event might be thought uncertain, the Venetian republic, not ſatisfied with merely preſerving a rigorous neutrality, received with diſtinction the envoy of the French republic. We love to tell this, and to publiſh our gratitude. The meaſure was the nobler, inaſmuch as it expoſed our faithful ally to more than one embarraſſment. Noble M. Querini, France, while under a deſpotic yoke, might be ungrateful and deceiving, but liberated France, republican France, is grateful and ſincere. Tell your nation, that ſhe may reckon the French people among the moſt pure and the moſt zealous of her allies."

June 30, 1795.

Little more than ten months paſſed away before the worth of theſe proteſtations of gratitude and amity was brought to the proof. No ſooner had Buonaparte forced a paſſage into Piedmont, than, already looking forward to the conqueſt of Italy as being certain, the Directory inſtructed him as to the conduct which he was to purſue, with reſpect to the various ſtates of that beautiful country. "Venice," ſaid theſe "moſt pure and moſt zealous allies" of that republic, "is to be treated as a neutral power, but has no right to expect to be treated as a friendly one; it has done nothing to deſerve our kindneſs." In this cold and jeſuitical language the hoſtile ſpirit and intentions of thoſe who uſed it can hardly fail to be viſible. Yet, undeſerving as Venice was now diſcovered to be, its government

vernment had recently yielded to French ſolicitation or menace, and, even previouſly to the victories gained by the French general over the Auſtro-Sardinian army, had ordered Lewis the Eighteenth to quit Verona; and its ſubordinate agents had acquired for it ſome claim to the kindneſs of the revolutionary rulers of France, by the utter want of feeling, and the groſsly inſulting tone, with which they enforced this order againſt the royal wanderer.

On his entering the ſtate of Venice, Buonaparte iſſued a proclamation, conſiſting of aſ-
May 29, 1796. ſertions void of truth, and promiſes intended to be broken. It was, he ſaid, to deliver the fineſt country in Europe from the iron yoke of the haughty houſe of Auſtria, that the French army had braved obſtacles almoſt inſurmountable; victory in union with juſtice had crowned its efforts; and, in purſuit of the ſhattered forces of the enemy, the French army muſt now paſs over the Venetian territory. "But," continued he, "it will not forget that the two republics are united by a long friendſhip. Religion, government, cuſtoms, property, ſhall be treated with reſpect; let the people be free from all diſquietude; the moſt rigid diſcipline ſhall be maintained, and every thing with which the army ſhall be ſupplied, ſhall be ſcrupulouſly paid for in ready money.

"The general in chief requeſts the officers of the republic of Venice, the magiſtrates, and the prieſts, to make his ſentiments known to the people, that confidence may cement the friendſhip by which the two nations have ſo long been united.

"Faithful in the path of honour as in that of victory, the French ſoldier is terrible only to the enemies of his liberty and his government."

At the moment when this paper was put forth, Buonaparte was in poſſeſſion of inſtructions from the Directory, by which he was authorized to call on the Venetian republic to furniſh him with money, under the name of a loan, and it was hinted that the circumſtance of Lewis the Eighteenth having reſided at Verona, might alſo be made the ground of a pecuniary demand upon that city.

This amicable proclamation had not been publiſhed more than five days, when the French general entered Verona, and plainly ſhewed to what degree of credence his promiſes were entitled. The language which he uſed there was more worthy of the ferocious chief of one of thoſe Scythian hordes which anciently deſolated Europe, than of a general who led the troops of a civilized nation. "I did not," ſaid he, in his diſpatch to the Directory, "conceal from the inhabitants, that, if the king of France had not quitted their city before I paſſed the Po, I ſhould have given to the flames a city audacious enough to think itſelf the capital of the French empire!" On this equally ſtrange and brutal conduct, and the no leſs ſtrange terms in which he expreſſed himſelf, we have already made ſome remarks, in our volume for 1796. It may not, however, here be improper to call to the reader's recollection, that Verona was a neutral

neutral city, that the name of Lewis being inſcribed on the golden book he had a claim to Venetian hoſpitality, even had his misfortunes not given him a ſtrong one, and, laſtly, that no ſentence of outlawry had been paſſed againſt him on the part of the human race, ſo as to render it an inexpiable crime to have afforded him even a momentary aſylum.

The ſhelter granted to Lewis the eighteenth was not, however, the only pretended ſubject of complaint. A pretext will never be wanting to thoſe who have an intereſt in being unjuſt. One, the moſt baſe of its kind, was now found, and it places in a ſtriking point of view at once the crooked Machiavelian policy of the French, and the folly of that ſyſtem of unarmed neutrality which had been adopted by the Venetian government. On his retiring over the Mincio, Beaulieu ſeized upon the fortreſs of Peſchiera, which had been left in a defenceleſs ſtate by the Venetians. He abandoned it ſhortly after, in conſequence of the republicans having effected the paſſage of the Mincio, and it was immediately garriſoned and ſtrengthened by the French general. It is probable that Buonaparte was ſecretly pleaſed with a circumſtance which gave him a ſtrong point of ſupport on the upper Mincio. He, nevertheleſs, pretended to be exceedingly irritated that the Venetian government, by not ſecuring Peſchiera, had laid him under the neceſſity of fighting to recover it from the Auſtrians. To the proveditor-general, Nicholas Foſcarini, who haſtened from Verona to appeaſe his anger, he behaved with the utmoſt inſolence, threatening to march in perſon againſt Venice, to demand ſatisfaction for that which he was pleaſed to denominate "ſo manifeſt a treaſon," and he actually ordered Maſſena to take poſſeſſion of Verona. The Senate now diſpatched two members of the Council of the Wiſe, to endeavour to propitiate him. He received them with ſomewhat leſs acrimony than he had diſplayed towards the proveditor, but he did not fail to deſcant largely on the grievances of which he had to complain, among which the refuge granted to Lewis the Eighteenth held a prominent place. As, however, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, it was not politic to puſh the Venetians to extremities, he condeſcended to intimate that the fault which they had committed was not inexpiable; and by this hint he ſucceeded in obtaining from them the ſupplies of which he ſtood in need for the ſervice of his army.

The deciſive evidence, as to the juſtice of his complaints and menaces, Buonaparte ſhall himſelf furniſh. It is contained in his diſpatch to the Directory, on this ſhameful buſineſs. "If," ſaid he, "it be your plan to draw five or ſix millions from Venice, I have contrived expreſsly for the purpoſe this kind of rupture. You may require the ſum as an indemnification for the combat of Borghetto, in which I was obliged to engage, in order to take this place. If you carry your intentions to a ſtill greater length, I think that it will be proper to keep open this ſubject of diſpute, to let me know what you wiſh to be done, and to wait

wait for a favourable moment, of which I will avail myſelf according to circumſtances: for we muſt not bring every body upon us at the ſame moment. The truth of the affair of Peſchiera is, that Beaulieu ſhamefully deceived them; he aſked for fifty men to be allowed to paſs through, and he then made himſelf maſter of the place."

At once deſpicable and wicked as was the pretext of quarrel ariſing from the Auſtrian occupation of Peſchiera, it was, nevertheleſs, eagerly ſeized on by the French Directory. Buonaparte was immediately informed that it was conſidered as ſufficient to authoriſe his demanding that the Venetian government ſhould deliver up to the French the whole of the money depoſited in the hands of Venetian ſubjects, or eſtabliſhments by foreign powers, particularly that which was ſuppoſed to belong to the Britiſh monarch, and to be a ſum of great magnitude; ſhould alſo give up all the ſhips and other effects of thoſe powers which were then in the Venetian ports; and ſhould furniſh to France a loan of twelve millions of livres, as a ſecurity for which it ſhould conſent to accept an aſſignment of a part of the debt which was due from the Batavian to the French republic. This taſk the general was inſtructed to accompliſh in ſuch a moment as neither to occaſion a rupture with Venice, nor to expoſe the dignity of the French nation to be at all brought in queſtion. The cowardice or impolicy of thoſe with whom he was directed to negotiate might perhaps facilitate his attainment of the firſt of theſe objects; but how it was practicable for him to achieve the ſecond, is difficult to be conceived; unleſs, indeed, the laws of morality which bind individuals do not bind communities, and conſequently there be nothing diſgraceful to the latter in wanton outrage and daring robbery.

To the commiſſion of this injuſtice Buonaparte had no objection whatever, but the wily general was aware that the time was not yet come when this injuſtice might be ſafely committed. To make ſuch a demand as his inſtructions ſuggeſted, was, in fact, obviouſly to compel Venice to chooſe between the hoſtility of England and Auſtria, and that of France; and it was probable that ſhe would conſider the latter as the leaſt dangerous. The ſtruggle againſt the Auſtrians was in fact only juſt beginning; he had no firm footing in Italy; he had many important projects to execute in the ſouth and in other quarters; and it was therefore of conſequence not to drive Venice to the abſolute neceſſity of taking up arms before he was quite prepared to ſet her anger at defiance: for, ſunk as the republic was in the ſcale of nations, ſhe had ſtill reſources ſufficient to make her at this moment no contemptible enemy. It would, he told his employers, be more prudent to wait till Mantua was taken, and the Auſtrians were beaten on the Brenta, when their ſcheme might be put in execution with the certainty of ſucceſs. This counſel they had the wiſdom to follow. In the mean while, he adviſed them to begin ſome trifling quarrel with the Venetian envoy at Paris, in order to facilitate the proceedings of their general, when the period arrived for making the demand. Nor did he bluſh to own that he was now deſcending to mean arts, and to exaggerated complaints, for the purpoſe of exciting the

the fears of the Venetians, and thus inducing them to provide for the subsistence of his troops. Yet, as those who injure are truly said always to hate those whom they injure, he at the same moment heaped, in his dispatch, the grossest and most groundless abuse on the Venetian government. His dislike of the republic, and his hope of speedily dictating conditions to it, were frequently adverted to in his letters; and so anxious was he to prevent the Venetians from increasing their forces, that he even ordered the Austrian deserters not to be permitted to enter into their service, but to be sent to Brescia, that they might be enlisted by a recruiter for the Spanish army.

At present, however, it was undoubtedly a more safe and gainful process to impoverish the state and its subjects, than to make the demand which had been suggested by the Directory. Money, wine, meat, bread, corn, hay, fuel, and every thing that could be wanted, or thought of, was incessantly called for by the French agents and generals. The inhabitants were stripped of their property without shame or mercy, and were compelled to convey, at their own cost, frequently through the whole of Lombardy, the various articles which were required by their republican oppressors. They had likewise the mortification to see the most wanton waste made of the means of subsistence which had been extorted from them, and of which they themselves stood in the greatest need. A fourth part of the requisitions was daily destroyed.

Within two months after the entrance of his army into the Venetian territory, the government, according to the confession of Buonaparte, had, through the medium of a contractor, supplied the invader with provisions to the value of 125,000*l.* sterling, under a promise, as he carelessly remarked, that, "some day or other," it should be repaid. How much in addition was wrested from the people, it is impossible to discover. The burthen, instead of being decreased, was rendered every day more heavy; so that, in the course of eleven months, the expenditure of the Senate, for the province of Verona alone, on account of the French, has been estimated at no less a sum than one million seven hundred and six thousand ducats of silver. To this must be added the pecuniary succours which, in consequence of French rapacity, the Senate was compelled to send, during that period, to the ruined inhabitants of the Terra Firma, which are said to have fallen little if at all short of three millions of ducats.

But, happy would it have been for the Venetian subjects of the Terra Firma, had these been the whole of the sufferings to which they were exposed. This, however, was not the case. They had not only to endure the deprivation of their property, but likewise all the insults, injuries, and cruelties that could be inflicted by a brutal and licentious soldiery. Into whatever country French armies have penetrated, they have uniformly disgraced themselves by multiplied acts of barbarous and unmanly outrage; and the troops of Buonaparte seem to have resolved that they would not be outdone in the career of atrocity. The following sketch of a few of their enormities

enormities is given by an Italian writer, and there is no reaſon to doubt of its correctneſs.

"At Montagnana the French expoſed the territory to plunder; at Peſcantina they diſperſed and ſunk the boats; they firſt occupied, and then demoliſhed, the Rocca d'Anfo. At Badia they ſet fire to a work, which defended the neighbouring country from the inundations of the Adige. All the provident repairs on the banks of that river were overthrown by an inſenſate ſpirit of gratuitous deſtruction. Along, and on either ſide the Lezini mountains, cottages, houſes, and churches were ſacked. On the banks of the Mincio an infinite number of families were deſpoiled of their whole property, driven from their homes, and compelled to wander over the face of the earth, to ſave a life which they no longer knew how to ſupport. But I will not depreſs my readers with the melancholy catalogue of miſdeeds, which marked the traces of the French army. I will not deſcribe the fate of the village of Niſſar, which was ſacked with ſuch ſavage ferocity, that a father of a family, unable to ſurvive his domeſtic ruin and that of his native village, precipitated himſelf from a window and periſhed. Neither will I repeat the horrid menaces of death, which ſpread ſo much terror at Caſtellaro; nor the laſt expiring groans of the wives and daughters who periſhed in the arms of their ferocious deſpoilers. I will draw a funereal veil over the unhappy D'Eſte, who, in endeavouring to ſave his wife from military licentiouſneſs, was baſely and inhumanly murdered, while his diſtracted partner in an agony of grief, raiſing her hands towards heaven, continued kneeling beſide the corpſe of her beloved huſband, till ſhe expired, being then far advanced in pregnancy; and the ſame tomb received three victims immolated with a ſingle blow. Nor will I deſcribe the two brothers, who, at Caſtel Nuovo, were with bayonets nailed to the walls, and died amid the flames of their own dwelling. My heart revolts at enumerating ſo many horrors*."

It

* It may perhaps be urged by ſome, that this is the language of an irritated and prejudiced enemy, and is, therefore, either wholly falſe, or greatly exaggerated. To this it would be a ſufficient anſwer, that the ſhameful miſconduct of the French armies, in every country into which they have ever penetrated, is a matter of notoriety; and that it is not probable that Buonaparte's army would form the ſolitary exception. There is, however, a better reply to be made; a reply which admits of no contradiction. It is drawn from the character which, at the commencement of the campaign, ſeveral of the ſuperior officers were compelled to give of the ſoldiers of this ſame army. The complaints of theſe officers were addreſſed to Buonaparte himſelf.

Ormea, 6th April, 1796.—"A part of the ſoldiers" (who had juſt been defeated by the Auſtrians), "have returned loaded with plunder. If an example be not made, things will go on badly; numbers of ſoldiers wiſh only to thieve, and not to fight."

General SERRURIER.

Minglia, 17th April, 1796.—"The unbridled diſorder to which the troops give themſelves up, and for which there is no remedy, ſince we have not the right of ſhooting a ſcoundrel, is leading us to our ruin, diſhonours us, and prepares for us the moſt cruel diſaſters. As the firmneſs of my character cannot bend to witneſs ſuch ſcenes, and ſtill leſs to tolerate them, I have no alternative but to retire; in conſequence, general, I requeſt you to accept my reſignation, and to ſend an officer to take the command

It cannot be ſuppoſed that the perpetrators of ſuch enormities as theſe always eſcaped their deſerved puniſhment. Driven to deſpair the

mand which is now entruſted to me; for I prefer digging the ground for my ſubſiſtence, to being at the head of men who are worſe than the Vandals were of old.

General LAHARPE."

Cairo, 20th April, 1796.—"All the agents, magazine-keepers and others, in all departments of the ſervice, make requiſitions at random; the peaſants of this country are entirely ruined, the ſoldier is in diſtreſs, and the officers are in deſpair: rogues alone enrich themſelves. There is not a moment to loſe, general, if you wiſh to ſave the army, and prevent us from being looked upon in Piedmont as men worſe than Goths and Vandals. It is not poſſible to keep the ſoldiers in bounds in this ſtate of miſery; your army will melt away by ſickneſs, and, when we march, by the Barbets (armed mountaineers); for there is no doubt that the inhabitants, driven to deſpair, will arm and kill every Frenchman who wanders from his diviſion. Above all, general, it is urgent to put a ſtop to this ſwarm of illegal requiſitions, or, if they muſt be continued, it will be better to collect the inhabitants together, ſhoot them, and then complete the devaſtation; for it will come to the ſame thing, they will die of hunger.

General LAHARPE."

Camp of Dego, 20th April, 1796.—"The contempt of diſcipline is at its height: I uſe every means to maintain order; they are all fruitleſs. There is no kind of exceſs which the ſoldiers do not commit; and all that I can do is of no avail. I therefore requeſt, general, that you will accept my reſignation; it not being poſſible for me to ſerve any longer with ſoldiers who know neither ſubordination, nor obedience, nor law, and who every moment threaten their officers and leaders.

Colonel CHAMBARLHAC, 78th demi-brigade."

Dego, 20th April, 1796.—"Want of diſcipline and ſubordination are at their higheſt pitch: the exceſſes to which the ſoldiers abandon themſelves can no longer be ſtopped. For ſeveral days I have uſed all the means in my power to bring them back to obedience, to ſubordination; all my efforts having been ineffectual, and feeling myſelf to be quite unable to reſtore order, I requeſt you, general, to accept my reſignation.

MAUGRAS."

Monte Barcaro, 22d April.—"It is two o'clock, and we have not received any thing; the ſoldier gives himſelf up worſe than ever to thieving and plundering; peaſants have been aſſaſſinated by our ſoldiers, and ſoldiers have been killed by the peaſants. It is not poſſible to paint the horrors which are committed; the camps are almoſt deſerted; the ſoldier prowls over the country, rather reſembling a wild beaſt than a man: thoſe who do not join in theſe ſcenes, patrol with the ſuperior officers at their head, but it is in vain that the offenders are driven away on one ſide, they fly to aſſaſſinate on another ſide. The officers are in deſpair. General LAHARPE."

In theſe plundering excurſions the ſoldiers, according to the confeſſion of general Laharpe, "deſtroyed in an inſtant what might have ſufficed to keep them eight days, without ruining the inhabitants." That it was not want alone which prompted them to the commiſſion of ſuch crimes is obvious from this confeſſion. But there is direct proof that they were actuated by an abominable fondneſs for tormenting, ruining, and deſtroying. After their entry into the duchy of Milan, when they were revelling in the lap of plenty, their conduct was the ſame as it had been in the mountains of Piedmont. General Dallemagne ſpeaks of them in the following ſevere terms:

Maleo, May 9, 1796.—"Up to this time, general, I have made vain efforts to put a ſtop to pillage. The guards which I have eſtabliſhed, have not remedied it in the leaſt: this diſorderly conduct is at its higheſt pitch. Terrible examples are neceſſary; but I know not whether I have the power of giving them. The good and feeling man ſuffers and is diſhonoured by marching at the head of a corps of which the bad characters are ſo numerous. If I were not placed at the moſt advanced poſt, I ſhould deſire you to replace me by ſome perſon whoſe health and talents might make him more ſucceſsful than myſelf."

Even after the ſigning of the treaty of peace between France and Sardinia, ſuch was the conduct of the French troops remaining in Piedmont, that it was neceſſary for

the peaſants ſometimes turned upon their oppreſſors, and made them pay with their lives the penalty of their crimes. Theſe acts of vengeance, or rather of juſtice, were loudly complained of by Buonaparte, as foul aſſaſſinations, and the moſt dreadful ſeverity was threatened, in caſe of their being continued. It does not, however, appear that he took any ſtep to repreſs the brutal exceſſes of his own ſoldiery, which gave riſe to retaliation. The Senate of Venice ordered its envoy at Paris to appeal to the Directory, to put a ſtop to thoſe exceſſes; but, though promiſes of compliance with the requeſt were often made, they were never performed. All that was done by the Directory was, in one of its diſpatches, to allude ſlightly to the complaints of the Venetians, and that in ſuch a tone as to prove that it cared little about the removal of the cauſes of complaint.

While the ſubjects were thus trampled on, the government was, of courſe, treated with equal indignity. It was in vain that it ſtrove to win favour by its readineſs in complying with the demands of the French general, and that the proveditor of Verona even degraded himſelf by acting as a ſpy upon the movements of the Auſtrians. The national inſignia were in various places torn down and treated with contempt, the ſecrecy of public and private correſpondence was violated, and the Venetian commerce in the Adriatic was plundered by French privateers. Proceeding in his encroachments

for the duke of Aoſta, the brother of the then reigning monarch, to write to Buonaparte in the following terms.

Turin, May 21, 1796.—"I have thought it proper to write to yourſelf, to obtain from you an order, to leave to the peaſantry of the diſtricts occupied by the French armies, *the poſſibility of tilling the ground and ſowing it for the ſecond crop*; a thing which, I believe will be as uſeful to the French army as to the diſtricts themſelves."

In what manner the countries conquered by the French were likely to be treated, may be judged of from one ſingle article of the inſtructions given to Buonaparte by the Directory. "The Milaneſe eſpecially muſt not be ſpared. Raiſe contributions in money there, without delay, and while the firſt terror inſpired by the approach of our arms is felt: let the eye of economy watch over the ſpending of them. The canals, and thoſe public eſtabliſhments of the country which we do not keep up, muſt be made to feel a little the effects of the war; but let us be prudent." The reader will bear in mind that on theſe canals, which were "to feel a little the effects of the war," that is to ſay, which were to be injured or at leaſt neglected, depends in a great meaſure the fertility of the duchy of Milan.

One extract will ſuffice to ſhew the manner in which the ſubjects of Venice were treated. At the time when the letter which contains it was written, the republicans had been ten months in the Venetian territories.

Trivigiano, March 19, 1797.—"On my arrival at Trivigiano, I found that the town had been plundered by the ſoldiers of Serrurier's diviſion; mine have not been more diſcreet, and have completed the ruin of the poor inhabitants; the chief of brigade Auvray, informs me that a part of the advanced guard, and ſome of the fourth, entered in ſpite of the armed force, and carried their villainy ſo far as to ſet fire to a houſe. I have iſſued an order to prevent ſimilar exceſſes, but I think that an order from you is neceſſary, at a moment when, being on the point of entering into a conquered country, it is *à propos* to make ourſelves beloved. The ſoldier, abandoning himſelf to pillage, has ſlighted the authority of his leader; a volunteer of the ſixty-ninth levelled his piece at the chief of battalion Arnaud, who wanted to put a ſtop to the exceſſes. This individual was put under arreſt, but has been allowed to eſcape.

General GUIEUX."

ments, Buonaparte ſeized on the fortreſs of Porto Legnano, and all the other forts on the Adige, occupied the caſtles of Verona, and peremptorily inſiſted that the Sclavonian troops, which garriſoned Verona, ſhould be removed from that city, they having fought with and ſlain ſome of his ſoldiers, by whom they had been inſulted.

This mode of proceeding ſufficiently indicates what fate was deſtined for the Venetian republic. But the Venetians were not left to inference alone for a full portion of knowledge on this important ſubject. The French officers, with their accuſtomed ſpirit of boaſting, publicly declared that they would plant the ſtandard of liberty on the towers of Venice; and even Buonaparte himſelf, in a moment of forgetfulneſs or paſſion, is ſaid to have betrayed the ſecret of his intention "to take abſolute poſſeſſion of Verona, Breſcia, Bergamo and Crema; and that, in like manner as he had clipped the wings of the Auſtrian eagle, he would compel the lion of St. Mark to lift his paws from the earth, and leave them little on the ocean."

While the Venetian government was thus plundered and placed in jeopardy by the French, it was expoſed to the reſentment of the other belligerent powers, in conſequence of the partiality which it apparently manifeſted for the cauſe of the French; a partiality which drew upon it from thoſe powers many angry remonſtrances, and even threats. In this emergency, the ſenate reſolved at leaſt to take ſome ſteps for the ſafety of the capital and the neighbouring iſlands, whatever might become of the continental provinces. It therefore, prohibited the coming of foreigners to Venice, ordered home troops from Dalmatia and Iſtria, and maritime forces from the Levant, and elected, as proveditor for the coaſts and lagunes, James Nani, whom it inveſted with unlimited power to adopt ſuch meaſures as he might think proper for their defence, and that of the capital. He immediately proceeded to appoint officers to the various poſts, among which poſts he diſtributed twelve thouſand Sclavonians; he conſtructed and repaired fortifications at the paſſes, and ſtationed floating batteries and flotillas amongſt the iſlands and on the coaſts of the lagunes. A proveditor extraordinary was alſo nominated by the Senate, and ſent to reſide at Breſcia, to manage the affairs of the Terra Firma, This office was entruſted to Francis Battaglia.

Such was the ſhattered ſtate of the Venetian finances, that it was not without infinite difficulty, and many ſacrifices, that the money was raiſed, to cover the expences of this momentary exertion. It was neceſſary to reſort to means which could not fail to excite diſcontent, and thus increaſe the number of thoſe who were deſirous of bringing about a change in the form of the government. Among other equally onerous fiſcal meaſures, a ſecond tenth was levied on the ſtockholders and Venetian biſhops, and a tenth was laid on ſome of the profeſſions, the cuſtoms were increaſed, houſes, ſervants, and gondolas were taxed, a contribution was taken from the profits of the *monti di pietà*, the payment of all ſums due to the treaſury was ordered to be enforced, and a loan was opened. The ſupplies thus obtained

obtained were, however, not wholly devoted to purpoſes of defence; a large part of them being abſorbed by the perpetual demands of the republican general.

The news of theſe defenſive meaſures no ſooner reached the ear of Buonaparte than he felt, or pretended to feel, an extreme indignation. Taking it for granted that they were directed againſt him, he decorouſly ordered Lallemant, the French envoy at Venice, "to enjoin the Senate to diſcontinue its armaments." This peremptory mandate, ſuch as the arrogant Romans might have iſſued to one of their dependent ſovereigns, was ſignified to the Senate by Lallemant, in ſomewhat more meaſured language than that which was uſed by the French general; but which, nevertheleſs, plainly threatened war as the penalty of diſobedience. Thoſe to whom his official note was addreſſed, might think it prudent to diſſemble the ſentiments which it excited, but it was impoſſible for them not to be moved by ſcorn or anger, when they ſaw him repreſenting the French as the friends of the Venetian republic, and the occupation of the Venetian cities and fortreſſes as a circumſtance which ought to excite neither ſurpriſe nor fear. In one part of this paper he adverted to the hatred which his countrymen had brought down upon themſelves; and at the ſame time he unwarily bore teſtimony to the efforts made by the government to prevent the people from giving offence by their open avowal of it. "The coffee-houſes and public places," he ſaid, "ſtill echoed with the moſt ſcandalous expreſſions, notwithſtanding the repeated complaints which had been urged on this ſubject, and the meaſures which the adminiſtration had taken, for the purpoſe of reſtraining them."

The reply of the Senate was given on the ſame day, and in a humble tone. In better times a Venetian ſenate would have diſplayed the banner of St. Mark, and called on its ſubjects to ſupport and avenge its inſulted dignity. But the ſpirit of Venice was now even more fallen than its fortunes. The ſenatorial body proteſted that it had vowed a ſincere and conſtant friendſhip to the French republic; it deprecated every thing that could diſturb the perfect harmony which exiſted between the two republics; it affirmed that the precautions which it had taken had no hoſtile view towards France, but were merely meant to guarantee the capital from the confuſion which might be occaſioned there, by the ſudden deſcent of terrified inhabitants, or of armed, diſperſed, or fugitive ſoldiers, from the ſeat of war; and it hoped that the frankneſs with which it replied would entirely diſſipate the ſuſpicions which its precautionary meaſures had excited. It did more: for, as a peace offering to the French, it withdrew the Sclavonian troops from the Terra Firma, and confined to the lagunes and iſlands its defenſive preparations.

The Senate now appointed Francis Peſaro as its deputy to receive communications from, and to confer with, the French ambaſſador. Peſaro ſeized the firſt opportunity which occurred, to vindicate the Venetian government, and to expreſs the fears which it entertained that hoſtilities were about to be commenced againſt it. "He told

me," said Lallemant, in a
July 25, 1796. dispatch to Buonaparte, "that, according to the intelligence which he had just received from Verona, you had plainly enough shewn your intention of entering on a war with Venice; that you had manifested the utmost discontent to the proveditor general; that you had made demands to him, on which it was impossible to give you satisfaction immediately, and that, nevertheless, you had threatened to treat the Venetians as enemies, if you did not instantly obtain what you asked for; that, besides, in various places, great rigour began to be exercised towards individuals; and, lastly, that you had unequivocally announced, that if Venice did not speedily disarm you would declare war against her."

In behalf of his government, Pesaro pleaded that it had considered it as a duty and a pleasure to concede to all the demands and arrangements of Buonaparte; that if it had not done more, the failure must be attributed to its want of means, and the necessity of avoiding the hostility of other powers, by which powers, nevertheless, it had been severely reproached; that, perhaps, individuals might have given cause of offence to the French, but that his masters had hoped that, when their conduct was fairly viewed, it would not be judged of by the indiscreet actions and imprudent language of a few persons, who were excited against them by ancient prejudices, by the momentary evils which they were necessarily compelled to bear, and still more by the intrigues of a crowd of ill-willers, who desired nothing better than to embroil Venice with France, and thus to punish her for her refusal to join the coalition; that, on the other hand, his government omitted no endeavour, which it could safely make, to change the public opinion with respect to the French; that it repressed the insolence of their enemies; that it had begun and would persist gradually to remove the emigrants; and that its precautions had already produced effects equally obvious and gratifying.

With respect to the armament, which had so roused the anger of Buonaparte, the Venetian deputy asserted that it had its origin in the causes which the Senate had stated; that it was continued in consequence of serious menaces from Russia and England; that the truth of this was proved by the nature and direction of the preparations, which were, besides, too inconsiderable to give umbrage to France; that neither ought any suspicion to arise from the government having called on its subjects for extraordinary taxes and pecuniary aids, since they were less imposed for the purposes of the state than to enable it to comply with the requisitions of the French general; and that, having in all ways demonstrated the sincerity and constancy of its friendly disposition towards France, the Senate beheld the hostile proceedings of Buonaparte with equal surprise and sorrow.

To these pitiful and degrading supplications M. Lallemant lent a gracious ear. Though, as he afterwards confessed, he was not, in consequence of his ignorance of the facts, able to reply with precision, he endeavoured "to calm the fears" of the deputy by "general

neral reflections," and he ſucceeded, at length, in reſtoring him to ſome degree of tranquillity. His own opinion leaned in favour of the good faith of the Venetians. "It was," he told Buonaparte, and here he ſeems to have paid more reſpect to the prejudices of him to whom he wrote, than to the dictates of truth; "it was but too true that the Venetian government had originally manifeſted an exceſſive averſion to the French revolution, and that, long accuſtomed to tremble before Auſtria, it had ſurrendered itſelf more than it ought to the influence of that power." But it was, he thought, "not leſs certain that it was now ſincere in its proteſtations of neutrality and good intelligence with regard to France; and that, its prepoſſeſſions giving way at laſt to its true intereſts, it really wiſhed to ſee broken the Auſtrian yoke, under which it was bent as well as the reſt of Italy. I do not, added he, much reckon upon its being itſelf induced to lend its aſſiſtance to accompliſh this; there are ſtill too many terrors, too many prejudices in a great number of minds; and, beſides, all are become torpid by long habits of indolence. But I believe it may be promiſed that, far from thwarting thoſe who labour for its deliverance, it will at leaſt make ſecret efforts and wiſhes in their favour." As to the armament, he admitted that the original motives of it might be doubtful, but he teſtified that it was too feeble to juſtify any apprehenſions, and that all the ſteps which were taken had no other object than the guarding of the lagunes, and the defence of the ſea coaſt, which, as he candidly obſerved, did not indicate any ſiniſter deſigns againſt the French army.

At this period, the Directory changed, for a moment, its plan with reſpect to the republic of Venice, and endeavoured by the lure of aggrandizement, to enliſt her on the ſide of France, under the name of an ally. "It is time," ſaid the Directory, in a diſpatch to Lallemant, "that the republic of Venice ſhould rouſe itſelf from the protracted inaction in which it has ſtagnated ſince the peace of Paſſarowitz, and that it ſhould reſume among ſtates that rank which it occupied previouſly to the year 1718. Venice may enlarge her territory, and may acquire places which will conſolidate her power, and ſerve to form between the two republics a federative compact, founded on their reciprocal intereſts." With this view, he was inſtructed to prevail on the Venetian government to ſend a negotiator to France. July and Auguſt, 1796

The ſcheme of the Directory was to bring about an alliance between France, Spain, the Ottoman Porte, and Venice. It was, perhaps, imagined that Venice, if ſomewhat ſtrengthened, might, in conjunction with the projected republic in Lombardy, conſtitute a ſufficient barrier, thenceforth to exclude the Auſtrians from Italy. What addition was intended to be made to the Venetian dominions is not known; but it is probable that a part of the Mantuan and of the Papal Legations would have been devoted to that purpoſe. This alliance was repreſented to the Venetian government, as being the palladium on which the exiſtence of the republic was dependant.

The Senate, however, replied, that "it neither could nor ought to depart from the ſyſtem of neutrality which it had uniformly maintained." It ſeems that the Senate ſhut its eyes to the fact, that it was, in reality, every day departing from that ſyſtem, by furniſhing money and ſupplies to the French general. Yet it muſt be owned that, if no perſonal motives influenced its deciſion, there was ſomething of magnanimity in its thus refuſing to lend its open aid to the common diſturbers of Europe. But the exiſtence of ſuch motives may not unjuſtly be ſuſpected. It was not likely that France would aggrandize the Venetian republic, while the latter was under an ariſtocratical ſway; that ſhe would not ſtipulate, as a return for her dangerous gifts, the infuſion of a large portion of democracy, for the purpoſe, as ſhe might plead, of invigorating the government, and harmonizing it with her own. Nor was it yet certain, that it would be prudent for Venice to accept an offer, which would for ever expoſe her to the deadly and formidable hatred of the Auſtrian monarch. Doubtful, however, as may be the real cauſe of the Senate rejecting this offer, which was repeated in the month of September, there is nothing doubtful in the conſequences of the rejection. The Directory reſumed its ſuſpended plans, and from this moment the government of Venice was an object of greater diſlike than before, and was apparently doomed to that lamentable fate by which it was eventually deſtroyed.

An alliance, which would have afforded an effectual protection from the impending danger, and might have been accepted with honour, was about this period offered to the Venetian government. It was that of Pruſſia; the monarch of which country ſignified his willingneſs to guarantee the dominions of Venice. This offer was no doubt prompted by the natural jealouſy which he felt of every thing that could tend to increaſe the rival power of Auſtria; it being already rumoured that the provinces of the Terra Firma would, perhaps, be transferred to the emperor as a compenſation for the loſs of the Netherlands and the Italian dutchies. The propoſition of his Pruſſian majeſty was, however, not aſſented to; nor was it even communicated to the Senate by the Savii and the inquiſitors of ſtate, who are accuſed of having, on many occaſions, as in this inſtance, ſuppreſſed information of the greateſt importance.

The months of September, October, and November, paſſed away without any attempt being made to carry into effect the ſcheme of the Directory. The Venetian government continued to be ſubjected, and to ſubmit, to the demands of the French general for the ſubſiſtence of his army; but circumſtances compelled him to poſtpone, till a happier moment, the ſweeping demands of a loan and the confiſcation of Engliſh and Auſtrian property. Mantua was yet unreduced; the emperor was yet ſtraining every nerve, not without a proſpect of ſucceſs, to ſave it from the French. The Directory and its general reſolved, therefore, to wait till Mantua had fallen, before they proceeded to execute, "by the means of victory, if neceſſary," that is to ſay, by war, the remainder of their plan,

plan, and in the interim to content themſelves with what they could obtain from the terrified rulers of Venice, by the uſe of "an able mixture of threats and of addreſs." That no time, however, might be loſt, the Directory ordered a ſquadron to be expeditiouſly fitted out, to cruiſe in the gulph of Venice, for the purpoſe of efficaciouſly ſeconding the meaſures of Buonaparte.

The kindneſs which was ſaid to have been ſhewn to the army of Alvinzi, during the ſtruggle in November, now furniſhed the French general with another ſource of complaint. It was not, however, pretended that the kindneſs was carried further than to ſupply the Auſtrians in the ſame manner as the republicans were ſupplied; and it is difficult to conceive how the Venetians could avoid doing this, without at once renouncing their pretenſions to neutrality. Yet that even this offence was committed there is no poſitive proof. It ſerved, nevertheleſs, as a weapon in the hands of Buonaparte, againſt the government of Venice. The proveditor general, who reſided at Breſcia, having remonſtrated with reſpect to the licentious and criminal conduct of the French troops, Buonaparte returned him an anſwer, couched in language of ſuch groſs inſolence and abuſe as but ſeldom has diſgraced the conduct of perſons in an elevated ſtation. The ſuccour granted to Alvinzi was bitterly animadverted upon; the crimes charged upon the republican troops were poſitively denied to have been committed; threats were unſparingly thrown out; and the rulers of Venice were treated with a contumely which evidently had its origin in the reſentment excited by their rejection of the French alliance. "All the Terra Firma of the Venetian ſtates," ſaid he, "ſuffers much from this long conteſt; but whoſe is the fault? The fault lies with a ſelfiſh government, which concentrates in the iſlands of Venice all its ſolicitudes and all its attentions, ſacrifices its intereſts to its prejudices and its paſſions, and the welfare of the whole Venetian nation to ſome babbling coteries. Aſſuredly, if the Senate had been animated by a wiſh for the public good, it would have felt that the moment was come to ſhut out of its territory for ever the undiſciplined armies of Auſtria, and by that means to protect its ſubjects, and perpetually guarantee them from ſeeing their country become the theatre of war."

The ſeizure of the citadel of Bergamo was the next outrage on the Venetian republic. This was accompliſhed by general Baraguay d'Hilliers, on the night of the twenty ſeventh of December. By a diſhonourable ſtratagem, and a violation of his word, he ſucceeded in obtaining an entrance for his cavalry into the upper city, where he artfully kept the proveditor of the place in converſation till the infantry arrived. Being then, as he himſelf expreſſed it, in a ſituation "to be arrogant without imprudence," he inſiſted on the ſurrender of the citadel; and, as the proveditor naturally heſitated to obey this command, without being previouſly authorized by his own government, "I ordered him," ſaid d'Hilliers, "not to ſtir from the ſpot where he was, and drew round him the circle of Popilius, by giving him five minutes to come to a deciſion."

decision." The Venetian magistrate was, of course, under the necessity of yielding. As soon as the French were in possession of the citadel, their commander issued a proclamation, declaring them to have come there as the friends of the Venetians, and to be also "the friends of order, of protecting laws, and of the safety of persons, and property."

In his dispatch to the Directory, several futile pretexts were assigned, by Buonaparte, for his having taken this step; among which the kindness pretended to have been shown to the army of Alvinzi held a conspicuous place. In his
Jan. 1, letter to the proveditor general, he grounded the measure principally on the necessity of being beforehand with the Austrians, who, as he asserted, had the same intention; but he owned that he had been very glad to avail himself of an opportunity to drive away the swarms of emigrants from Bergamo, and to chastise a little the libellers, who were exceedingly numerous. He, however, consented to relax from his first rigour, and to allow the duty of the garrison to be conjointly performed by the French and Venetian troops; and he distinctly admitted, that the government of Venice had not been guilty of any breach of faith towards the French republic.

CHAP. XVIII.

New Plan adopted against the Venetian Government. Insurrection fomented in the Provinces beyond the Mincio. Meeting at Milan of Revolutionists, consisting partly of Venetians. Secret Societies formed in various Cities. Emissaries sent to excite the Valleys to Insurrection. Treachery of Landrieux, the chief mover of the Revolution. Buonaparte believed not to be concerned in the revolutionizing Project. His real Intentions with respect to Venice. The Directory supposed to be at the Bottom of the Plot for destroying the Venetian Government. Language used by the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Letter of Battaglia to Buonaparte, and Answer of the Latter. The Revolutionists begin their Operations on the departure of Buonaparte. The French Governor of Bergamo expels the Venetian Magistrates, and a democratic Government is established. The Bergamascans send for Assistance to Milan. Curious pastoral Letter of the Bishop of Bergamo. Amnesty published by Battaglia. A Revolution takes place at Brescia. Danger of the Podestat. Conduct of the Bishop. Sanguinary Proclamation published in the Name of Battaglia. Purpose of it. It is believed to have been a Forgery of the Revolutionists. Steps taken by the Venetian Government. Answer of the Directory to the Venetian Ambassador. Information given to his Government by the Ambassador. Advice given by M. Lallemant. Senate convoked to consider of an immediate Change in the Government. An immediate Change negatived, but a slow one voted. Two Deputies appointed to confer with Buonaparte. Report given of the Conferences by the two Deputies. Buonaparte recommends an Alliance with France. His jesuitical Conduct. He demands a monthly Loan.

Loan. The Senate decrees that the Loan shall be granted. Salo and Crema revolutionized. Treacherous Conduct of the French at the latter Place. The Peasants of the Valleys of the Brescian and Bergamasco rise in support of the Government. They are defeated in an Attack on the Revolutionists of Bergamo. Recovery of Salo. Defeat of the Brescians at Salo. The People of the Province of Verona take up Arms to reduce the Insurgents. Blockade of Brescia. Wavering Conduct of the Senate. M. Thugut advises the supporting of the Insurrection. Observations on his Advice. The French assist the Revolters. Insolent Proclamation of Lahoz. The Peasants of the Valleys are defeated. Salo recovered by the Insurgents. The Peasants of the Veronese return to their own Province.

THE refusal of the emperor to negotiate, and the necessity which the French were thereby laid under of carrying the war into his dominions, suspended for a while, though it ultimately sealed, the fate of the Venetian republic. But, though the exercise of open force was delayed, the surer mode of silently undermining was incessantly employed. From the very constitution of the government, which undoubtedly was faulty in many respects, it was impossible that there should not be a considerable number of malcontents. To foment their disaffection, by dwelling on the defects of the present system, and the advantages of a change; and to stimulate them to resistance, by exposing the weakness of their rulers, and by hinting, or promising, that the French army would at least protect those who resorted to arms; were the means which were chosen to prepare the overthrow of the Venetian authority in the provinces of the Terra Firma. As the natural consequence of their proximity to the Milanese, and of their being occupied by the republicans, the provinces of Bergamo, Brescia, and Crema, particularly the two former, were, of course, the principal theatre of the plot which was formed to revolutionize the continental dominions of Venice. The plan appears to have been arranged in a meeting, held at Milan, consisting of more than two hundred Italians, many of whom were Venetians. Secret societies were established in various cities, those of Bergamo and Brescia taking the lead; and emissaries, bearing French credentials, were dispatched to gain over the peasantry of the valleys. The chief agent of the French in these proceedings is said to have been adjutant general Landrieux, an able and cunning man, but of so infamous a character, that, while he was exciting the Brescians and Bergamascans to rebellion, and was drawing money from them in furtherance of the scheme, he was, at the same time, betraying their secrets, for a bribe, to the Inquisitors of State. Other French officers also bore a part in the work of revolution.

Buonaparte must, nevertheless, be acquitted of having had any share in these underhand intrigues. His ignorance of them appears to be indubitably proved, by his private dispatches to the Directory, at a subsequent period, in which, as they were never meant to see the light, he had no motive for deviating

ing from the truth. In one of them, written when he was on the point of entering Germany, in purſuit of the Auſtrians, he declared that "he diſapproved of the conduct of the inſurgents, and thought their inſurrection at that moment very prejudicial to France; and in another, dated nine months after the revolt, he mentioned his having been recently made acquainted with the ſecret intrigues of Landrieux, ſtigmatized his character in the ſevereſt language, and recommended that he ſhould be puniſhed for his double treachery. That Buonaparte had a rooted hatred of the Venetian government, and that he meditated the bringing about of an alteration in it, there cannot be a doubt; but it is certain that his original deſign was limited to that alteration, and to the diſmembering of ſome provinces from the republic; and in exchange for theſe, he purpoſed to offer the three legations, which had been wreſted from the Pope.

It is, however, obviouſly improbable, that French officers would have ventured to take ſuch ſteps, had they not been prompted by a ſuperior power. To the Directory may, perhaps, without any violation of candour and juſtice, be attributed the machinations which were carried on in the Venetian provinces. The ſuſpicion which the character of that body is calculated to excite is almoſt converted into certainty, by a paſſage in a diſpatch, written in November, 1796, to general Clarke, by M. Delacroix, the miniſter for foreign affairs; a letter to which, in one of the preceding chapters, we have already alluded." Perſons who know the country," ſaid the miniſter, "affirm that all the ſtates of the Terra Firma, particularly the Breſcians, the Bergamaſcans, and the Veroneſe, are indignant at the pride of the noble Venetians, and are diſpoſed to take up arms for liberty. Admitted into the Lombard republic, or becoming its allies, they would give it a new ſtrength. I deſire your remarks on the obſtacles or the facilities which may exiſt, with reſpect to the execution of this project."

By the ſpring of 1797, every thing was in readineſs for making the firſt revolutionary eſſay; and it ſeems as if the conſpirators had only waited for the departure of Buonaparte, to commence their operations. Even before that general opened the campaign, ſome diſturbances took place at Breſcia, which induced the proveditor general to write to him on the ſubject. Buonaparte, in reply, March 10. expreſſed his ſorrow that the public peace had been broken, and he proteſted that, with reſpect to France, "the Senate of Venice ought not to feel the ſlighteſt degree of diſquietude, as it could not but be thoroughly convinced of the good faith of the French republic, and of its deſire to live in cloſe friendſhip with the republic of Venice." At the ſame time, he intimated, though not in offenſive terms, that ſeverity, in the actual ſtate of men's minds, could only have the effect of irritating; and, in a ſomewhat more deciſive tone, he added, that it would be unjuſt to puniſh the partiality which had been ſhewn for the French by a few perſons, while that which the majority had manifeſted for the Auſtrians, had not been conſidered as a cri-

a criminal act. On this occasion he doubtless was sincere; it being of the utmost consequence to him that nothing should occur to endanger his communications, or divert his attention and his forces from their great object, while he was endeavouring to penetrate into the heart of the Austrian dominions.

No sooner, however, was Buonaparte on his march towards the Tagliamento, than the conspirators hastened to put their plan into execution. It was at Bergamo that the explosion took place. On the morning of the twelfth of March, the posts which the French soldiers occupied were doubled, the streets were traversed by French patroles, and cannon were placed in various parts. When the podestat, Ottolini, inquired the cause of these hostile preparations, he was answered by the French governor, Lefray, that they were adopted in consequence of some movements which had been made by the Venetian troops. The true reason soon became apparent. Shortly after the podestat had received this answer, some of the municipal magistrates came to inform him that they had been sent for by Lefray, who had ordered them, under pain of death in case of refusal, to sign a paper, declaring it to be the wish of the people to throw off the Venetian yoke, and unite with the Cisalpine republic. Ottolini advised them to preserve their allegiance; but, as he could offer them no succour, they replied that, for the safety of their properties and their families, they must submit to sign the paper, although they remained in their hearts the friends of the government. In the mean time the paper was carried through the city, and numerous signatures were obtained; some affixing their names from good will, and some from fear. A municipality was then appointed. The next step was to summon the podestat to withdraw from the streets the Venetian patroles, which, it was said, would be fired on by the French, if they chanced to meet them; and, on the following morning, Ottolini himself was expelled from the city.

This being accomplished, the newly elected municipal officers addressed their brethren at Milan, assuring them of the desire of the Bergamascans to form an alliance with the Cisalpine republic; and, if needful, to fight and to die in the same cause. That the sanction of something like religion might not be wanting to those who had assumed the reins of government, the bishop of Bergamo issued a pastoral letter to the priests of his diocese, enjoining them to preach obedience to "the just social laws of the people of Bergamo, who were represented by their legitimate municipality, and defended by the sincere and powerful protection of the French republic." The sole argument, if so it may by courtesy be called, which he employed to enforce the duty of obedience, was a curious attempt to reconcile the antique and absurd principle of divine right with the modern practice of insurrection, or rather to bend it for the benefit of the latter. "All power," he declared, "came from God; from which circumstance it resulted, that those who obeyed the secular powers obeyed God, and whoever resisted them, resisted God." The episcopal

pal caſuiſt ſeems not to have been aware that, by uſing ſuch language, he was, in fact, branding as rebels againſt divine and human authority thoſe perſons in whoſe ſervice he was ſo piouſly and zealouſly labouring.

In the hope that conciliatory meaſures might reclaim the revolters, or at leaſt ſtop the progreſs of diſcontent, an amneſty was iſſued by the proveditor extraordinary, Battaglia, who was then at Breſcia. But thoſe who were looking forward to the complete triumph of their ſchemes, were not likely to liſten to offers of pardon. In Breſcia itſelf a revolution had for ſome time been preparing; the leading actors in which were the families of Lecchi and Gambara. In the night of the ſeventeenth of March, having received aſſiſtance from Milan, a band of Bergamaſcans, with ſome French and Poles in diſguiſe, marched towards Breſcia, and were joined near the town by numbers of the inhabitants of their party, who had gone out to meet them. They entered the city on the following morning, threatened, if they met with reſiſtance, to ravage it with fire and ſword, pointed cannon againſt the palace of the government, and commenced a ſearch for the podeſtat, Peter Mocenigo, who had rendered himſelf peculiarly obnoxious to them, by his determined hatred of revolutionary doctrines. He had, however, eſcaped. Finding that their intended victim was out of their reach, they proceeded to the reſidence of the proveditor extraordinary, and inſiſted upon his inſtant reſignation of his authority. Though Battaglia had a conſiderable body of troops under his orders, and the majority of the inhabitants were well-affected, he was either deficient in courage, luke-warm in the Venetian cauſe, or did not think it prudent to riſk the chance of a conteſt with the inſurgents, ſeconded as they evidently were by ſuch formidable allies as the French. He, therefore, ſubmitted to the terms which were impoſed on him; and, after having been for two days expoſed to menaces and dangers, he was ſuffered to retire to Verona. A municipality was then eſtabliſhed, and all the uſual revolutionary meaſures, of clubs and harangues, elections, and laws, ſpeedily followed as a natural conſequence. At Breſcia, as at Bergamo, a panegyric upon democracy was put forth by the biſhop, who aſſured his flock that the Chriſtian religion held in abhorrence all privileges and vain diſtinctions.

Battaglia had hardly reached Verona, when a proclamation was publiſhed, or rather was ſaid to have been publiſhed, for it does not appear to have been extenſively, if at all, circulated, to which his name was affixed. It called on the inhabitants of the Terra Firma to riſe and exterminate the French, whoſe armies, under Buonaparte, it affirmed to have been entirely defeated in the Tyrol and the province of Friuli, by the Auſtrians, and to be flying in ſuch diſorder, as to make the remains of them an eaſy prey. This ſanguinary production recommended that no quarter ſhould be given to any Frenchman, even though he were a priſoner. It was diſavowed by the Venetian government, to which, indeed, it cannot be attributed without

without manifeſt abſurdity. That it was falſely laid to the charge of the proveditor extraordinary, Buonaparte himſelf, at a ſubſequent period, candidly admitted. The moſt probable conjecture is, perhaps, that it was a forgery of the inſurgents, who hoped that the barbarity which it adviſed would have the effect of irritating to the higheſt degree the French ſoldiery againſt the Venetians, and thus would ſecure their ardent ſupport to the friends of revolution. It is, in fact, ſaid to have been printed at Milan, at the preſs of a revolutionary journal, called the Political Thermometer. This opinion is ſtrengthened by the circumſtance that, when the French became the maſters, no inquiry was inſtituted, to diſcover the writer of ſo juſtly obnoxious a paper.

So thoroughly intimidated was, indeed, the Venetian government, by the ſiniſter events which had occurred, ſo little was it diſpoſed to rouſe the vengeance of the French, that, on the contrary, it ſeemed to think it had no other mode of eſcaping from ruin than flying into the arms of France. It appealed to the Directory; it conſulted the French ambaſſador; it ſent two deputies, Peſaro and Cornaro, to confer with Buonaparte.

Faithful to its inſidious ſyſtem, the Directory returned an evaſive but not hoſtile anſwer. It feigned to be ſurpriſed at the occurrences which were communicated to it, and ſuggeſted that it was neceſſary to wait for the report of its general, in order to enable it to act with certainty. The Venetian ambaſſador, however, had ſagacity enough to penetrate into the ſecret ſchemes of the Directory, and he warned his employers that, in all likelihood, it would be the fate of the Venetian provinces to be offered to the emperor, as a compenſation for the Netherlands and Lombardy.

When M. Lallemant, the Directorial envoy, was aſked, whether Venice might reckon on the protection and aſſiſtance of France, there was little in his reply that could afford conſolation. He anſwered that, "after having ſo often evaded the counſel of, and refuſed to enter into a cloſe connection with, the French republic, it was rather late to requeſt its aid; that he could not ſuppoſe that his government would interfere in a quarrel between the people and the claſs of nobility; but that, if thoſe who conſulted him would reſtore peace to the provinces by a prudent reform, he did not doubt that, in the friendſhip of France, and in the approximation of principles, Venice might find all the ſupport neceſſary to conſolidate a conſtitution adapted to the ſpirit of the age, and calculated to renew thoſe epochs of proſperity in which the Venetian republic made its neutrality reſpected, and ſaw its alliance conſidered as a deſirable object."

Unpalatable as this advice muſt have been, and though, at a former period, it would have been rejected with diſdain, ſo ſunk was now the ſpirit of the Venetian rulers, that they reſolved to deliberate on the propriety of adopting it. The queſtion was accordingly referred to the Senate, at which two hundred members were preſent. Ariſtocracy, however, could not yet ſubmit to the ſacrifice which it was expected to make on the revolutionary altar. The propoſition for an immediate change could find

no

no more than five members to raiſe their voices in its favour. But, probably with the vain hope of ſoftening the Directory, by an appearance of conformity to its wiſh, a hundred and eighty voted to ameliorate the conſtitution by ſlow degrees. Fifty boldly gave their votes for putting down inſurrection, by a vigorous uſe of the means which were ſtill in the power of the Venetian government. In this, if there was not prudence, there was at leaſt courage. In the trembling policy which had been ſo long and ſo blindly purſued by thoſe who held the reins of the ſtate, there was neither the one nor the other.

It is probable that, as he was known to exerciſe in Italy a dictatorial authority, more reliance was placed by the Venetian rulers on the miſſion to Buonaparte, than even on the application which was made to the Directory. The interview between the general and the two deputies, Peſaro and Cornaro, took place at Gorizia, on the twenty fourth of March. He had, as he afterwards remarked to the Directory, a delicate part to play: as it was neither prudent to come to a quarrel with Venice, while Palma Nova was unvictualled, and unarmed, and while he ſtood in need of all the good will of the Venetians, to ſupply him with proviſions in the defiles of Germany; nor was it to be ſuffered that Venice ſhould ſend troops to cruſh the Breſcians and Bergamaſcans, whom, imprudent as he confeſſed them to be, he, nevertheleſs, acknowledged as the friends of France. The great point in this affair was, he ſaid, to gain time. How he acquitted himſelf remains to be ſhewn.

When the deputies had explained to him the circumſtances of the two inſurrections, he ſeemed to doubt whether the French troops had really participated in them; but he added that, if it were true that they had done ſo, he would give directions to puniſh the governor of Bergamo. The deputies having obſerved to him that, though this would be a reparation for the paſt, ſomething more was neceſſary, to prevent in future the republican officers from diſobeying the orders of their government, he ſeized the occaſion to aſk them what plan they could propoſe. It was ſuggeſted to him that, as the revolters conſtituted only a very ſmall part of the population, mildneſs, aided by a ſhow of force, would ſuffice to bring back tranquillity; and that the reſtoring of the citadels of Breſcia and Bergamo, which were no longer wanted for the protection of the French, would much conduce to put down oppoſition. To the reſtoring of the citadels he, however, gave a poſitive refuſal, urging that in the midſt of victory it was his duty to provide the means of ſecuring his retreat; and he hinted that the employment of force might be dangerous, as, ſhould it fail of producing the deſired effect, the inſurgents would be encouraged to ſpread ſtill further the flame of revolt. The moſt ſafe and efficacious expedient would, he ſaid, be to intereſt the French government in the reſtoration of order; and, if ſuch a ſtep were taken, he would ſecond it, which he could do with the certainty of ſucceſs.

"We perceived at a glance," ſay the deputies in their report, "all the ſiniſter conſequences of ſuch a propoſition, and we repreſented to him that the intervention of

of a foreign power, to bring back ſubjects to obedience, could only produce a contrary effect, furniſh malcontents with a theme for complaint, make the weakneſs of the ſovereign be ſuſpected, excite the miſled, and diſhearten the faithful; that it belonged to the government, and to the government alone, to take meaſures for reclaiming its ſubjects to its authority, and that the furtheſt we could think of going, in ſuch a caſe, would be to concert the means of co-operation, if the French troops were to continue to occupy the forts of Bergamo and Breſcia.

"He ſeemed to heſitate on the laſt point; ſaying that, in the midſt of the fermentation of new ideas, he ſhould incur ſome blame, were he to declare againſt principles to which he confeſſed that he was in part indebted for the ſucceſs of his army, and were he to furniſh aſſiſtance to ſubjugate perſons, culpable towards their own government, but the declared friends of France; that he would merely obey, if the Directory gave him a formal order; but that he perſiſted in believing that the ſureſt means to guarantee us from the peril of a general inſurrection, was to follow the example of the king of Sardinia, that is to ſay, to form a cloſer connection with the French republic.

"Seeing to what this hint tended, we replied, that the connection of the two republics was already ſo cloſe, and our conduct was ſo open and candid, that to advance another ſtep would be to place ourſelves out of the ſyſtem in which we conſidered our ſafety to exiſt; and that the ſenate could not come to a determination on ſo nice a ſubject, till the moment when peace ſhould make obvious the ultimate ſituation, and the reciprocal relations of the European ſtates.

"Then, endeavouring with conſiderable art to divert our attention from the chief object which we had in view, he reminded us of, and in ſome meaſure reproached us with, the long reſidence of the count de Provence at Verona, the refuge afforded to the duke of Modena at Venice, and particularly to his treaſures, the conſiderable property belonging to the enemies of France, which he aſſerted to be in Venice, eſpecially that of the king of England; and, on this head, he let ſlip ſome indication of deſigns which may be the cauſe of much embarraſſment to the republic. We replied to theſe various charges, without, however, having reaſon to flatter ourſelves that we had convinced him, and we brought him back to the great object of our miſſion; but we could neither obtain a promiſe, nor a more poſitive anſwer. The conference was terminated by an invitation to meet him the next day, that he might have more time to reflect upon an affair of ſo much importance."

The nocturnal meditations of Buonaparte do not ſeem to have been propitious to the Venetians. At firſt, indeed, they appeared to the deputies, to have been favourable. When the conference was opened, on the next day, he informed them that, although he ſtill thought it better to wait for the opinion of the Directory, the Senate might take whatever ſteps it thought proper, relative to Bergamo and Breſcia, provided that he were apprized of them before hand, to prevent any conflict taking place with the French troops. At the

ſame time he ſhowed them a letter from the inſurgents, invoking his aſſiſtance. But this conceſſion was merely deluſive. Even while he was giving his pretended permiſſion, it is ſaid that he could not forbear from inſultingly telling the deputies that, if the ſword were appealed to, either the republic of Venice, or the army of Italy, muſt be deſtroyed; that they ought to think well on what they were about to do, and not expoſe the ſickly lion of St. Mark in a ſtruggle againſt the fortune of an army which could find among its recruits and its wounded a ſufficiency of forces to traverſe the lagoons of Venice.

"In both conferences," add the deputies, "other points were brought forward, which it was painful to diſcuſs. We begged him to ſoften the deplorable condition of the ſubjects of the republic, and to relieve the treaſury from the burthen impoſed upon it by the ſupporting of the French army. Victory having led that army into the German provinces, we had ground to hope that the Venetian ſtates would be delivered from a weight which had weighed them down for the laſt ten months; and that our finances, releaſed at length from furniſhing the ſubſiſtence of the troops, might ſee the end of ſo many ſacrifices; after which we hinted that we dared to rely on his juſtice to realize thoſe indemnities which had been promiſed to us.

"We were far from anticipating ſuch an anſwer as we received. He began by telling us that it was indiſpenſably neceſſary for his army to draw its ſubſiſtence from the country which it left in its rear, that is, from our territories; that, his army being conſiderably increaſed, it was impoſſible to avoid augmenting the requiſitions; that he was grieved to ſee ſo heavy a load ſtill preſſing on provinces which were already exhauſted, and that the only expedient which he could imagine to lighten it, was, that the ſenate ſhould furniſh, either in money, or in articles of conſumption, a monthly ſum of a million, during the next ſix months, unleſs the war in Italy were brought to an end before the expiration of that period. He added, that he had always been aware of the inconvenience ariſing from the mode of requiſitions, that neceſſity alone could juſtify it, that it gave birth to many abuſes, and that he had ſeveral times ſpoken on the ſubject to our proveditor, repreſenting to him that ſuch a method occaſioned a waſte of reſources, and diſcontent among the people, who were induced to reproach the government for not interpoſing between them and the army. He concluded by declaring that, if the ſenate would engage to furniſh the monthly aid for which he aſked, he would not only guarantee the provinces againſt all future requiſitions, but he would alſo fix poſitively the value of thoſe which had already been ſupplied, and that theſe two ſums ſhould form a debt which the French nation would undoubtedly liquidate when a peace was concluded; that it was of importance ro manifeſt the amicable ſentiments of the Senate towards France, and that he could aſſure us the Directory conſidered itſelf as being more obliged to the republic of Genoa for the four millions which it had given, than to the republic of Venice for all that it had done and ſuffered, becauſe

because it considered the sacrifices made by the latter as being less voluntary.

"We then testified to him our surprise that, at the moment when we expected those sacrifices to be terminated, a demand should be urged of a monthly tribute, so much beyond the resources of our treasury; adding, that this would be to afford the Austrians a pretext for requiring as much, which would complete our ruin, and which, nevertheless, according to our system of neutrality, we could not refuse.

"Interrupting us at these words, he bitterly reminded us that the Austrian armies were entirely driven from Italy, that all our fortresses, all our cities, were in his possession; that he was able to impose laws upon us, and that, if our treasury was exhausted, which he did not believe, the Senate could easily derive a supply from the money of the Duke of Modena, and from all the property deposited at Venice by the enemies of the French republic, property which France had a right to claim.

"We did not fail to object to his argument, that if great powers might sometimes allow themselves to use arbitrary means, moderate and middling-sized states, like our republic, could build their tranquillity and safety only on the foundation of good faith, and justice, or, in other words, on respect for private property; that every arbitrary proceeding, independently of the inconvenience of compromising us in our external political relations, would also have the additional one of leading to the subversion of our constitution; and that, as to the demand of a monthly loan, a demand with which the Senate could not be held bound to comply, it ought, at all events, at least to be ascertained, whether the public treasury was in a situation to furnish the sum required. Now, we knew, with certainty, that it was impossible to hope to draw from it any such amount as that which was mentioned.

"In the course of this discussion we saw but too plainly that he looked upon the Venetian state as being occupied by his army, and that he designs to subjugate it still more, in order to be able to claim whatever he may please. He has already seized the fortress of Palma Nova, the fortifications of which he is strengthening with incredible activity. He is also master of the port of Trieste, so that he has succeeded in blockading us on all sides."

Notwithstanding the impoverished state of the national treasury, the Venetian rulers thought it more prudent to comply with the wishes, or rather commands, of Buonaparte, than to risk the consequences of his anger. The Senate having deliberated on the report of its deputies, it was resolved that the monthly loan should be granted. Of two hundred and one members, who were assembled on this occasion, only seven refused their assent; a hundred and sixteen voted in the affirmative; and no less than seventy eight abstained from giving their votes. It has been remarked, and the remark is grounded on truth, that when many of the members of a deliberative body decline to take a share in its proceedings, this circumstance is a symptom of approaching dissolution.

Events were, meanwhile, taking place, which rendered unavailing

the ſacrifices made by the Venetian government. The revolutioniſts, aided by the French, were rapidly proceeding in their career. On the twenty fifth of March, a party of Breſcians and Bergamaſcans entered Salo, diſarmed the troops, threw open the priſon doors, planted the tree of liberty, and inſtalled a municipality. Two days after this, a detachment of French cavalry appeared at the gates of Crema. The commanding officer inſiſted on its being admitted into the town, which, however, he promiſed that it ſhould quit on the following morning. On the faith of his promiſe it was ſuffered to enter; but, inſtead of preparing for his departure at the appointed time, the French officer was buſily employed, during the day and night, in receiving and ſending diſpatches, and in preparing for the execution of his ſcheme. In the morning of the next day two other French detachments arrived, on oppoſite ſides of the town; the gates were ſuddenly thrown open to them by the cavalry; they marched to the barracks, and forced the ſoldiers in garriſon to lay down their arms, and eſtabliſhed poſts in various quarters. Five of them then went to the palace of the governor, held a piſtol to his breaſt, and compelled him to give up his ſword. The buſineſs was completed by expelling the magiſtracy and the podeſtat, ſeizing the public archives and treaſures, planting the tree of liberty, pulling down the ſtatue of St. Mark, and electing a municipal body.

While, in the Venetian territories beyond the Mincio, a part of the inhabitants were in active inſurrection, and the reſt were either neuter or awed into ſilence by the preſence of the French troops, the hardy mountaineers, who dwell in the valleys between the lakes of Garda and Como, not only preſerved their allegiance unſhaken, but reſolved to prove their loyalty, by endeavouring to compel the revolters to lay down their arms. Their firſt efforts were not happy. The peaſantry of the valleys near Bergamo attacked the inſurgents of that place, and was driven back with conſiderable loſs. Another body of peaſantry, aided by a few Venetian troops, was alſo foiled in a conflict with the Breſcians. In their next military trial the Breſcians were, however, leſs fortunate. Salo having thrown off their yoke, and rehoiſted the Venetian ſtandard, twelve hundred of them, with two Poliſh companies, and four pieces of cannon, ſerved by diſguiſed French artillerymen, marched to recover that place. After ſome ſkirmiſhes, they penetrated to Salo, and a flag of truce was ſent out from the town; but, while the parley was holding, a large body of peaſants, belonging to the Val Sabbia, deſcended from the mountains, fell ſuddenly upon the Breſcians, and entirely defeated them. Nearly a hundred of the inſurgents were killed, and five hundred were made priſoners, among whom were two hundred of the Poliſh legion.

The example of the mountaineers was followed by the peaſantry of the province of Verona. They roſe ſpontaneouſly in great numbers, and demanded to be ſuccoured and directed by the government. A body of them croſſed the Mincio, and joined their fellow countrymen, who, after the victory at Salo, had advanced againſt Breſcia.

The

The latter place was now blockaded at a diſtance. In a momentary paroxyſm of vigour, the Senate diſpatched ſome arms, ammunition, and Sclavonian troops, and authorized its ſubjects to repel force by force, even in caſe of their being attacked by the French. This fit of reſolution ſpeedily paſſed away. Not more than two days had elapſed, before the Senate iſſued another order, to prohibit coming to action when the revolters were ſeconded by the French, and this was immediately ſucceeded by another, which entirely palſied the bravery and good will of the loyal Venetians.

It would, in all probability, have been more wiſe, and would certainly have been more noble, had the Venetian government acted upon the advice of M. Thugut, the Auſtrian prime miniſter. In a conference with the Venetian envoy, he warmly recommended the giving a vigorous ſupport to its ſubjects who had armed in its defence; and he hinted that, by ſo doing, it might prevent the changes which the French were meditating in Italy. At the ſame time there can be little doubt that his counſel, though it might be good, was dictated by an intereſted, perhaps even by a treacherous, motive. The Auſtrian cabinet was at that moment negotiating with Buonaparte, a fact which he took care to conceal; and it is manifeſt that the hoſtilities of the Venetians againſt the French could not, whatever might be their reſult, fail to be productive of benefit to his Imperial majeſty. If the Venetians obtained any decided ſucceſs, he might hope to renew the war with advantage; if they were overcome, the French general would be ſtill more willing than he already was, to tranſfer to him their conquered provinces, as an equivalent for the ceſſion of Lombardy and the Auſtrian Netherlands.

Deſerted as they were by the maſters in whoſe cauſe they had volunteered their ſervices, the loyal mountaineers perſiſted in their deſign. Breſcia was effectually held in a ſtate of blockade, and would ultimately have fallen, had not the French come to the ſuccour of their new allies, the revolted citizens. Under pretence that the mountaineers had ſlain many of the republican ſoldiers, the French general inſiſted upon the diſarming of the peaſantry of the Breſcian and Bergamaſco. To inforce their order, they put in motion ſeveral ſtrong columns of troops. Lahoz, the leader of theſe, began his labours by iſſuing a proclamation, in the uſual ſtyle, modeſtly declaring France to be the firſt nation in the world for courage and the ſcience of war, and threatening to hang the peaſants, and burn their cottages, if they dared to perſevere in what, by a ſtrange confuſion of ideas or perverſion of language, he thought proper to call their rebellion. The ſame puniſhment was denounced againſt any one who encouraged them to rebel; or, in other words, againſt ſuch of the Venetian magiſtrates and officers as might be diſpoſed to perform their duty. In what chapter of the law of nations this military ruffian diſcovered that it is an act of rebellion, for ſubjects to combat in behalf of an eſtabliſhed government, he did not condeſcend to make known. The republican columns faithfully executed their infamous

taſk. The peaſants, in ſpite of their brave reſiſtance, were compelled, with great loſs, to give way before ſuperior ſkill, and the enemy penetrated into their valleys, devaſtated their fields, deſtroyed their houſes, and ſpread terror, ruin, and death in all directions.

The defeat ſuſtained at Salo was not forgiven, and yet remained to be revenged. After having cannonaded ſeveral villages, which refuſed or heſitated to give up their arms, the French flotilla, on the lake of Garda, appeared before Salo, and ſummoned that town to open its gates; the pretence being that the occupation of it was neceſſary to ſtop the progreſs of the Auſtrians. The governor having declined to comply with this demand, a heavy fire was commenced upon the place. Finding, at length, that he could make no impreſſion, the commander of the flotilla agreed to an armiſtice for four days, and withdrew. This was, however, nothing more than a reſpite. In the courſe of two or three days, the French and Breſcians advanced againſt the place by land, in two formidable columns, after having defeated the Venetians at Sarezzo. Convinced of their inability to reſiſt ſuch a powerful force, the garriſon, and a great part of the townspeople took flight, and Salo was entered by the victors. The town now ſuffered almoſt all the miſeries that are inflicted upon a fortreſs which has been taken by ſtorm. The houſes were pillaged, the churches were profaned and ſtripped of their ornaments, heavy contributions were impoſed, and many of the remaining inhabitants were thrown into priſon, while others, terrified by the danger which impended over them, abandoned their country and their property, and ſought ſhelter and charity among the natives of the neighbouring mountains of the Trentine and Tyrol.

The peaſants of the Veroneſe had, meanwhile, returned to their own province, in obedience to the commands of the ſenate. As, however, Verona was menaced with an invaſion by the Breſcians, the peaſants ſtill kept the field, between the Adige and the Mincio, and in every quarter of the province others ruſhed to arms, ſo that their number is ſaid to have at laſt ſwelled to little ſhort of thirty thouſand.

CHAP. XIX.

Buonaparte affects to conſider the arming of the People to be dangerous to his Army. He ſends Junot to Venice to inſiſt upon the Venetian Government diſarming its Subjects. Inſolent Letter of Buonaparte to the Doge on this occaſion. Lallemant preſents a Note to the Senate, of the ſame tenor as the Letter, and calling for the Releaſe of all Priſoners of State. Sanguinary Orders ſent to Kilmaine. Shameful Conduct of Junot. Fears of the Senate. Its humble Anſwer to Junot. Two Deputies appointed to confer with Buonaparte. Letter of the Doge to him. Junot inſiſts on the Releaſe of the Priſoners as a preliminary. A part of them are releaſed. Application to the Directory. Jeſuitical Conduct of the Directory. Bribe taken by Barras to favour the Venetian Republic. Scandalous proceedings on this ſubject. Events which helped to precipitate the Ruin of Venice. Conteſt at Verona.

rona. Oppoſite Accounts of it given by the two Parties. The Citizens of Verona take Priſoners the French Guards at the Gates, and let in a Body of Peaſants. The Magiſtrates endeavour to negociate with the French Commander. His demands. They are rejected. The Magiſtrates withdraw from the City. The Conteſt continues for a Week. Advance of the French Columns towards Verona. Variety of ſkirmiſhes. Severe Action at Croce Bianca. The Sclavonians and Peaſants are defeated. Verona is compelled to ſurrender. Three of the leading Inhabitants are put to Death by the French. Enormities committed at Verona, and in its Neighbourhood, by the Conquerors. Laugier attempts to enter the Port of Venice by force. He is killed by a Shot from the Fort of Lido. The Venetian Deputies arrive at the Head-Quarters of Buonaparte, at Gratz. His unpromiſing reception of them. His Conference with the Deputies. Arguments uſed by them. He threatens to be an Attila to Venice. Conſternation of the Deputies. Second Conference. Inſults offered to Buonaparte. He manifeſts his Determination to change the form of Government. Alteration in the Tone of the Auſtrian Cabinet. Rage of Buonaparte on being fully informed of the Conteſt at Verona, and the Death of Laugier. Letter of the Deputies requeſting another Interview, and Anſwer of the Deputies. Reſult of the Interview. Declaration of War iſſued by Buonaparte. The Terra Firma revolutionized. Firmneſs of Angelo Juſtiniani. Situation and Reſources of Venice. Puſillanimity of the Venetian Government. Laſt Meeting of the Senate. An illegal Body, named a Conferenza, is eſtabliſhed. Its pitiful Conduct. Meeting of the Great Council in the midſt of a military force. It appoints three Deputies to ſettle with Buonaparte the changes which are to be made. Anſwer of Buonaparte to the Deputies. Armiſtice granted. Second Meeting of the Great Council. It votes for ſubmitting to the wiſhes of Buonaparte. Arreſt of the Inquiſitors of State, and the Governor of the Fort of Lido. Cowardice or treachery of the Conferenza. It decides to offer no Reſiſtance in caſe of the advance of the French. A Vote paſſed for diſmiſſing the Sclavonians. Treaty concluded with Buonaparte at Milan by the Venetian Deputies. Obſervations upon it. Intrigues of Villetard at Venice. The Government abdicates. Inſurrection in Venice. A Proviſional Municipality appointed. Situation of Venice ſubſequently to the Revolution.

NOTWITHSTANDING the patriotic ſpirit of the natives of the provinces of the Terra Firma, and the reſources which it ſeemed to ſupply, the ruin of Venice was rapidly approaching. That ſpirit was even made a pretext for accelerating her fall. As ſoon as Buonaparte was informed that a large portion of the Venetian people had taken up arms to reduce the inſurgents, he felt, or pretended to feel, alarmed for the ſafety of his communications, and of the rear of his army. It is more probable that, as he had now concluded an armiſtice with the Auſtrians, and knew that he muſt make ſacrifices to bring about the ſigning of a preliminary treaty, he was deſirous to have an excuſe for quarrelling with the Venetian government, and compelling it to yield to ſuch ceſſions as he might chuſe to demand.

Junot was accordingly dispatched to Venice, from the French head-quarters at Judenbourg. He was the bearer of a letter to the Doge, which was written in the most imperious style. It accused the Venetian government of having rewarded the generous conduct of France by the blackest perfidy, and of having summoned the peasants to arms merely for the purpose of massacreing the French soldiers, many hundreds of whom had already fallen victims; it vauntingly asked, whether he was supposed not to have the power of making the first people in the universe respected; it denounced terrible vengeance for the murders which were said to have been committed; and it insisted that the peasants should be instantly disarmed, and that those who had been guilty of what he denominated assassinations, should be delivered into his hands. Immediate war was threatened as the penalty of refusal. "The Turk," said the passionate writer, "is not at your doors; no enemy menaces you; you have purposely given occasion to pretexts, which might have the semblance of justifying an assemblage directed against the army. It shall be dissolved in twenty-four hours. We are no longer in the age of Charles the eighth. If, contrary to the obvious wish of the French government, you compel me to make war against you, think not that, following the example of the soldiers whom you have called forth, the French soldiers will ravage the fields of the innocent and unfortunate people of the Terra Firma; I will protect them, and they will one day bless even the crimes which obliged the French army to release them from your tyrannical sway." Such was the language in which Buonaparte addressed the heads of a neutral state. It is difficult to say which is best calculated to excite astonishment, his overbearing and vulgar insolence to the persons whom he addressed, or the blushless effrontery with which he affirmed what he knew to be at variance with truth.

At the same time he instructed M. Lallemant to present a note to the Senate, demanding, among other things of minor importance, and in addition to what was required in the letter to the Doge, that all the Venetian troops, except such as were in garrison there at the beginning of the year, should retire from the Terra Firma, that the Senate should take measures for maintaining tranquillity in the provinces, and not confine all its care to the capital, and that all persons who had been arrested for opinions, and whose only crime was, in fact, that they were attached to the French, should be set at liberty without delay. In return for these concessions, he graciously repeated his offer of mediating, to put an end to the disturbances at Bergamo and Brescia. The Senate was allowed only twelve hours to give a categorical answer to the propositions of the republican general.

In case the Senate did not comply with these terms, Kilmaine, who was left in command in Lombardy, was ordered to disarm the peasants, to burn the villages of those who opposed him, to establish municipalities in the principal cities, and to arrest all the Venetian nobles, and all who were most attached to the Senate, that their heads might answer for any injury which might be done to the individuals arrested and confined at Venice, in consequence of their being friendly

friendly to the French. He was expreſsly enjoined to let no conſideration whatever ſtand in the way of his executing theſe benevolent orders. Laſtly, he was directed to publiſh a proclamation, to the people of the Terra Firma, holding up to their ſcorn and abhorrence the Venetian government, and promiſing, as was uſual with French generals, protection to their religion, their properties, and their perſons, and the reſtitution of thoſe political rights of which they had long been deprived. It has been ſeen that Kilmaine had already anticipated a part of theſe orders.

A more fit perſon than Junot could not have been choſen to execute ſuch a commiſſion as that which was entruſted to him. He arrived at Venice, on the morning of Eaſter Sunday, and required that the Senate ſhould be inſtantly convoked. It was in vain repreſented to him, that the ſacredneſs of the day, and its being devoted to the performance of religious duties, which required the preſence of all the ſenators and chief magiſtrates of the republic, rendered it improper to comply with his wiſh, and even dangerous, as the people would be ſhocked and irritated by ſo groſs an inſult being offered to their pious rites and feelings. In ſpite of this reaſoning, and of prayers and entreaties, he ſtill perſiſted; and at length, burſting into a fit of rage, he threatened to declare war, if obedience to his mandate were longer delayed. The glorious days of Venice were gone by, and its once haughty rulers could now find no reſource, but in abject ſubmiſſion. The Senate was ſummoned, and the members took their ſeats with throbbing hearts. Each ſenator foreboded ſome dreadful evil, and ſtifled murmurs and low whiſpers were heard throughout the meeting, till ſilence was commanded by the Doge. Junot ſhortly after entered the hall, and arrogantly flung himſelf into a ſeat on the right hand of the Doge. Having paſed a few minutes, as if to enjoy the humiliation of thoſe around him, he ſtarted up, threw his hat on the ground, and read the letter of Buonaparte. No latent ſpark of patrician pride was kindled into a flame by the hearing of this inſolent epiſtle, or by the contemptuous conduct of the meſſenger who brought it. The Doge replied, in a humble ſtrain, that the Senate would deliberate on the contents of the letter, and that it had ever entertained a ſincere reſpect and friendſhip for the French republic. Junot then withdrew, and the aſſembly was adjourned.

In the afternoon the Senate again met to debate on the miſſive of Buonaparte, and the official note from Lallemant, which had by this time been delivered. The reſult was, the appointment of two deputies, Francis Dona and Leonard Juſtiniani, to confer with Buonaparte. To Junot was alſo given a letter, from the Doge, to the French commander-in-chief, which ſufficiently proved the fallen and degraded ſtate of the Venetian government. In the moſt ſubdued tone it deprecated the anger of the republican general, repeated the aſſurances of friendſhip, pointed out, as a proof of pacific ſentiments, the circumſtance that the Venetian ſubjects had been ordered, even when in preſence of the inſurgents, to uſe their arms only in ſelf-defence, and, while it offered to give up all perſons who had been guilty

of attacking French ſoldiers, it implored his influence with the Directory, to aſſiſt in bringing back to their allegiance the revolted cities of Bergamo and Breſcia.

Humiliating as this was to the Venetians, it was not enough ſo to ſatisfy M. Junot. He demanded, as a preliminary to its other meaſures, that the government ſhould ſet at liberty every perſon who was impriſoned for political opinions; and, if this were refuſed, he threatened that he would cauſe a declaration of war to be poſted up in the ſtreets of the capital. An attempt was made to prevail on him to wait till the return of the two deputies; but he was immoveable, and the government could obtain nothing more than a compromiſe, by which it was agreed that only the Poliſh troops taken at Salo, and ſome of the Venetians, among which were thoſe whom he choſe to name, ſhould be immediately liberated.

At Paris, meanwhile, the Venetian ambaſſador was exhauſting his ſkill to propitiate the Directory; which, on its ſide, was ſedulouſly labouring to delude him by tergiverſations and falſehoods. He was aſſured, that the Directory had decided that the French troops ſhould take no part in the diſturbances which had broken out in the Venetian provinces; that it had a ſincere deſire to remain at peace with the republic of Venice; that it had no reaſon to attack that republic; and that, though it was aware that Venice was accuſtomed to fear and reſpect the houſe of Auſtria, and had even more affection for that houſe than for France, the Directory had no complaint to make of the Senate, and would prefer having to do with an old government, the principles of which were known, rather than ſee it changed to another, which might, perhaps, act on principles contrary to the intereſt of France.

Conſolatory as theſe aſſurances appeared to be, the ambaſſador, from his experience of the paſt, was not without ſerious doubts of their ſincerity, and thoſe doubts he did not conceal from his employers. He did not, however, ſlacken in his exertions. A new mode of ſaving the government of his country now ſeemed to be offered to him, and he reſolved to try whether it might be made available. One of thoſe ſubaltern intriguers, who are always the tools, and ſometimes the victims, of profligate men in power, communicated to him in ſecrecy, that two of the Directors oppoſed the bringing about a revolution at Venice, that two were for the meaſure, and that Barras was yet undecided. A conſiderable pecuniary reward would, it was ſaid, induce the wavering Director to join thoſe who were well inclined to Venice, and would thus ſecure a majority in favour of that republic. Apprehenſive of deception, Querini replied that, whenever the revolted provinces were reſtored to the Venetian ſway, the required ſacrifice would be cheerfully made. At length, after much debate and chicane, Barras ſent, by his agent, a formal declaration, under the official ſeal of the Directory, ſtating that orders had been tranſmitted to Buonaparte, conformable to the wiſh of the Venetian government; and, as a teſtimony of gratitude for this kindneſs, notes, to the amount of 700,000 livres, payable in thirty days, were given by Querini. The Venetian rulers ſanctioned the contract

tract into which their ambaſſador had entered. How the promiſe of Barras was performed will be ſeen in the ſequel of this chapter. The baſeneſs of this fraudulent tranſaction was worthily crowned, towards the cloſe of the year, by the arreſt of M. Querini, and his impriſonment in the caſtle of Milan; a puniſhment which was inflicted on him in conſequence of his refuſal to diſcharge, out of his own private fortune, the notes which had been obtained from him under falſe pretences.

While the deputies from the Senate were on their way to the head-quarters of Buonaparte, two events occurred, which were deſtined to accelerate the deſtruction of the Venetian name. Of theſe events the firſt, both in point of time and of importance, was the ſanguinary and protracted conflict which took place between the inhabitants of Verona, and the French troops who compoſed the garriſon of that city. In what manner the diſaſtrous conteſt originated it is now impoſſible to aſcertain. By the French it is affirmed, that the citizens were the aggreſſors, and that the ſignal for maſſacre was loud whiſtling, ſucceeded by the ringing of the alarm bell, upon hearing which the people roſe, and began the ſlaughter. On the other hand, it is, with equal poſitiveneſs, aſſerted, that the attack was premeditated by the French, and was carried into effect in the moſt treacherous and cowardly manner. A ſociety of young artiſts, it is ſaid, were quitting the city with their families, in order to ſpend the Eaſter holidays in the country, in doing which they were firſt inſulted, and then fired on by the French. They defended themſelves, and during the continuance of the fray the city patroles came up, on whom alſo the republicans fired. The people then ran to arms, and the diſturbance rapidly ſpread through the whole of Verona. It is certain that the French generals were meditating the ſeizure of the city, and the diſarming of its inhabitants; and that Balland, the republican commander in Verona, had pointed the cannon of the three forts againſt the town, repleniſhed his magazines with ammunition, and made other preparations for the commencement of hoſtilities. On the other hand, it is no leſs certain, that the minds of the citizens and peaſants were in a high ſtate of irritation againſt the French, whom they looked upon, and not unjuſtly, as having long been occupied in degrading and oppreſſing the Venetian people, and as feeling no reluctance to perform that office.

It was in the afternoon of the ſeventeenth of April that the conteſt began at Verona. The firing of the cannon from the caſtles, which was directed againſt the city, and by which a part of the government palace was deſtroyed, was the firſt notice which the people of Verona received that they were now conſidered as being at war with the French republic. Rouſed by this unexpected attack, they haſtily ſeized their weapons, the alarm bell was rung, and the ſtreets were ſpeedily thronged by an irritated multitude. Such of the French as had not time to reach the caſtles were purſued and ſlaughtered by the enraged populace. More than a hundred of them ſpeedily periſhed in this manner. The next ſtep taken by the citizens was to fall upon the French who guarded the city

city gates. At the gate of St. Zeno were a hundred and fifty of the enemy, at that of Veſcovo, ſeventy, and eighty at that of St. George. They were attacked by three diviſions, under Francis Emili, captain Coldogno, and count Nogarola, all of whom ſucceeded in compelling the republicans to ſurrender. The way was thus opened for the peaſants and Sclavonians to enter and aſſiſt their friends. To the Auſtrian general, Laudohn, who was deſcending from the Tyrol, a meſſenger was diſpatched, entreating him to haſten to the ſuccour of the people of Verona.

Filled with aſtoniſhment by the cannonade and the tumult, and trembling for the conſequences, the proveditor and the podeſtat haſtened to put a ſtop to the ringing of the alarm bell, to hoiſt a white flag, and to ſend two meſſengers, in order to obtain a parley with the French general. The firing from the forts of St. Peter and St. Felix was ſuſpended, on their commanders perceiving the flag; but that from the Old Caſtle was ſtill kept up. An officer was now ſent out by the French to confer with the magiſtrates, whoſe reſidence he at laſt reached unhurt, after having been ſeveral times on the point of falling a ſacrifice to the rage of the people. It was agreed with him, that a veil ſhould be thrown over the paſt, that the armed peaſants ſhould be diſmiſſed, and that, on the other ſide, no more French troops ſhould enter the place. Inſtead, however, of ratifying this agreement, general Balland inſiſted, that not only the peaſants, but alſo the citizens, ſhould be diſarmed, that the city ſhould give ſix hoſtages, to be choſen by himſelf, and that he ſhould receive prompt and full ſatisfaction for the murders which had been committed on the republican ſoldiers. Only three hours were allowed to complete the diſarming. Enraged ſtill more by this propoſition, the populace again opened a heavy fire on the forts, loudly demanded to be led to ſtorm them, and, in the courſe of the night, plundered the houſes of the French, and of thoſe who were friendly to them. Finding that they had no longer any controul over the multitude, and fearing to be thought participators in theſe hoſtile proceedings, the proveditor and the podeſtat retired to Vicenza on the following morning. They were, however, prevailed on to return to their poſt, by the proveditor general, Erizzo.

This conteſt was continued from the ſeventeenth to the twenty-fourth of April; but a detailed narrative of it would be as tedious from the monotony of its events, as ſhocking from the nature of them. Each day diſplayed a ſeries of ſkirmiſhes, ſallies, cannonadings and bombardments, between the forts and the people, interrupted occaſionally by ſhort truces and attempts to treat, in which each party propoſed terms that were diſdainfully rejected by thoſe to whom they were offered. The city was ſet on fire, in ſeveral quarters, by the bombs and red-hot balls, and ſuffered greatly. The loſs of the French was, on the other hand, not inconſiderable.

Had Laudohn joined the inhabitants, the republican garriſon muſt, in all probability, have ſurrendered. Unfortunately, after he had come within ſight of Verona, his

his progreſs was arreſted, by his receiving intelligence of the ſuſpenſion of arms between the Archduke Charles and Buonaparte. His retreat, nevertheleſs, though it was a fatal blow to them, did not diſcourage the citizens, who, perhaps, flattered themſelves that it would be only momentary. But their hopes were vain, and a force was gathering round them which they were ill prepared to reſiſt. To hold Verona was an object of ſuch importance, that the republicans hurried thitherward with their diviſions from all quarters. Victor advanced from the ſide of Padua, Chabran from that of Mantua, and Kilmaine, who was left in charge of Lombardy, quitted Milan to direct the movements of the troops.

The French were not allowed to march unoppoſed by the peaſants who had taken the field. At Deſenzano, Peſcantina, and other places, the loyal Venetians endeavoured to impede their progreſs, and, though they failed in their purpoſe, the triumph of their adverſaries was ſometimes bought at a heavy expence of blood. The moſt ſevere of theſe actions was fought, by the Sclavonians and a body of peaſants, againſt the diviſion of Chabran, at the village of Croce-bianca, under the walls of Verona. The French were attacked by the Sclavonians, who carried Croce-bianca, and firmly eſtabliſhed themſelves there. Chabran was now in a dangerous ſituation, ſhut in between the city, the Adige, and the Sclavonians and peaſants. A ſally from the city was driven back, but ſeveral attempts to recover the village were repulſed, with great ſlaughter. The battle was at length decided in favour of the republicans, by the blowing up of an entrenched houſe, which contained the Sclavonian powder magazine. By this dreadful exploſion five hundred men were deſtroyed, and the remainder were ſmitten with terror. The French ſeized this critical moment to charge, and they obtained an eaſy and complete victory; the ſurviving Sclavonians being either cut down or made priſoners, and the peaſants being diſperſed in all directions.

The cloſing round them of the French diviſions had no doubt thrown a damp on the courage of the citizens of Verona; their courage was now extinguiſhed by the melancholy news that the emperor had ſigned the preliminaries of peace. They found themſelves expoſed to the vengeance of the whole of the republican forces, and without the remoteſt chance of ſuccour. In this ſituation of affairs, the proveditors and the podeſtat endeavoured to negotiate. They were, however, in too deſperate a ſtate to be allowed to have any influence in the framing of the conditions. The French knew that every thing was at their mercy, and they acted accordingly. The ſole terms which they would grant were, in fact, a ſurrender at diſcretion; not even life and property being protected by any ſtipulation. Independent of an univerſal diſarming of the people, ſixteen of the principal perſons of the city, among whom were the proveditors, were demanded as hoſtages. Terrified by this demand, the proveditors baſely fled, and left the people to the forbearance of the victors. The French entered Verona on the twenty-fifth of April, and loſt no time in exerciſing what they probably conſidered as the

moſt

moſt ſacred part of the right of conqueſt. It is true they had promiſed, that in the French the vanquiſhed ſhould find generous conquerors, who never wiſhed to confound the innocent with the guilty; but the breaking of their promiſes, when it was not convenient to keep them, does not appear, in any inſtance, to have been looked upon by the republicans as an act of criminality. Three of the leading inhabitants, whoſe only crime was their courage and loyalty, and who had often treated the wounded French with the tendereſt humanity, were led out to be ſhot in public. Ruinous contributions of all kinds, were immediately impoſed on the citizens, and theſe were afterwards more than doubled by a mandate from Buonaparte. Nor was this the worſt. The citizens were inſulted and pitileſly miſuſed; the ſhops and houſes were pillaged, ſo that all trade was at a ſtand; the *Monte di Pieta* was broken open, and the property depoſited in pledge there by the poor was carried off, to a vaſt amount; and even the churches were plundered of every article which could ſwell the ſpoils of the republican robbers. The neighbouring country was not ſpared any more than the city; and thoſe who had the temerity to murmur were puniſhed by the conflagration of their homes. Whole villages were thus depopulated, and their inhabitants, naked, ſtarving, and houſeleſs, were reduced to wander in the fields and woods. To ſuch a height were theſe enormities carried, that Augereau himſelf, though a declared enemy to the Venetians, could not forbear from forcibly teſtifying, to Buonaparte, his diſapprobation of the manner in which the people of Verona and its vicinity were oppreſſed by the French.

It has been poetically ſaid, that "when ſorrows come, they come not ſingle ſpies, but whole battalions." This was exemplified with reſpect to Venice. As if the conteſt at Verona had not been ſufficient to rouſe into fury the paſſions of Buonaparte, another unexpected and fatal event occurred at the ſame period. This event was the death of Laugier, the commander of a French veſſel, called Le Liberateur de l'Italie, who was killed by a ſhot from the fort of Lido, at the entrance of the port of Venice. As it had happened in the caſe of Verona, ſo did it happen here, that two directly oppoſite accounts were given of the circumſtance by the two oppoſite parties. By the Venetians it was ſaid, that, notwithſtanding the well known law, prohibiting foreign armed veſſels from entering the port of Venice, and in ſpite of a regular notice given to him that he could not be admitted, Laugier inſolently replied that nothing ſhould prevent his entrance, and that he then puſhed into the harbour among the veſſels, opened his guns on them, and actually attempted to ſet one of them on fire. Upon this the cannon of the fort were pointed againſt him; he himſelf fell; ſeveral of the crew were killed; and the ſhip was captured. On the other hand, the French repreſented the conduct of the Venetians in the light of an unprovoked, treacherous, and cruel attack on a veſſel which had committed no hoſtility, but had merely ſought a ſhelter from the purſuit of two Auſtrian ſhips, and from the tempeſtuous weather. Laugier had not, they

they ſaid, even time allowed him to retire, as he was prepared to do, in obedience to the commands of the Venetian officers, before a furious cannonade was commenced, of which he was the firſt victim. With two ſuch contradictory accounts as evidence, reaſon is the only guide which can lead us to the diſcovery of truth. The ſcale, then, preponderates on the Venetian ſide. The haughty manner in which French officers were accuſtomed to treat thoſe whom they ſuppoſed to be proſtrate, may juſtify a belief that Laugier was the aggreſſor, notwithſtanding the weakneſs of his force; but it is almoſt impoſſible to ſuppoſe that the Venetian government, at this moment a ſuppliant to Buonaparte, and trembling at his frown, would have ventured to irritate him into implacable hatred, by the commiſſion of an act of barbarity equally wanton and uſeleſs.

It was under theſe ſiniſter auſpices that the deputies from the Senate proceeded on their way to the head quarters of Buonaparte, at Gratz, in Styria. Every thing that they heard, in the courſe of their journey, was calculated to inſpire them with melancholy forebodings as to the reſult of their miſſion. Before they reached Gratz, they were informed of the conteſt which was then raging at Verona, and they felt that this unopportune event would, in all likelihood, prove an inſurmountable bar to their ſucceſs. With the death of Laugier they were not yet acquainted. Their fears were heightened by the various reports, all of them diſheartening, which were every where circulated. In one place they were told that Venice had declared war againſt France; in another, that peace had been ſigned by the emperor; and, as they travelled onward, the latter rumour hourly gained ſtrength, and was rendered doubly alarming, by the belief which was generally entertained, that a part, if not the whole of the Venetian ſtates, was allotted to Auſtria, as the price of the ceſſions which ſhe had made to France. When the deputies arrived at Leoben, they were greeted by the furious exclamations of the French ſoldiers, who vowed to take ample vengeance for the death of their companions in arms.

Buonaparte received them with a cold politeneſs, and liſtened, without interrupting them, to their aſſurances, explanations, and promiſes. From his ſilence and his manner they drew an unfavourable omen. At length he exclaimed, "Well, then! are the priſoners ſet at liberty?" It was replied, that a part of them had been enlarged; but, far from ſatisfying him, this ſeemed to excite his anger, and he threatened to march to Venice himſelf, and break open the priſon gates. Opinions, he declared, ought to be free. To this principle the deputies gave their aſſent; adding, however, that a ſmall minority, could have no right to do violence to the whole of a faithful population; and they hinted that many of the priſoners, the Breſcians, for inſtance, had been confined, not in conſequence of their opinions, but of their having been captured while they were making a wanton attack on their fellow ſubjects. Evading a diſcuſſion on this point, he next inſiſted on the puniſhment of thoſe by whom his ſoldiers had been maſſacred.

cred. He was told that his wiſh ſhould be complied with, whenever he would indicate the offenders; to which he anſwered, that the Venetian government had ſpies enough to enable it to diſcover the guilty, and that if it did not poſſeſs the means to keep the people within bounds, it was inefficient, and deſerved to be deſtroyed.

"We repreſented to him," ſay the deputies, in their report to the Senate, "that no police could entirely keep down ſeveral millions of ſubjects, much leſs over-maſter opinions, which, indeed, according to his own aſſertion, ought to be free; and which, among the peaſantry, had their origin in the ravaging of the fields and dwellings: that, if the people hated the French, the circumſtance ought to be attributed to the diſaſters of the war."

This home truth ſeems to have ſtung the French general. "Here," ſay they, "he interrupted us again." "Let us come to the point. If all thoſe who have committed outrages againſt France are not chaſtiſed, all the priſoners freed, the Engliſh miniſter driven away, the people diſarmed, and if Venice does not make her election between England and France, I declare war againſt you. I have concluded a peace with the emperor; I might have penetrated to Vienna; I declined it for this purpoſe. I have eighty thouſand men, and twenty gun boats. I will ſuffer an inquiſition to exiſt no longer; I will no longer ſuffer a Senate; I will be an Attila to Venice. When prince Charles was oppoſing me, I offered the alliance of France to M. Pesaro; I offered him our mediation to reſtore tranquillity to the inſurgent cities. He refuſed it, becauſe he wanted a pretext to keep the population under arms, that he might cut off my retreat, in caſe I ſhould be obliged to make one. Now, if you ſue for what I then offered, I refuſe you in my turn. I have no longer any wiſh for an alliance with you; I will have nothing to do with your projects; I will impoſe the law upon you. It is too late to endeavour to deceive me, for the purpoſe of gaining time, as you are trying to do by your miſſion. I know very well that your government, which could not arm to prevent the troops of the belligerent powers from entering into its territories, has not now the means of diſarming the people. I will take that upon myſelf. I will diſarm the people in ſpite of it. The nobles of your provinces, who are nothing more than your ſlaves, ought, like the others, to have a ſhare in the government; but that government is become antiquated, and it muſt fall to pieces."

The deputies were for a while ſtruck dumb by this unexpected denunciation. At length, when they were a little recovered from their aſtoniſhment, they endeavoured to ſoften him by every argument and inducement which was calculated to produce a favourable effect on his mind. They ſoothed, they ſupplicated, they flattered, they promiſed; they appealed to his juſtice, and to that of the French republic. He, however, diſmiſſed them without any definite anſwer; but invited them to dine with him on the morrow, and continue the conference.

The dinner was a painful one for the deputies. Though perſonally they were treated with an affectation

affectation of politeneſs, they were, during the whole of the repaſt, inſulted by numberleſs queſtions and remarks, every one of which either expreſſed, or implied, a calumny on the government of Venice. When they ventured to revert to the object of their miſſion they found that Buonaparte was not become more propitious to it than he was on the preceding day. He ſpoke the language of undiſguiſed contempt and menace; and plainly ſhowed that he was reſolved to effect a change in the Venetian conſtitution. The deputies, in rendering to the Senate an account of what they had done, could give it no hope that the ancient forms would be ſuffered to exiſt. Nor did they hide from it their fears, that a partition of the ſtates of Venice was alſo more than barely probable; a concluſion which they were led to draw, not ſo much from the ſpeeches of Buonaparte, as from the ſtrict ſecrecy obſerved concerning the recently concluded preliminaries of peace. This gloomy prognoſtic received almoſt complete confirmation from the change which took place in the tone of the Auſtrian cabinet, with reſpect to Venice, and alſo from ſome ominous words which were dropped by the Marquis de Gallo.

Such being the feelings and deſigns of the French general, while the conteſt at Verona was yet imperfectly known to him, and he was ignorant of the death of Laugier, it is manifeſt that the Venetians had every thing to dread from his augmented rage, as ſoon as he became acquainted with thoſe two events. Thoſe events did, indeed, excite his paſſion to the higheſt pitch; but the fate of Laugier ſeems to have produced upon him a ſtronger effect than even the ſlaughter at Verona. "A terrible example muſt be made of Venice; we muſt have blood!" ſaid he, in his diſpatch to the Directory; and at the ſame time he ordered Lallemant to quit Venice, and angrily reproached him for having ſtayed there ſo long.

The deputies were on their return to the capital, when they received from the Senate a courier, with the appalling intelligence of the death of Laugier. Not daring, under ſuch circumſtances, to face Buonaparte, they addreſſed to him a letter on the ſubject. Freſh events, and freſh orders from the Senate, compelled them, however, to hazard the requeſt of an interview; and, meanwhile, they tremblingly awaited his arrival at Palma Nova. The letter, in which they ſolicited this favour, was in the moſt puſillanimous ſtrain. His reply was ſtern and imperious; but he granted their requeſt, to be admitted to his preſence. This interview, like the others, was a ſcene of threats and haughtineſs on the one ſide, of prayers and debaſement on the other. It ended by a vehement invective, from Buonaparte, againſt the Venetian rulers, and a refuſal to liſten to any propoſals, till thoſe whom he conſidered as criminals were delivered into his hands.

No ſooner had the deputies quitted his preſence than the French general iſſued a declaration of war. It conſiſted of fifteen articles of complaint, or rather of impeachment, againſt the Venetian government; ſome of them were falſe, ſome frivolous, but all of them filled with vaunting and abuſe.

abuſe. The death of Laugier and the conflict of Verona held the moſt conſpicuous place in this accuſatory array. Among the grievances which it appeared that the French had to avenge, was, their having been "called by the names of Jacobins, regicides, and atheiſts;" names which, harſh as they might then ſound, there could be no doubt that many of them had too well deſerved.

A declaration of war was, in this caſe, nothing more than a mere formality. At the moment of its appearance, there was little left to conquer. Already the French generals had anticipated the will of their leader, and had ſeized on what had till then remained untouched of the Terra Firma. Vicenza, Padua, and all the neighbouring towns, had been entered by the republican troops; the banner of St. Mark had been every where torn down, the governors had been expelled, and municipalities eſtabliſhed. No where was there any attempt made to reſiſt the enemy. One man alone manifeſted a greater degree of courage than his countrymen. This was Angelo Juſtiniani, the proveditor of Treviſo, who, on being ordered to quit the city, refuſed to depart till his government recalled him; nor did he yield till Buonaparte had repeatedly menaced him with inſtant death. At the beginning of May, the French army was encamped on the borders of the Adriatic, within ſight of Venice.

Stripped of all her continental poſſeſſions, the Venetian republic was now reduced within the narrow limits which ſhe owned when, at the remote period of more than thirteen centuries, the devaſtating ſword of the firſt Attila drove a part of the inhabitants of the province of Venetia to ſeek, among the marſhes and iſlands of the Adriatic ſea, a ſhelter from his fury. Venice alone, the heart of the republic, was yet unſubdued. But the patricians of the capital were not inſpired by that unconquerable ſpirit which animated their forefathers to riſe ſuperior to circumſtances, and to lay, amidſt difficulties, and danger, and poverty, the foundations of a mighty empire. They ſhrunk from toil and peril, and were content to ranſom life and riches at the coſt of fame and honour. Had their courage been ſtill unbroken, they were, at this moment, not without reſources, which would have enabled them long to laugh to ſcorn the fruſtrate efforts of the ſecond Attila. Seated amidſt the waves, and approachable only by narrow and winding paſſages through a labyrinth of ſhoals, Venice may be conſidered as being almoſt impregnable, even without any other than its natural means of defence. Other and effectual means of defence were, however, in the hands of the government. Thirty-ſeven gallies, zebecks and feluccas, and a hundred and ſixty-eight gun boats and floating batteries, carrying ſeven hundred and fifty pieces of artillery, and manned by more than eight thouſand ſeamen and cannoneers, compoſed the naval force which covered the capital. This was ſeconded by numerous batteries and forts, in all the iſlands, ſo that every acceſſible point might be ſaid to be hermetically cloſed. As faſt as the troops were expelled from the Terra Firma they returned to Venice, and the city was at length garriſoned by

by three thouſand five hundred Italians, nearly thrice as many Sclavonians, and a conſiderable number of its armed inhabitants. Nor was there any thing to dread from the ſlow but ſure hoſtility of famine. In the magazines were proviſions for eight months, and the quantity of water in ſtore was ſufficient to laſt for two months. Maſters of the ſea, the Venetians would have had no obſtacle to encounter in obtaining ſupplies. In addition to all theſe abundant means, they had the ſquadron and troops at Corfu, and the other iſlands; all of which might have reinforced them without oppoſition. Buonaparte, on the other hand, had no means of conveyance for his troops; and though, in the heat of his paſſion, he talked of conſtructing rafts, his cooler judgment would have prevented him from attempting to put in execution a project which was ſo palpably abſurd. With ſuch reſources as the Venetian government could yet command, a wiſe and vigorous government would have ſet the French general at defiance; would have haraſſed him by unexpected deſcents; would have waſted his ſtrength in a tedious and undeciſive warfare, which he, leſs than any other man could endure; would, perhaps, have ſtimulated the Italians to reſiſtance; and if it were doomed at length to fall, would at leaſt have fallen crowned with glory, and ſoothed by what one of our greateſt orators and writers has eloquently termed "the balmy pity of mankind." Such a government would not have ſacrificed at once its exiſtence and its character. The one, it is not always in the power of ſtates, any more than of individuals, to preſerve; of the other, nothing but their errors or crimes can ever deprive them.

The Venetian government was, however, neither wiſe nor vigorous. Completely ſtultified and effete, it had not nerve enough remaining to rally for a moment, and diſplay the courage which even cowards are ſaid ſometimes to acquire from deſpair. It was dropping to pieces at the mere ſound of its enemy's voice. The Senate met for the laſt time on the 29th of April, and it cloſed its ſitting, "by urging to the proveditor of the lagunes and coaſts, to provide for the ſo-often recommended defence of the capital; to the inquiſitors of ſtate, to keep a watchful eye on every claſs of perſons; and, to the deputies of the victualling department, to collect the greateſt poſſible ſtock of proviſions, that nothing might be wanting for the ſupply of the metropolis." This was ſalutary counſel; but it was not followed; and with the Senate expired, at leaſt among the higher claſſes, the laſt faint gleam of public ſpirit.

It was to the Senate that ought to have been ſubmitted the queſtion of the changes which Buonaparte demanded to be made. But, it appears that either timidity or treachery induced ſome of the members of the college to fear, that the Senators might, on this important occaſion, prove leſs complying than they wiſhed them to be. Inſtead, therefore, of the Senate being convoked, a ſort of ſecret committee, with the name of a Conferenza, or conference; an aſſembly unrecognized by the Venetian conſtitution, and conſequently illegal; was called together privately in the Doge's

chamber, to deliberate on the dispatches from the two deputies. It consisted of forty-three members, among which were the twenty-six persons who formed that body which was called the College. The plans which were suggested in this meeting were as frivolous, or as dastardly, as its origin was illegitimate. Daniel Delfino advised that a friend, whom he named, of the French general, should be intreated to use his influence in behalf of Venice; but this advice was justly ridiculed as puerile by Anthony Capello. While they were debating, news was brought to them that the French were preparing to cross the lagunes; upon which the Doge himself wandered about the chamber in a state of terror, exclaiming that they should not be safe in their beds that night; and Peter Dona and Charles Ruzzini declared in favour of an immediate surrender of the city; a proposition which was, however, successfully opposed by Joseph Priuli, Nicholas Erizzo, and Francis Pesaro. It was at length decided, that the Doge should convene the great council, and obtain from it full powers for the deputies, who were to treat with the republican general.

The great council met, on the following morning, and met under unusual circumstances, as well as for unusual business. It was protected, or awed, by a military force. The palace was surrounded by cannon, the workmen of the arsenal, and the tradesmen's companies, were under arms, and the streets were patroled. Six hundred and fifteen patricians took their seats on this occasion. Pale, dejected, and with a broken voice, the Doge depicted to them the situation of the country, and recommended that the deputies should be authorized to settle with Buonaparte the modifications which were to take place in the form of the government. While the project was being read, a profound silence reigned in the hall. It was put to the vote without a single word of discussion, and five hundred and ninety eight persons gave at least a ready assent to it. The Council reserved to itself only the right of ratifying the terms which the general might dictate. The liberation of all the prisoners, who had been confined for political opinions, since the arrival of the French in Italy, was also decreed.

To the two deputies, Dona and Justiniani, was now added a third, Aloys Mocenigo. They found Buonaparte at Marghera, on the margin of the Adriatic. He received them at first with civility, "but soon," say they, "relapsing into his wonted suspiciousness, he enquired if all the prisoners were really set free, and if the deliberation, which he would himself read, unequivocally contained full powers to treat. Then, immediately breaking off from this, he added, that he was inflexible, that no treaty could be made, while the French, who had been assassinated, and while captain Laugier, remained unrevenged by the blood of the three inquisitors of state, of the commander of the fort, and of the high admiral (he meant the commanding officer on the station of Lido); that, otherwise, in fifteen days he would be master of Venice, that the Venetian nobles should have no other means of escaping from death than by becoming wanderers over the earth, like the French.

French emigrants; that their property in the provinces which were already conquered, was on the point of being confiſcated; that the lagunes did not intimidate him, he having found his idea of them to be correct, and that he had framed his plans accordingly.

"All our arguments being fruitleſs, we aſked him for time and explanations at leaſt. He at firſt would grant us only twenty-four hours to bring him a definite anſwer to Mantua. With reſpect to explaining his intentions, he told us that, after the reparation which he demanded was given, quiet would be reſtored to the republic; that it would recover its ſtates; that it would even acquire ſome, and that it would be ſtrengthened by the protection of France. At length, with much difficulty, we prevailed on him to conſent to an armiſtice of ſix days." In this ſpeech of Buonaparte there is nothing more remarkable than the readineſs with which he made a promiſe, which he either never intended to perform, or could not perform without violating the preliminary treaty ſo recently concluded with the emperor; he having, by that treaty, transferred a large part of the Venetian territories to his imperial majeſty.

By dint of intreaties and perſuaſion, the deputies finally ſucceeded in ſomewhat relaxing the rigour of Buonaparte. Inſtead of inſiſting upon the death of the three inquiſitors of ſtate, and of two other victims, he contented himſelf with demanding that the inquiſitors and the governor of the fort of Lido, ſhould be inſtantly arreſted, and ſhould ſuffer an exemplary puniſhment. This conceſſion was gratefully received by the terrified deputies.

When the deputies reported their proceedings to the Conferenza, the members were thrown into a conſternation which ſeems to have deprived them of all reaſon and ſpirit, and from which they never recovered. Nothing was to be heard among them but groans and faltering voices; nothing to be ſeen but pallid viſages and irregular and hurried moving from place to place. To increaſe, if poſſible, their embarraſſment, the demands of the republican general were now iterated, in a haughty note from the French ſecretary of legation. It was not till the Conferenza was a ſecond time aſſembled, on the following evening, that it became ſufficiently calm to decide upon what ſtep ſhould be taken. After much debate, it was agreed that the Doge ſhould propoſe to the great Council to ſubmit to the will of Buonaparte.

In this criſis of their fate, what was the conduct of the patricians, has been deſcribed by a Venetian writer. Seven hundred and thirty one of them were preſent. "On the morning of the fourth of May, the Great Council was a ſecond time aſſembled. With a clouded countenance, and full of deep concern, the Doge expoſed the neceſſity of ſuffering every grievance to endeavour to ſave the republic. "To oppreſs the innocent," ſaid he, with faltering voice, "is hard; but political ſacrifices to a ſuperior force are not without example." This myſterious proemium of new calamities alarmed every individual of the auguſt aſſembly. The fatal enigma was at length ſolved by ſtating the demands of Buona-

parte. Thunderſtruck and ſcarcely able to breathe, they preſerved a profound ſilence, which the Doge at length broke, by adviſing them not to heſitate between the arreſt of theſe unfortunate men and the total ruin of the nation. He ſaid, that theſe worthy citizens would willingly offer up their blood as a ſacrifice for the ſalvation of the country; he ſaid, they muſt conſole themſelves with the idea, that their trial was reſerved for the juſtice and magnanimity of the fathers; he ſaid, that granting this ſatisfaction would, perhaps, appeaſe that vengeance with which Buonaparte was about to overthrow the capital. The Great Council, moved even to tears between their terror and their grief, conſoling themſelves with the idea of ſuperior force, ſacrificing to the ambition of Buonaparte the fundamental laws of their country, and in an inſtant deſtroying the work of many generations, agreed almoſt unanimouſly to ſanction the demands of the enemy." Seven hundred and four patricians gave their aſſent to the motion: twelve votes were uncertain; and only fifteen were bold enough to vote on the negative ſide. The inquiſitors and the governor of the fort of Lido were immediately arreſted, and confined in the iſland of San Giorgio Maggiore.

Notwithſtanding the armiſtice, the French continued to revolutionize the Terra Firma, and to preſs cloſer to the capital on all ſides. To add to the general confuſion, it was rumoured that the Sclavonian troops were meditating an inſurrection, and that ſixteen thouſand of the inhabitants of Venice had reſolved to take up arms, and exterminate the patricians, if the required changes were not made in the form of the government. As far as regarded the Sclavonians, a colour of truth was given to the rumour, by the circumſtance of their being in an inſubordinate ſtate. Their diſorderly conduct, did not, however, ariſe from diſaffection, but from the combined effect of two cauſes, the firſt of the cauſes was, that their pay had been ſuffered to run into arrear; the ſecond, and by far the moſt powerful was, that hand-bills had been poſted in various parts of the town, aſſuring them that they were betrayed, that they would be diſarmed by their officers, and would be delivered into the hands of the French, whom they hated with a rooted and deadly hate.

In this emergency, when the very exiſtence of Venice depended on its rulers acting with reſolution, the Conferenza diſplayed a degree of cowardice, or of treachery, which has never been ſurpaſſed. It is probable, indeed, that treaſon had as large a ſhare as want of courage in influencing its proceedings. By ſome of the members it was propoſed that the metropolis ſhould be given up at once. This diſgraceful propoſition was, however, ſucceſsfully combated for a while, by other ſpeakers, of more wiſdom and manly ſpirit. But it was reſolved that the Sclavonians ſhould be ſent back to their own country, and orders were in conſequence iſſued, to provide money for the payment, and tranſports for the conveyance of them. This was in vain oppoſed by a few, who contended that it was the height of imprudence to weaken their force, at the moment when the deputies

(puties of the republic were negotiating a peace. Having carried this point, the partisans of submission returned to the charge, on the question of resisting the progress of the French. They at length succeeded. It was resolved that, in case the enemy should advance, the proveditor of the coasts and lagunes should treat with them for the surrender of the city; and, as if to invite the enemy to approach, several important posts in the vicinity were immediately abandoned. Among the scanty numbers who did honour to their character, by steadily dissenting from these dastardly measures, were Joseph Priuli, Philip Calbo, Jerome Querini, and Guido Erizzo; but they were considered by the majority as rash and foolish men, whose advice was calculated to expose the citizens of Venice to be put to the sword.

The three deputies of the Great Council had, meanwhile, proceeded to execute their painful mission. When they arrived at Mantua, Buonaparte was no longer there. He had set out to Milan, to which place they were under the necessity of following him. There is reason to suspect that his removal to such a distance was a stroke of policy, intended to give one of his agents time to carry into effect the plot which was formed against the Venetian government. At the request of the deputies, he prolonged the suspension of arms, but it was not till the middle of the month that the terms of the treaty, or rather capitulation, were definitively arranged.

The public treaty, which consisted of six articles, was a masterpiece of arrogance and diplomatic absurdity. The Directory recognized the existing government of Venice, yet at the same moment stipulated for the destruction of that government; and, while it admitted Venice to treat on the footing of an independent power, it assumed the authority of extending pardon to the subjects of Venice. By the second article, the Great Council "renounced all its rights of sovereignty, ordered the abdication of the hereditary aristocracy, and acknowledged the sovereignty of the state in the union of all its citizens. By the sixth, the Directory "granted a general amnesty and pardon to all Venetians accused of having taken part in any conspiracy against the French;" but from this amnesty were excepted, by the fifth article, the three inquisitors, and the governor of the fort of Lido, who were to be brought to trial by the provisional government. As a matter of grace and favour, the French republic, "wishing to contribute to the tranquillity of the city of Venice, and the happiness of its inhabitants, granted a division of French troops, to maintain order and the safety of persons and property there, and to assist the first measures of the government in all the parts of its administration." These conservators of order and safety were to be withdrawn from the city, as soon as the new government declared that it had no further occasion for their support; and the rest of the Venetian territory was to be evacuated by the French army, on the conclusion of a continental peace.

In return for these inestimable benefits, the Venetian negotiators consented to five secret articles, which afford a splendid proof of the disinterestedness of French republicans. Venice, by these articles,

engaged to enter into an agreement with France, for the exchange of certain unſpecified territories, to pay, in ſpecie, the ſum of three millions of livres, to ſupply naval ſtores to the ſame value, to furniſh alſo three ſail of the line and two frigates completely equipped, and to give up twenty five pictures, and five hundred manuſcripts, at the choice of the general in chief. France promiſed, on her ſide, to mediate between Venice and Algiers, for the purpoſe of putting an end to their differences; and, doubtleſs, as Venice was to be ſtripped of her marine, ſhe was likely to ſtand in need of ſome friendly intervention, to ſhield her from the piracy of the Barbary corſairs.

Great as were the ſacrifices which were made by this treaty, they were, nevertheleſs, unavailing. Even had it not been rendered a mere nullity by circumſtances, which we ſhall ſoon deſcribe, it was never intended to be executed with good faith by the party which impoſed it on the Venetians. French perfidy was deſigned to be as conſpicuous in the violation of it, as French violence was in the framing of it. In his diſpatch to the Directory, the reaſons which induced him to conclude it are thus ſtated by Buonaparte. 1ſt. "To enter into the city without difficulty; and to have the arſenal and every thing in our poſſeſſion, that we may be able to draw from it whatever ſuits us, under pretence of executing the ſecret articles. 2d. In caſe the treaty with the emperor ſhould not be completed, to be in a ſituation to rally round us, and turn to our advantage, all the efforts of the Venetian ſtates. 3d. Not to draw down upon us the odium of violating the preliminaries, relative to the Venetian territory, and at the ſame time to afford pretexts and to facilitate their execution. 4th and laſtly, to quiet all that might be ſaid in Europe, ſince it is now ſhown that our putting a garriſon into Venice is only a momentary operation, and an act of protection which is ſolicited by Venice itſelf."

His inſtructions to the French naval commander in the Adriatic were in the ſame ſpirit. That officer was ordered to delude the Venetians with the moſt deceptive repreſentations and promiſes. "You will intimate to the proviſional government," ſaid Buonaparte, "that the conformity of principles which now exiſts between the French republic and that of Venice, and the protection which the former grants to the latter, make it neceſſary that the maritime forces of the republic of Venice ſhould be promptly put on a reſpectable footing, that they may in concert be able to maintain themſelves maſters of the Adriatic and the iſlands of the Levant, and to protect the commerce of the two republics; and that, for this purpoſe, I have already ſent off troops to ſecure poſſeſſion of Corfu to the Venetian republic; and that henceforth it is indiſpenſible for them to labour actively to place in a good ſtate the Venetian marine. Under this pretext, and in this mode of proceeding, you will get every thing into your power; endeavouring, nevertheleſs, to preſerve union, and to get into our ſervice all the ſailors and perſons employed in the navy of the republic of Venice; you ſtill making uſe of the name of the Venetian marine. That which you have

have to do, conſiſts, firſtly, of arming and equipping as ſpeedily as poſſible all the ſmall and large veſſels, which can be put in order; ſo that, when we are ſure of having Corfu, we may join them with the main ſquadron. Secondly, in taking every neceſſary meaſure to ſend to Toulon all the ſtores which may be wanting at that port. By a ſecret article, the Venetians are to furniſh to the republic naval ſtores, to the value of three millions; but my intention is, to ſeize for the republic, all the Venetian veſſels, and all the ſtores which can poſſibly be got together for Toulon. What is to be done reſpecting the ſhips which are upon the ſtocks remains to be decided."

We muſt now advert to that juggle, for ſo it muſt be called, to which we have recently alluded, and by which, as far as regarded any benefit to the Venetians, this iniquitous treaty was rendered an abſolute nullity. On the rupture with Venice, M. Lallemant, the French envoy, was directed to quit the capital; leaving behind him the ſecretary of legation, Villetard, an active and intriguing revoluționiſt. This appears to have been contrived by Buonaparte, for a purpoſe which we are about to explain; Lallemant being probably conſidered as too equitable a man to be entruſted with the ſecret of the ſcheme which was formed for ſpreading confuſion in Venice. Ignorant of what had been done, Lallemant, after the treaty was ſigned at Milan, had a conference with the deputies, as to the manner of effecting, without any ſhock, and with at leaſt the ſemblance of legal forms, the meditated change in the Venetian conſtitution. A ſatisfactory arrangement for this purpoſe was agreed upon between them, and Lallemant took his departure for Venice to put it in execution. Theſe ſteps were all taken under the ſanction of Buonaparte; who, nevertheleſs, from his correſpondence with Villetard, muſt have been fully aware that the means of carrying them into effect were no longer in exiſtence.

When M. Lallemant returned to Venice, he found that the government with which he came to concert meaſures, was already deſtroyed. The prime mover of the deſtruction was the ſecretary, Villetard. How it was brought about is now to be ſhewn. After the French envoy had quitted Venice, on war being declared, Villetard appears to have taken an extremely active part in rallying round him and exciting the friends of a revolution. To him are attributed the reports which were ſpread of an approaching inſurrection, and the placards which were poſted in the ſtreets to ſtimulate the Sclavonians to mutiny. As his party was, in fact, but a feeble minority of the citizens, he had recourſe to art, for the purpoſe of inſpiring it with confidence; and he is ſaid to have ſucceeded in making his fellow conſpirators believe, that multitudes were ready to ſecond, and even to outſtrip them, in the execution of their ſchemes. It was on the evening of the eighth of May, that he put the match to the mine which he had ſilently prepared. "Fertile in revolutionary ingenuity," ſays a Venetian writer, "he paſſed an evening in a debauch with the Venetian patriots, where, in the midſt of wine and tumultuous glaſſes, with atrocious and terrific countenance,

nance, he extorted from these conspirators a solemn oath not to publish what he was about to declare. He then, with mysterious tone and interrupted accents, communicated that all was prepared to complete the revolution on the following day; that fifteen thousand citizens desired it; and that, if the few personages, who still represented the languishing majesty of the republic, should refuse to resign their posts, he should found democracy on the ruins of the patriciate. One of the guests, Zorzi, a confectioner, full of the lust of power, profiting by the occasion to make some noise, since he could not acquire reputation, offered to declare this terrible secret to the government. Villetard granted his request." Previously to the performance of this farce, a negotiation through the medium of a man named Spada, had been privately opened with Villetard, by the deputy Morosini, the commander of the Venetian forces in the capital, whose fears, or whose want of fidelity, prompted him to feel, or feign, a belief, that there was no other means of preventing the rumoured insurrection.

At the Ducal palace, Zorzi was at first refused admission; but he soon returned with the deputy Morosini, and was then allowed to enter. The Doge was roused from sleep, and Zorzi conveyed to him the startling intelligence in the most alarming language which he could employ; assuring him that, in case of non-compliance with the wish of the revolutionists, "the tree of liberty would be erected amidst the trunkless heads of the Sclavonians and patricians."

Terrified by the sudden intrusion and the threats of this unwelcome messenger, the Doge intreated him to obtain from Villetard a written statement of his demands. Zorzi complied with this request, and Villetard dictated to him the terms upon which the patricians might be permitted to redeem their lives. They were, the liberation of the prisoners, the dismission of the Sclavonians, the occupation of Venice by the French, the establishing of democracy, and the planting of the tree of liberty, the installation of a municipality, consisting of thirty six members, to be chosen by France, with Manini, the Doge at their head, and the sending of an invitation to the municipalities of the Terra Ferma, to form a central committee of provisional government, constituted of a deputy from each city, and of one for the capital. It was also proposed to consolidate the national debt, to obtain, if possible, a pardon for the three inquisitors of state and the governor of Lido; to respect property and religion; to grant an amnesty for all political crimes; to forbid any reference to past events, and to decree the liberty of the press. There were several other articles of a less important kind*.

These

* It was pretended by M. Villetard, that, in the whole of this business, he acted a merely passive part; giving his opinion only by the desire of the revolutionists, and with a view to allay the popular fermentation. The weight of testimony is, however, decisive as to the fact of his having been the soul of the conspiracy. There is against him, among other evidence, the strong and unimpeachable evidence of his superior, M. Lallemant, who, on his return to Venice, thus described to Buonaparte the conduct of

Theſe conditions were laid before the Conferenza, on the following morning, by Zorzi and Spada, and that body did not, by any ſymptom of vigour, belie its puſillanimous character. The reading of them was hardly concluded, before Moroſini notified to the aſſembly that, unleſs he were reinforced, he could not anſwer for the ſafety of the capital throughout the day; as the rebels threatened him with an attack, and his troops were exhauſted by fatigue. This additional blow was not wanting to beat down the ſpirit of the Conferenza. Guido Erizzo, and ſix others, were the only members who vigorouſly contended againſt proſtrating the government at the feet of the rebels, while there was yet a hope of ſafety from the negotiation at Milan. They were overruled; their colleagues were emulous in ſelf-debaſement; and two deputies were appointed to confer with Villetard, for the purpoſe of making the needful arrangements. It was alſo reſolved to haſten the departure of the Sclavonians, and to allow the French troops to enter Venice, ſhould they, notwithſtanding the armiſtice, inſiſt on being admitted.

From Villetard the two deputies obtained a delay of four days, and permiſſion to convoke the Great Council: the firſt of theſe favours he was induced to grant from motives of prudence; the deputies having ſuggeſted to him that the ſudden diſplay of the democratic inſignia might, perhaps, irritate the Sclavonians into violent proceedings, againſt the French and the revolutionary party. The four days were conſequently employed in putting the Sclavonians on board of the tranſports, and preparing every thing for the projected change.

The twelfth of May was the day on which was conſummated the deſtruction of the Venetian republic. On that day the Great Council

of the ſecretary. "What was my ſurpriſe, on arriving here, to learn all the details of the revolution which had been brought about during my abſence! It is neceſſary, general, to make you acquainted with every thing. Citizen Villetard is accuſed of having compelled the changes which have been introduced in the legal meaſures which we had projected, of having combined with ſome hot headed individuals, of having conſtrained by menaces, Peter Dona and Battaglia, members of the Conferenza, to convoke the Great Council, to preſcribe to it its immediate diſſolution, and to form a municipality, of which he himſelf gave the liſt. I relate to you nothing more than what is publicly talked of in Venice, and what has been declared to me even by his friends and co-operators, who are now convinced of all the defects of ſo precipitate a meaſure, and who attribute to that meaſure the diſaſters of the twelfth and thirteenth, the reſult of which, if, by a new act of goodneſs and generoſity on your part, you do not avert the conſequences of them, muſt lead to the total ruin of the ſtate of Venice."

This letter was written a fortnight after the concluſion of the treaty, the benefits of which treaty France was then enjoying. The arſenals and the ſhips of Venice were in her hands, and the pecuniary contribution was raiſing; but what return the Venetians received for their ſacrifices, M. Lallemant may ſhow. "All the provinces of the Terra Firma, which are occupied by the diviſions of your army, are treated as a conquered country. They are laid under contribution; they are taxed beyond their capability of paying; they are ſtripped of every thing that can be removed, the houſes are ſacked, cattle, horſes, furniture, plate, every thing, is carried away; and if this ſtate of things laſts another week, the inhabitants will have nothing left them but deſpair, the impoſſibility of ſupporting your troops, and the neceſſity of abandoning a ſoil which can no longer furniſh them with the means of ſubſiſtence."

met,

met, for the laſt time. As if it had been deſtined that there ſhould be nothing connected with this revolution which ſhould not bear the ſtamp of illegality, the meeting conſiſted of no more than five hundred and thirty ſeven members; though, according to the fundamental laws of the republic, it was requiſite that at leaſt ſix hundred patricians ſhould be preſent, whenever a decree was diſcuſſed relative to a principle of government, or an important affair of ſtate. The Doge having repreſented to his hearers the ſituation of affairs, the decree of abdication was read. While John Minotto was arguing againſt the haſty adoption of this meaſure, a diſcharge of muſketry was heard, which is ſaid to have proceeded from the Sclavonian ſoldiers, who, as was their cuſtom, were ſaluting the Venetian lion on their departure. It was inſtantly believed that the revolutioniſts were on the point of carrying their ſanguinary threats into execution, and a ſcene enſued, half ludicrous, half diſguſting, which is thus forcibly deſcribed by the Venetian writer whom we have already quoted. "The firing was now renewed, and the trepidation became general and extreme. The counſellors cried aloud, that the gates ſhould be opened: they even ran to open them, ſtrove to force them, and in the name of humanity demanded liberty to quit the hall. All was uproar and confuſion, ſome crying out in lamentable accents to ſanction the propoſed decree, ſome bewailing a father, a mother, ſome their children, ſome a brother, a relation, or a friend. Men of venerable age, the graveſt ſenators, preſidents of the Council of forty, leaped from ſeat to ſeat, amidſt the convulſions of terror and the ſtarts of deſpair. From every ſide were heard diſgraceful cries, maddening vociferations, ſhameful curſing and ſwearing, and all kinds of ſcandal. In this confuſion the fatal decree was tumultuouſly put to the vote; the ſuffrages were as tumultuouſly taken; as tumultuouſly was it publiſhed, that the nobles had abandoned the ſovereignty by a moſt ample majority, and that they had diſſolved their caſt with their own hands. Thus, amidſt its monuments of triumphant liberty, terminated the moſt ancient republic in the world, on the ſoil of whoſe capital no conqueror had ever ſet foot.

"The gates of the Great Council were ſcarcely thrown open, ere all the members precipitately ruſhed out in the utmoſt confuſion. Some haſtened to throw off their gowns, leſt they ſhould be inſulted by the rebels; others not content with having ſecretly co-operated in the deſtruction of the country, making an oſtentatious ſhow of their baſe duplicity, curſed and trampled under foot their hereditary patrician inſignia; others, unreſtrained either by ſhame or the general depreſſion, ſtopped in the public ſquare to applaud at the drunken declamations of fanatical enthuſiaſm, which a few diſloyal captains were dealing out againſt the now-extinct ariſtocracy, at the foot of the three ſtandards; of thoſe very ſtandards which they had ſworn to defend with their blood, when they aſſumed the uniform of the republic. Theſe ungrateful vipers, whom ſhe had raiſed and nurtured, now ſtung her in the boſom; while, as if fidelity were yet in ſome meaſure conjoined with abjection, the people, the Venetian

Venetian people alone, who had aſſembled there, yielded no applauſe to this torrent of imprecations; and, when the revolters were heard frequently to cry aloud, repeating *Viva la Libertà*, they were ſilent. Not the ſplendid promiſe of ſovereign power, not a ſhare in the command, not the flattering hope of meliorating their condition, could induce them to join their voices to thoſe of traitors, who, now fearing any longer to oppoſe this heroic fidelity, retired crying out, *Viva San Marco.*"

Very few of the people had, in fact, any taſte for revolutionary doctrines. They were attached to the government under which they and their anceſtors had lived, and which, defective as it really was, does not appear to have been guilty of cruelty or oppreſſion to the humbler claſſes. It was, as the French afterwards confeſſed, chiefly among the privileged claſſes that democratical principles had taken root; a ſeemingly paradoxical circumſtance; for which, however, it would not, perhaps, be difficult to account. When, therefore, the multitude heard raiſed the long-favourite cry of *Viva San Marco*, they concluded that it was reſolved to maintain the conſtitution, and their joy was extreme. The ſtandard of St. Mark was immediately hoiſted on the three great flag-maſts, and images of the patron ſaint were carried in proceſſion through the ſtreets. Their exultation at their imagined victory was ſoon blended with rage againſt thoſe whom they conſidered as being traitors to their country. In the courſe of a ſhort time, the ſtreets ſwarmed with more than thirty thouſand men, women, and children, who broke into and plundered the houſes of Zorzi, Spada, and others, who were known to be the friends of revolution. Nor were they diſcouraged by diſcovering the miſtake which they had made with reſpect to the decree of the Great Council. On the contrary, they appeared to be animated with more fury, and they earneſtly ſolicited every patrician whom they met with to put himſelf at their head. They alſo hurried to the Doge's palace, that they might replace him in the ducal chair; but he had effectually ſecreted himſelf from them. Theſe diſappointments added fuel to their rage; magazines, as well as houſes, were now pillaged, even perſonal ſafety, which had as yet been unviolated, was in danger, and Venice ſeemed on the point of falling a ſacrifice to the paſſions of its own citizens. About midnight, however, the members of the fallen government collected a few troops, and, not without bloodſhed, ſucceeded in putting an end to the exceſſes of the populace. The publiſhing of an exhortation to the people to remain quiet, was the laſt act of thoſe who had ſo lately been the ſovereigns of an ancient and powerful republic.

On the ſixteenth of May, Venice was entered by the French troops. A proviſional municipality was eſtabliſhed, but this body poſſeſſed neither legal exiſtence, nor the means of making itſelf reſpected. It was nothing more than a ſelf-elected junta, or rather a creature of the French; the Great Council, in the confuſion of its expiring moments, having forgotten to make to its ſucceſſor a regular transfer of the ſovereign power. The conſequence

ſequence of this was, that, even in the capital the municipality was unwillingly obeyed, and on the Terra Firma it was treated with contempt. Not a ſingle city would yield obedience to the commands of men whom it looked upon as uſurpers. The treaty concluded at Milan could not be ratified, there being no competent authority in exiſtence to perform that act; and while the French were hourly availing themſelves, to the fulleſt extent, of every part of it which was in their favour, the Venetians could draw no advantage whatever from its ſtipulations. Robbed of every thing by her liberators, who ſtripped her arſenals, and deſtroyed her foreſts; impoveriſhed by contributions; divided by parties; mourning the paſt, and trembling for the future; ſometimes mocked with the hope of independence, and then plunged into deſpair; Venice lingered on for a few months, till her fate was irrevocably decided, by events of which a narrative will be given in the following chapter.

CHAP. XX.

Negociation for Peace between Auſtria and France. The Preliminaries not ſatisfactory to either Party. The Directory reſolves to obtain an Amelioration of the Terms in the Definitive Treaty. The Emperor expreſſes his readineſs to treat ſeparately for a Peace with France. The Directory deſirous of avoiding a Congreſs. Its Inſtructions to its Plenipotentiaries. It wiſhes to occupy the Empire as far as the Rednitz and the Lech. Averſion of it to indemnify the Emperor in Germany. Caſe in which it will conſent to his making Acquiſitions there. The Britiſh Monarch to be expelled from Hanover. Offers of the Directory with reſpect to Italy. Refuſal to guarantee the Ceſſions in Italy to the Emperor. The Iſland of Elba coveted. Ambitious Views of the King of Naples. Plan of Carnot to make an Eſtabliſhment for the Duke of Parma, in order to oppoſe Spain to the Emperor. The Negotiations opened at Montebello, near Milan. Agreement ſigned by the Negotiators. Scheme drawn up at the firſt Conference. Idea of Buonaparte as to the Neceſſity of preſerving the Germanic Body. Reaſons aſſigned by Buonaparte to juſtify the aſſigning Venice to the Emperor. The Emperor wiſhes to return to the original Plan of a Congreſs. He takes Poſſeſſion of Iſtria and Dalmatia. He delays ſending full Powers to his Negotiators. Conſequent Complaints of the French Negotiators. The Seat of the Negotiation removed to Udine. Anger of Buonaparte at the Delay, which he aſcribes to the Royaliſt Faction in France. Meaſures recommended by him in conſequence. He adviſes the Directory to recommence Hoſtilities. Reaſons of the Directory for not immediately conſenting. Notes given in by the Auſtrian Plenipotentiaries. Angry Anſwer of the French. The Emperor reproached with reſpect to his Conduct towards Venice. Change in the Plan of the Directory. It now wiſhes to exclude the Emperor from Italy, and indemnify him in Germany. Its Reaſons and Arguments. Its Reluctance to give up Mantua.

Letter

Letter of Carnot to Buonaparte ſtimulating him to make Peace. Advice given by him to the French General. Anonymous Letter to Buonaparte, counſelling him to eſtabliſh an Empire in Italy, and place himſelf at its Head. Bitter Cenſure of the Army of Italy. Buonaparte follows the Advice of Carnot. General Clarke recalled. Generous Conduct of Buonaparte with reſpect to Clarke. Auſtria not only refuſes to relinquiſh Italy, but raiſes her Demands in that quarter. Intrigues at Vienna to bring about a Peace. They fail. The Emperor again inſiſts upon a Congreſs. Anger and inſulting Language of Buonaparte on receiving the Auſtrian Propoſal. The Propoſal is dropped. Change in the Language of the Directory, after the eighteenth of Fructidor. The Directory treats the Emperor with Contumely. Its Plan to revolutionize Italy. Negotiates with Pruſſia for a Treaty of offenſive and defenſive Alliance. Proclamation of the Directory to its Armies, ordering them to prepare to take the Field. Army of Germany. A Proclamation of Augereau to his Army. A Change made in the Government of the eccleſiaſtical Electorates. Cis-Rhenane Republic formed, and aboliſhed. The Directory declines to ratify the Treaty with the King of Sardinia. It declares that it cannot guarantee Kings againſt their People. Preparation of the Directory for War. The Emperor alſo actively prepares for it. He raiſes his Demands. Reply of Buonaparte. Remark of Count Cobentzel. The Directory wiſhes for immediate War. Buonaparte oppoſes the Meaſure. His Advice to the Directory. The definitive Treaty ſigned at Campo Formio. The Reaſons aſſigned by Buonaparte for concluding it. He is diſſatisfied with the Behaviour of the Directory to him. Terms of the Public Articles of the Treaty. Private Articles. Obſervations on the Treaty. Cenſure of the Emperor. Inſulting Language uſed by Buonaparte with reſpect to the Venetians. Ratifications of the Treaty exchanged. A Convention concluded at Raſtadt, for carrying the Treaty into effect. Tardineſs of the Directory in giving Orders to evacuate the Venetian Provinces beyond the Adige. Venice entered by the Imperialiſts. End of the Venetian Republic.

FROM the ſcene of open violence and ſubverſion, we muſt now turn to a ſcene of a nature not leſs diſguſting, that of diplomatic cunning, treachery, intrigue, and the ſhameleſs barter of the rights and liberties of millions by two great powers, both of which were actuated only by feelings of the moſt ſelfiſh kind, though one of them endeavoured to conceal her deſigns under the ſemblance of univerſal philanthropy and the love of freedom. We muſt now trace the progreſs of the negotiation which, for ſeveral months, was carried on between France and Auſtria, for the purpoſe of modifying the preliminary articles into a definitive treaty.

With thoſe articles it is probable, that, on reflection, neither party was entirely ſatisfied. The emperor might perhaps regret that he had ſuffered the favourable opportunity to eſcape of cruſhing, or at leaſt crippling, the French army, and with it the influence of France in Italy; by which means he would have been able to graſp unreſiſted a ſtill larger portion of a country always coveted by Auſtria,

tria, though never thoroughly reconciled to Auſtrian government. But, whatever were his ſentiments on this occaſion, thoſe of the republican rulers are by no means doubtful. The miniſter for foreign affairs confeſſed, in a letter to general Clarke, that they felt in the ſtrongeſt manner the ſituation in which Buonaparte was placed when he concluded the preliminaries, and that it was evident that the general had done every thing that was poſſible under ſuch circumſtances: but, added the miniſter, circumſtances have changed, and you will both know how to avail yourſelves of them, to render more favourable the conditions of a definitive peace. France, we ſee, was already preparing for a war of chicane. It was under theſe auſpices that the conferences were begun.

On the return of the marquis de Gallo from Vienna, with the ratified preliminaries, he had an interview with Buonaparte, at Gratz, in which, among other things of leſs moment, he informed the French general that the emperor was deſirous to connect his political ſyſtem cloſely with that of France, that he had already given full powers to treat definitively of peace, that he wiſhed to negotiate ſeparately, as ſoon as poſſible, and in Italy, and that the allies ſhould not be admitted till the queſtion was brought forward of the peace of the empire, the negotiation for which might, he ſuggeſted, be carried on at Conſtance, or ſome other city in Germany.

The circumſtance of the emperor having thus reſolved to conclude a ſeparate treaty, was exceedingly grateful to the French Directory, and excited a hope that it might be poſſible to get rid altogether of the purpoſed Congreſs. This object generals Buonaparte and Clarke, who were appointed the plenipotentiaries, were directed to uſe their efforts to attain; or, if that could not be accompliſhed, at leaſt to exclude from the Congreſs thoſe powers which were foreign to the empire; an excluſion which was plainly directed againſt this country. It was alſo particularly urged that, in the negotiation now ſet on foot with the emperor, no mention whatever ſhould be ſuffered of England.

In purſuance of their plan to ameliorate the conditions of the preliminary treaty, the French rulers, at the very outſet, inſtructed their plenipotentiaries to inſiſt that their armies on the Rhine ſhould be allowed to occupy all the territory of the empire as far as the Lech and the Rednitz, and all the fortreſſes on the Rhine, or at leaſt thoſe of Mentz, Ehrenbreitſtein, and Manheim; and that only in proportion as thoſe armies advanced into Germany ſhould their army in Italy withdraw from the provinces which were allotted there to his Imperial majeſty. This arrangement was manifeſtly propoſed for the purpoſe of leaving the empire entirely at their mercy, and having a powerful check upon Auſtria herſelf.

That on the ſide of Germany any addition ſhould be made to the indemnity which was granted to the emperor was conſidered by the Directory as a circumſtance to be avoided, if poſſible, and not to be agreed to without his renouncing a part of that which he was to receive in Italy. There was, however,

however, one case in which he was to be liberally dealt with, even in that quarter. The Directory, though unwilling to continue a contest for this object, had a longing desire to extend the limits of the republic to the left bank of that river, throughout the whole of its course below the northern boundary of Alsace. If those limits could be obtained, it was ready to display its gratitude, by consenting that the emperor should receive, as an equivalent, the archbishopric of Saltsburgh, and the two bishoprics of Trent and Brixen. At the same time it was no less anxious to rid itself of him as a neighbour, and it, therefore, suggested the propriety of prevailing on him to relinquish his Swabian dominions, which, it said might be employed to indemnify some of the princes who had lost their dominions on the left of the Rhine. The Directory also wished to procure the cession of the Frickthal, that it might exchange that district for some portions of the Swiss territory, which were calculated to improve the French frontier in a military point of view.

Among those princes for whom an indemnity was to be provided was the Stadtholder, and it was intimated that the Directory would see with pleasure the expulsion of the British monarch from Germany, for the purpose of transferring his electorate to the house of Nassau. The general fund for indemnifying the dispossessed princes was, however, to be found in the secularization of the ecclesiastical principalities; a measure to which the king of Prussia, eager for his share of the spoil, yielded a ready or a joyful assent. It was, indeed, from this fund that he was to derive an equivalent for Cleves and Gueldres, which he had consented eventually to make over to the French republic; doubtless in the hope of being gratified with a reward of more than commensurate value.

In Italy the Directory did not at first purpose to deviate from what had been settled by the preliminary articles. But it soon changed its plan, and, in subsequent instructions to its negotiators, which were sent to them eight days after it had sanctioned the treaty with the new government of Venice, it declared that it would allow Venice to come under the sway of the emperor, provided he would admit of Mantua and the territory as far as the Adige being united with the Lombard republic, and also of the Venetian isles being appropriated by France. This offer places in a strong light the boasted good faith of the French rulers.

With respect to Italy there was another point, in which the Directory manifested its disposition to bind others, without being bound itself. It required that the emperor should guarantee, in perpetuity, the independence of the Lombard republic, in which republic France was to have an army of twenty-five thousand men; but it positively refused, "under any pretext whatever, to lend itself to a guarantee of the possessions which the emperor might take to himself in Italy." The meaning of this refusal is obvious, and we shall see, in another part

of this chapter, the conſtruction which was put upon it by the French general.

Among the acquiſitions which France ſought to gain was the iſland of Elba. The oſtenſible reaſon for coveting this ſpot was its valuable mines of iron; the real one was probably its poſition, which fitted it for an advanced poſt to watch and threaten the Italian ſtates. In exchange for Elba, the Directory was diſpoſed to make over Corfu or Cephalonia to the king of Naples, on condition that he ſhould compenſate the grand duke of Tuſcany and the prince of Piombino for thoſe portions of the iſland which belonged to them.

That no agreement was ultimately made on this ſubject with the Neapolitan monarch, is not to be attributed to his having felt the ſlighteſt reluctance to participate in the ſpoils which were wreſted from other powers. On the contrary, he diſplayed an avidity for plunder which was diſgraceful to his character, and gave him a fair title to be claſſed among thoſe ſovereigns, of whom it may be ſaid, in the emphatic language of Mr. Burke, that they were "emulous in bidding againſt their own eſtimation." At ſome times the Venetian iſlands, and at other times the Marches of Ancona and of Fermo, were the objects of his diſhonourable ambition. But it was for the two papal provinces, as being moſt conveniently ſituated, that his predilection was the ſtrongeſt, and he ſeems to have purpoſed to win them by arms, in caſe he failed to obtain them by the aid of negotiation. France, however, though ſhe concealed her reſolve, and even encouraged him by flattering profeſſions, was determined to fruſtrate his deſigns, but not till he had incurred all the ſhame of attempting to realize them. His army might be permitted to march towards Rome, becauſe, ſaid the Directory, "we have not guaranteed to the Pope and his ſucceſſors the territory which remains to them. It cannot be otherwiſe than uſeful to us to ſuffer the court of Naples to take upon itſelf all the odium of an uſurpation. In trying to keep down a revolution at Rome, it is very poſſible that he will ſucceed only in exciting one in his own dominions."

In addition to theſe changes in Italy, there was another change, which, as we have already hinted in the volume for 1796, Carnot was deſirous to make. This was to be effected by enlarging the dominions of the duke of Parma with a portion of the Papal Legations and the duchy of Modena, receiving from Spain Florida and Louiſiana as an equivalent for this favour; in order to obtain the threefold advantage of raiſing a ſtronger barrier againſt Auſtria, intereſting the king of Spain in the preſervation of the new ſtate of things in Italy, and acquiring the means of exerciſing an influence over the American government. Another plan, ſimilar in its nature, was propoſed by Buonaparte. It conſiſted in giving to the duke of Parma the whole or a conſiderable part of the Eccleſiaſtical territory, with perhaps the title of king, on condition that his duchy ſhould be incorporated with the Ciſalpine republic, and that a certain number of Spaniſh troops,

troops ſhould act as auxiliaries with the French army. This arrangement would have had the additional advantages of extinguiſhing the Papal power, and bridling the king of Naples. Both theſe projects were, however, fruſtrated by thoſe members of the Directory who were hoſtile to Carnot.

While the Directory was diſpatching its inſtructions the conferences were already proceeding. They were opened, on the twenty-fourth of May, at Montebello, near Milan, between the Marquis de Gallo on the one ſide, to whom general Meerfeldt was ſhortly after added, and generals Buonaparte and Clarke, on the other. The firſt ſtep of the negotiators was to ſign an agreement, that the peace between the emperor and France ſhould be concluded and made public before the opening of the negotiation for peace with the empire; that it ſhould be kept ſecret, and not be preſented to the French legiſlature to be ratified, till a period which was to be ſettled by the contracting powers; that the negotiation for peace with the empire ſhould be commenced at Raſtadt, on the firſt of the following July; and that no foreign power ſhould be admitted to it, but that his imperial majeſty ſhould be at liberty to offer his mediation for his allies. The latter article was, however, modified by another, which left to the Imperial plenipotentiaries the option, within fifteen days, of admitting their ſovereign's allies to the congreſs of Raſtadt, in which caſe the allies of France were alſo to be admitted. It is plain, from the tenor of theſe articles, that the negotiators calculated upon being able to bring about a treaty much more ſpeedily than they afterwards found it practicable to do.

At the very outſet of the conferences a project was drawn up, which deviated widely from the preliminary articles. On the ſide of Germany it was propoſed to give the Rhine as a boundary to France, and Saltſburgh and Paſſau to the emperor, as an equivalent or reward for this conceſſion; to find the king of Pruſſia an indemnity in the empire for the duchy of Cleves, or reſtore to him that duchy; and, with the exception of theſe changes, to preſerve the Germanic body as it then ſtood. To deſtroy that body would, as Buonaparte juſtly remarked to his employers, be an act of impolicy, as it would throw ten or twelve millions of people into the hands of two powers, both of which were equally objects of jealouſy to France. If ſuch a body did not exiſt, it would, he ſaid, be neceſſary to create it for the convenience of the republic.

In Italy, the emperor was to receive the Venetian territory on the left of the Adige, including Venice, and Mantua and the ſtates as far as the Adige were to be made over to the new republic. Only ten days before this conference, Buonaparte had ſigned his treaty with the proviſional government of Venice. He now coolly defended the purpoſed violation of it, and the extinction of the Venetian name, on the ground that Venice, having been declining ſince the diſcovery of the Cape of Good Hope, and the riſe of Trieſte and Ancona, could not without difficulty ſurvive the blows which France had given to her;

that her population was inept, cowardly, and not at all qualified for liberty; and that, being without ſoil, and without water, it ſeemed natural that the capital ſhould be left in the hands of thoſe to whom France might think fit to aſſign the continent. "We ſhall," ſaid he, "take the veſſels, ſtrip the arſenal, carry off all the artillery, deſtroy the bank, and keep Corfu and Ancona." It will be remembered by the reader, that Ancona, which it was thus purpoſed to keep, and which was deſcribed as becoming every day more formidable, was, according to the treaty of Tolentino, to be reſtored to the Pope, on the concluſion of a continental peace. But perfidy ſeems to have been the natural element of the French rulers.

The diſtance of Montebello from the Auſtrian capital, and the ſlow, procraſtinating ſpirit of the Auſtrian cabinet, prevented any reply from being given to theſe propoſitions till towards the middle of June; when, M. de Meerveldt having joined M. de Gallo, the negotiation was reſumed. His imperial majeſty was now deſirous of reverting to the original plan of a congreſs, to which he wiſhed, though it is not eaſy to ſay for what purpoſe, that Ruſſia ſhould be admitted. With reſpect to the indemnity for the ceſſions which he was to make, he claimed the Breſcian, in addition to Venice, the latter of which he conſidered as being merely an equivalent for the Briſgau, which he was to relinquiſh to the duke of Modena. He had already taken poſſeſſion of Iſtria, and Dalmatia, in purſuance of the preliminary articles, though the tenor of thoſe articles did not authorize his ſo doing. At the ſame time, in order to give weight to his further claims, he made vigorous efforts to put his armies in a warlike poſture.

Though the conferences were begun, the Auſtrian negotiators had not yet received their full powers. Without noticing, therefore, the new demands of the emperor, the French plenipotentiaries delivered to M de Gallo and his colleagues June 20. a note, in which they complained, ſtrongly but decorouſly, of the delay in ſending thoſe powers, and inſiſted upon a compliance with the ſtipulation in the preliminaries, that peace ſhould, at the lateſt, be concluded within three months, two of which had already elapſed. In concluſion they hinted that war would probably be the reſult of the continuance of ſuch conduct, and that the whole blame of it would fall upon the head of his imperial majeſty.

This ſtep was ſanctioned by the Directory, which likewiſe refuſed to conſent to carry on the negociations in a congreſs; obſerving, and not without reaſon, that the emperor having himſelf propoſed to treat ſeparately, and having allowed the time to paſs by within which there was left to him the option of treating in concert with his allies, he could have no right to inſiſt on a condition from which he had doubly receded. It was alſo urged that there was no pretext for the intervention of Ruſſia, which could only be prejudicial, even to the emperor himſelf; and that England, having agreed to negotiate at Liſle, could take no ſhare in the proceedings of a congreſs. Though irritated by the tardineſs

tardineſs of the emperor to comply with its wiſhes, the Directory did not think it prudent, at this moment, to replunge into a war. It owned that it was anxious to prevent the recommencement of hoſtilities, becauſe ſuch an event would produce a ſiniſter effect on the minds of the French people, and it, therefore, directed that, at all events, the armiſtice ſhould not be broken; but it recommended to its diplomatic agents to hide their weakneſs by diſplaying great energy, and ſpeaking in a menacing tone, and to prepare for the worſt, by organizing a republican government in Italy, and putting all things in readineſs to unſheathe the ſword.

In the hope, perhaps, of accelerating the progreſs of the negotiation, the ſeat of it was, in the beginning of July, removed to Udine, in the province of Friuli. If, however, ſuch were the hope, it was not realized; for, though the diſtance to Vienna was ſhortened by one half, the treaty continued to creep on as tardily as before. The preſence of Buonaparté being for a while neceſſary at Milan, general Clarke departed alone for Udine, where he remained in a compelled inaction during nearly the whole of the month, the Auſtrian envoys not having yet received their powers, and one of them, the marquis de Gallo, being abſent at Vienna, for the purpoſe of conſulting the Auſtrian cabinet.

Buonaparte was not of a temper to tolerate theſe delays. He loudly complained of them to the Directory, and he unheſitatingly aſcribed them to the effect produced on the miniſters of the emperor, by the conduct of that party in France which was acting in oppoſition to the Directorial government, and which he choſe to conſider as being compoſed of royaliſts. In his opinion the Auſtrian cabinet was procraſtinating the buſineſs, in the ſanguine expectation that the triumph of a faction would enable it to dictate the terms of a peace. The remedy which he more than once recommended was of a violent nature. It conſiſted in arreſting the emigrants, forcibly ſhutting up the club of Clichy, which he conſidered as the centre of the royaliſt intrigues, demoliſhing the printing preſſes of ſeveral journals which he pointed out, and eſtabliſhing other journals, to preach republican doctrines; and, as the Directory might, perhaps, think its ſtrength inſufficient to accompliſh this plan, he encouraged it by a direct intimation that, ſhould it ſtand in need of aſſiſtance, it might ſafely rely upon ſupport from the armies. In addition to this domeſtic meaſure, he propoſed to bring the emperor to reaſon by a declaration, that, if the treaty were not ſigned by the end of Auguſt, the preliminaries ſhould be conſidered as annulled, and the war ſhould recommence. If, aided by the reinforcements which he demanded, he were enabled to open the campaign in September, he promiſed to reach Vienna by the vintage ſeaſon, give the Hungarian peaſants an opportunity of drinking Tokay, and force his imperial majeſty to ſign a leſs advantageous peace than that which was now rejected. Such was his eagerneſs on this head that, for a moment, he even wiſhed for the con-

cluſion of a treaty with England; ſo as to leave the emperor to contend, ſingle-handed, with the French republic.

The plot of the majority of the Directory, againſt their colleagues and the two councils, of which plot Buonaparte may be looked upon as being at leaſt the adoptive father, was, however, not yet matured enough to allow of their throwing down the gauntlet to his imperial majeſty. Buonaparte was, therefore, again inſtructed to forbear from manifeſting any hoſtile intentions; "it being, ſaid the miniſter for foreign affairs, the reſolution of the Directory, that neither the houſe of Auſtria, nor the enemies in the interior, ſhall have the ſhadow of a reaſon for throwing on it the blame of having deſired the continuation of the war. It wiſhes that all, abſolutely all, the wrong ſhould be on the ſide of the emperor, and when the meaſure ſhall be full, if war ſhould then break out, it will be the more terrible. Till then it is decidedly anxious for peace." The gravity and confidence with which this pacific language was uſed can hardly fail to excite a ſmile, when we call to recollection the fact, for which there is the unqueſtionable teſtimony of Carnot, that peace might, at any period, have been made, had not the Directory, deviating from the preliminaries, and from its own offers, perſiſted in at once demanding Mantua and retaining Venice.

Of this bad faith in the Directory the Auſtrian cabinet ſeems to have availed itſelf, in order to gain time for the purpoſe of being better prepared to cope with the enemy, ſhould the negotiation at length be broken off. Delay was undoubtedly favourable to the emperor, as, while it enabled him to call forth and concentrate all his reſources, it abridged the ſeaſon during which alone the republican armies could act againſt him with effect. Proceeding apparently on this ſyſtem, his negociators gave in, in the courſe of two days, no leſs than ſix notes, which were rather of the nature of dilatory pleas, than of communications intended to forward the treaty. They complained, among other grievances, of the changes which had taken place at Venice and Genoa, and of the expulſion of the duke of Modena; but the moſt important points in them were a formal proteſt againſt the independence of Lombardy, and a propoſal for holding two congreſſes, at which the negociations ſhould be ſimultaneouſly carried on, by all the belligerent powers.

This ſtep drew forth a long and angry note from the French plenipotentiaries. The cabinet of Vienna was charged with ſeizing every pretext to throw obſtacles in the way of peace, with not even paying a decent reſpect to appearances, with having violated the preliminaries, and with protracting the conferences, merely to delude Europe and to prepare for war. The proteſt relative to Lombardy, the demand of a congreſs, and the backwardneſs in bringing the treaty to a concluſion, were particularly ſpecified as manifeſt violations of the preliminary articles; but the proteſt was conſidered as being the moſt flagrant and offenſive of them all. As to the duke of Modena, it was aſſerted that the French

July 28.

republic had nothing to do with the queſtion of his dethronement, which was entirely an affair between him and his people. With equal boldneſs, and with ſtill leſs veracity, it was affirmed that France had taken no part in the changes at Venice and Genoa, that ſhe had intervened at the requeſt of the people, and out of pure humanity, to avert the commiſſion of revolutionary enormities, and that her troops were ſtationed at Venice merely as auxiliaries of the Venetian government. On the ſcore of Venice, however, the plenipotentiaries did not neglect to take advantage of the palpable opening which was afforded by the conduct of his imperial majeſty; and accordingly they treated with bitter deriſion his pretended regard for a republic two of whoſe fineſt provinces he had already graſped, and of whoſe remaining territories he did not conceal his eager impatience to become the poſſeſſor. In concluſion, they expreſſed their readineſs to ſign a peace mutually advantageous to Auſtria and France; but they poſitively refuſed to ſuffer the imperial troops to occupy another inch of the ceſſions till that event took place; they aſked, in an emphatic tone, whether Auſtria was deſirous of commencing another war, and they declared that France would rather take up arms once more than conſent to be a dupe to the ſubtleties and inſincerity of the imperial cabinet. The cloſing paragraph of this note contained an obvious alluſion to the demand of Mantua by the French rulers. "To make peace depend upon obtaining a population of a few thouſands more, which could add nothing to the power of a great people, was," it ſaid, "to forget all the calamities under which ſuffering humanity groaned, and to call for a war which could anſwer no uſeful purpoſe to either of the two nations." It is ſtrange that the plenipotentiaries did not perceive that their argument was a weapon which might, on this occaſion, be turned againſt themſelves with deciſive effect.

Hitherto the Directory had conſidered it to be politic rather to indemnify the emperor on the ſide of Italy, than on that of Germany. In its firſt inſtructions it had ſtrongly recommended to the negotiators to act upon this ſyſtem. A complete change, however, now took place in its ideas on this ſubject. It diſcovered that ſound policy required the emperor to be removed as far as poſſible from Italy, and fixed in Germany. The reaſons aſſigned for this newly adopted opinion were, that to indemnify him in Germany would diminiſh his maritime power, put him in contact with his ancient rival, the king of Pruſſia, and place him at a ſafe diſtance from the Italian republic, which, deficient in military means, and preſſed between the emperor and the grand duke of Tuſcany, would ſoon be ſubjugated by the houſe of Auſtria, if his imperial majeſty were permitted to retain any footing in Italy. Aug. 19.

To prevail on the emperor to conſent to this arrangement, the French negotiators were inſtructed to ſuggeſt, that it was not deſirable for him to receive a territory inhabited by a people full of the ſpirit of liberty, and neighbours of a democratic republic, to

whom he muſt grant privileges not in accordance with the principles on which his other ſtates were governed, and whom, nevertheleſs, he could not hope to retain in quiet ſubjection; that ſuch unwilling ſubjects would infallibly turn their arms againſt him, whenever he came to a rupture with France; that his vicinity to the Italian republic, which republic the Directory had ſo ſtrong an intereſt in preſerving, would continually give riſe to contention, and thus furniſh a cauſe for war; and that, on the other hand, by agreeing to receive his indemnity within the limits of the empire, where the people were accuſtomed to and loved the Auſtrian ſway, and where he would be remote from France and her natural allies, he might enjoy his acquiſitions without having cauſe to apprehend either revolt at home, or the recurrence of hoſtilities with the French republic.

Should theſe arguments prove to be convincing, the negotiators were directed to propoſe that, provided the emperor inſiſted on holding Dalmatia and Iſtria, there ſhould be given to him the archbiſhopric of Saltzburgh, and the biſhopric of Paſſau, in exchange for the provinces beyond the Mincio, and the Venetian Terra Firma; but, if he could be prevailed upon to relinquiſh Iſtria and Dalmatia, he ſhould alſo be allowed to appropriate to himſelf the diſtrict of Berchtoldsgaden, the biſhoprics of Trent and Brixen, and all that part of the upper Palatinate which is included betwen the river Nab and the Bohemian frontier. To carry this important point, the republican plenipotentiaries were charged to exert their utmoſt ſkill.

If, however, a deaf ear ſhould unfortunately be turned to theſe diſintereſted reaſonings, they were authorized to yield to neceſſity, and to ſubmit to tolerate Auſtria as an Italian power. But to Mantua the Directory ſtill clung with the moſt tenacious adherence. That was on no conſideration to be reſigned, though Buonaparte had declared that its place, as a fortreſs, might be advantageouſly ſupplied by Pizzighettone. To induce the emperor to yield up not only Mantua, but likewiſe all that had been promiſed to him on the right of the Adige, including the Mantuan, a part of the Breſcian, and the Poleſine of Rovigo, the inducement was merely the biſhopric of Paſſau, without the city of that name. Should that fail, a reluctant conſent was given, as a laſt reſource, to his becoming maſter of Venice. Much ſolicitude was expreſſed, to hinder the emperor from ſeizing upon Bavaria, an object which he was not unnaturally ſuppoſed to have always in view, and alſo from obtaining any ceſſion whatever in the empire, except through the medium, or under the influence, of France. At a later period, general Deſaix was diſpatched to Munich, to excite the Bavarian court againſt Auſtria; but he was ſo cloſely watched by the Auſtrian embaſſy and officers, and by ſuch of the Bavarian miniſters as were attached to Auſtria, that he could find no opportunity of executing his miſſion.

It is manifeſt that theſe terms would have been far leſs beneficial to the emperor than thoſe to which he

he was entitled by the preliminary articles. In the one alternative, now propoſed by the Directory, inſtead of the country which extends from the Oglio to the Turkiſh frontier, he was called upon to accept, in Germany, a compenſation utterly inadequate, and which had already been offered to him, in addition, as the reward of his acquieſcing in the aſſumption of the Rhine, as a boundary, by France. In the other, he was to be contented with the biſhopric of Paſſau, as an equivalent for the rich provinces between the Oglio, the Adige, and the Po.

Though theſe conditions were liable to no ſmall objection, it is probable that it was the influence of Carnot that prevented them from being ſtill more objectionable. The renunciation of Venice was undoubtedly a conceſſion wrung by him from the majority of the Directors; they being, as we have before remarked, obſtinately bent upon keeping that city. While, indeed, he remained in the Directory, he never ceaſed to preſs his unwilling colleagues to conſummate the work of peace, and at this very period, which was not long before they carried into effect their plot of the 18th of Fructidor, he endeavoured to ſtimulate Buonaparte to haſten the deſired completion of the pending treaty. His letter was dextrouſly calculated to work upon the feelings of the perſon to whom it was addreſſed. Peace alone would, he told him, put an end to the calamities of their country; all eyes were fixed upon him; he held in his hands the fate of France; and by ſigning a treaty he would change the face of it, as if by enchantment. "Believe me, my dear general," ſaid he, "it is time to crown your military labours; make peace, there is only that kind of glory which you have now to acquire. Do not let us again make the exiſtence of the republic a problem; remember that it will always be ſo till we have a peace. Should you even be obliged to conclude it merely on the baſis of the preliminary treaty of Leoben, ſtill conclude it; it will ſtill be a ſplendid one: in fact, it will be ſo for the emperor too; but what matters? can the peace be a ſolid one if it be a burthenſome one to him? From the moment that the apple of diſcord, furniſhed by the Netherlands, is removed, does not the emperor, by his geographical poſition, become naturally and compulſorily our friend? Beſides will not his aggrandizement excite the jealouſy of his neighbours, of Ruſſia, the Turks, and the king of Pruſſia; and will not his new poſſeſſions occaſion him many embarraſſments, which will prevent him, for a long while, from turning his attention towards us."

Aug. 17th.

After having hinted at the meaſures of precaution which, in order to enſure the good faith of the Imperial cabinet, it would be neceſſary to take, the Director thus concluded his letter; evidently conveying delicate admonition through the medium of complimentary language. "It ſeems to me that this may eaſily be done; and then, my dear general, come to enjoy the benedictions of the whole French people, who wil call you their benefactor; come, and aſtoniſh the Pariſians by your moderation and philoſophy. A thouſand

ſand projects, each of them more abſurd than the other, are attributed to you; the world finds it difficult to believe that a man who has done ſuch great things can deſcend to live like a private citizen. For my part, I think that it is only Buonaparte become once more a private citizen, that can make general Buonaparte be ſeen in all his greatneſs."

What were at this period the projects of Buonaparte may be conjectured, but cannot be certainly known. That his ambitious mind at times meditated ſome ſchemes of perſonal advantage and glory, is highly probable; that ſuch were ſuggeſted to it, is rendered certain by exiſting proof. We may believe that he had more than one prompter; but the ſuggeſtions of one remain on record. Among his papers, which have lately come to light, he himſelf preſerved a curious and important letter, which, though anonymous, bears the ſtamp of no common intellect. The date of it is little poſterior to that of the epiſtle of Carnot. It is written with much art, much eloquence, and ſome ſtrength of reaſoning; appealing at once to his love of power and to his dread of diſgrace. Placing before him the alternative of a choice between eſteem and hatred, glory and ſhame, extenſive authority and a nothingneſs which would conduct him to the ſcaffold, and, laſtly, between the immortality of a great man and that of a puniſhed tool of a faction, the writer declares that Buonaparte muſt either return to France and live there a mere citizen, or march back to it with his army, and become the head of a party, or adopt a third meaſure, which, after having diſcuſſed the two others, his nameleſs adviſer explains.

The plan of living as a private citizen, ſo ſtrongly recommended by Carnot, this writer unheſitatingly aſſerts to be impracticable for the French general, and never to have ſucceeded except in the caſe of Sylla; a ſtrange inſinuation, implying that Buonaparte was even now acting in the character of a dictator. The reaſon which he aſſigns for believing this plan to be impracticable is, that thoſe who envy the general's renown, the factions of all deſcriptions, who would never forgive his refuſal to ſecond their ſchemes, and that claſs of men whom he had exaſperated by his victories, would all unite to overwhelm him, and to avenge themſelves by ſending him to the ſcaffold. "You have," ſays his monitor, "undertaken a career which is the more difficult becauſe you muſt either run it entirely, or periſh ſhamefully if you once make a pauſe."

The ſecond courſe, that of returning hoſtilely to France, this unknown Mentor affects to conſider as too odious to be choſen by Buonaparte; yet, while he ſo treats it, his fears that it may be choſen are plainly viſible. With reſpect to the principles and wiſhes of the army of Italy, he ſpeaks in terms the meaning of which it is impoſſible to miſtake, and with a deciſiveneſs of tone which ſuppoſes a thorough knowledge of the facts that he aſſerts. "Buonaparte," ſays he, "will not ſully his glory by coming in contact with crime; he will not league himſelf

himſelf with thoſe who are ſtained by the blood of their fellow citizens and their relations, with man-eaters, and thus ſhare in their paſt and future iniquities: too long has France been rent by their hands; it begins to breathe. Far from diſturbing that riſing tranquillity, which it owes in part to yourſelf, you will, on the contrary, endeavour to conſolidate it. After having been the ſcourge of the enemies of France, will you enter your country to ſpread there civil war, and perhaps to find there the cloſe of your victories, diſgrace and death; for you will have to combat with Frenchmen, and Frenchmen armed by deſpair! No, general, you will not now ſecond the views of ſome generals and officers of your army, more deſirous of pillage and of power, than of liberty and equality, which in their mouths are nothing more than a pretext, and who, after having ſacked Italy, have an equally ardent longing to carry fire, ſword, and inſatiable love of plunder into their native land. Too well muſt you know and deſpiſe them. A man like you ought to terminate his career in a manner more worthy of his auſpicious outſet, and the means of doing ſo I will now point out to you."

Thoſe means conſiſted in forming Italy into an empire which might acquire a preponderating weight in the balance of Europe, hold the ſcales between Germany and France, and alternately lend its aid to that ſtate which might be in danger of being oppreſſed by the other. At the head of this new empire Buonaparte was to be placed; and it was conſidered as not one of the leaſt benefits which France would derive from this ſcheme, that he might retain in his pay a part of his preſent army, which France could not keep up without difficulty, and which was animated by ſuch a ſpirit that it could not return home without endangering the public tranquillity. Whoever was the writer, he was well acquainted with the feelings and prejudices of the man whom he counſelled; for, as a make weight to his arguments, he intimated that the propoſed plan would enable Buonaparte to become formidable by his maritime forces, and to contend with the Britiſh for the maſtery of the waves, or at leaſt to expel them entirely from the Mediterranean ſea.

Whether Buonaparte was of opinion that the time was not yet come when he could ſafely aſſume the ſovereignty of Italy, or whether he really was repugnant to taking a ſtep which might be conſidered as treaſon againſt his country, muſt remain a ſecret within his own boſom: that he choſe the path which was pointed out by Carnot is well known. At a ſubſequent period, when he ſuppoſed his taſk to be completed, he thus expreſſed himſelf. "I have, by my ſervices, merited the approbation of the government and of the people; I have received repeated marks of their eſteem; there now remains nothing more for me to do than to return to the crowd, to take up the ploughſhare of Cincinnatus, and to give an example of reſpect for the magiſtrates, and of averſion for a military domination, by which ſo many republics have been deſtroyed, and ſo many ſtates have been ruined."

Happy

Happy would it have been for the world, had the breaſt of Buonaparte been always inſpired by ſuch honourable feelings as he manifeſted on this occaſion. That, when he made theſe profeſſions, he was ſincere, may, perhaps, ſafely be granted. It was, even at that epoch of his life, not unaptly remarked with reſpect to him, that he ſeemed to be alternately under the guidance of a good and a bad genius; one day proving himſelf capable of noble thoughts and generous actions, the next, ſinking into the loweſt deep of barbarity and baſeneſs. While engaged in the negociation, to which we now return, he gave one ſtriking proof of an elevated mind. It was to the patronage of Carnot that general Clarke owed his appointment, as one of the plenipotentiaries; and when Carnot was driven from the Directory, Clarke was, of courſe involved in his fall, and immediately deprived of his honourable office. To prejudice Buonaparte againſt his diſmiſſed colleague, he was informed by the Directors, and by Augereau, who was then at Paris, that Clarke had been appointed to act merely as a ſpy upon his proceedings, that he had written ſeverely againſt him, and had, in his correſpondence, likewiſe ſtigmatized as robbers ſeveral of the generals of the army of Italy. Far, however, from burſting into paſſion, and ſeeking revenge, as it was probably ſuppoſed that he would, Buonaparte calmly replied, that throughout the negociation his coadjutor had always acted with zeal and uprightneſs; that he appeared to be a ſincere republican; that to ruin him becauſe he was the friend of Carnot would be the height of injuſtice; that he himſelf, if Clarke had been a ſpy on him, was the only perſon who had a right to be offended, and that he forgave him; that the general had but performed his duty in communicating his opinion to the government; and that it was not conſiſtent with the dignity of the republic to allow him to ſink into miſery, and be proſcribed and diſgraced. "He is reproached," ſaid Buonaparte, "with having written what he thought of the generals of the army of Italy. How long has it been conſidered to be a juſt ground of accuſation againſt an agent of the government, that he makes known to it what he thinks of the generals whoſe conduct he has an opportunity of obſerving? It is ſaid that he has written much ill of me. If this be true, he muſt have written it, as well as the reſt, to the government. He had conſequently a right to do it; it might even be neceſſary, and I do not conceive that it ought to be looked upon as a reaſon for his proſcription." He concluded by requeſting that the general might be employed on ſome embaſſy; nor did he ſuffer him to depart till the momentous buſineſs, in which they had been jointly occupied, was brought to a concluſion.

During the month of Auguſt the negociation was at a ſtand. The time was ſpent in fruitleſs diſcuſſions, and in diſpatching meſſengers to the French and Auſtrian cabinets. At the commencement of September the plenipotentiaries were again actively employed. Far from yielding to the wiſhes of France with reſpect to abandoning Italy,

Italy, Auſtria raiſed her demands in that quarter, and would hear of indemnity in that quarter alone. In addition to what ſhe had formerly claimed, ſhe now called for the ceſſion of the legations of Romagna and Ferrara. This claim was, of courſe, conſidered as being utterly inadmiſſible by the French negotiators; who, however, finding that it was a hopeleſs taſk to attempt to exclude the emperor from Italy, made a reluctant offer of the Venetian territory as far as the Adige, including the capital; on condition that the Rhine ſhould be the boundary of France.

Such was the ſituation of affairs when general Meerveldt ſet out to Vienna, for the purpoſe, as the marquis de Gallo informed Buonaparte, of "deciding that court to give a prompt and categorical anſwer, and to overthrow the miniſter Thugut, or compel him, in ſpite of himſelf, to conclude a peace." There was, as we have before ſtated, a peace faction at Vienna, and it would ſeem that the empreſs was at its head; for the French general was likewiſe aſſured by the marquis, that "he had written to the empreſs on this ſubject, and had arranged their little court intrigue to ſecure their object."

Sept. 13.

Their object, however, was not ſo eaſily to be attained. Inſtead of aſſenting to the republican propoſition, the Auſtrian cabinet renewed a demand which, in a ſomewhat different form, had already been rejected, as being of an offenſive kind. It was, that the congreſs of Raſtadt ſhould meet immediately, and that the negotiations there ſhould proceed in concert with thoſe at Udine. Conſidering this as a ſnare, deſigned to entrap the French republic, and place it in a delicate ſituation with ſome of the German princes, Buonaparte burſt into one of thoſe fits of paſſion, which ſometimes were real, and ſometimes ſimulated to anſwer a purpoſe. His language is remarkable, but leſs remarkable than the patience of the Auſtrian envoys in not putting an end to the conference as ſoon as ſuch language was addreſſed to them. He told them that the Directory was indignant at the ridiculous underhand dealings of the cabinet of Vienna; that it was quite time for them to remember that this peace had been granted by the victor to the vanquiſhed, and that, though they had found at Leoben a refuge in French moderation, it was now proper to remind them of the humble and ſuppliant poſture in which they then appeared; that thenceforth not only their adopting a tone of ſuperiority was ludicrous, but even a tone of equality was unbecoming; and he wound up his decorous harangue by warning them to beware that Europe did not witneſs the ſpectacle of a republic of Vienna. To this inſulting ſpeech the Auſtrian negociators might have replied by a denial of its truth; and they might have juſtified their denial, by merely ſhewing that, if what he ſaid were true, he had been guilty of ſomething little ſhort of treaſon to his country, in granting ſuch favourable terms as the preliminaries of Leoben. They did not, however, do this: on the contrary, either from policy or fear, they conſented to deſiſt from their demand of a congreſs.

Sept. 19.

In

In manifeſting this haughty contempt of his imperial majeſty, Buonaparte was only acting, by anticipation, on the new ſyſtem of the Directory. No ſooner did that body think itſelf to be firm in the ſeat of power, after the triumph of the eighteenth of Fructidor, than it adopted an arrogance of manner, with reſpect to Auſtria, which plainly gave token that it was at leaſt indifferent to the concluſion of a treaty. In its diſpatches to Buonaparte, expreſſions of crimination and hatred were laviſhed upon the Auſtrian government, which was charged with perfidy, intrigue, ambition, and other irremiſſible crimes. But it was on M. Thugut, the imperial miniſter, that the Directory diſcharged the keeneſt ſhafts of its reſentment; and, in order to terrify him into ſubmiſſion, Buonaparte was directed to throw out hints, that proofs of his having formerly betrayed his maſter, and of his ſtill betraying him, were in the hands of the French rulers, and would be made public if he perſiſted in his oppoſition to France. Schemes were at the ſame time formed, for exciting inſurrection in Hungary; and the whole of Italy was to be revolutionized, that the houſe of Auſtria might loſe all hope of again ſetting foot in that country. In this ſweeping plan of revolution, no exception was made of neutral or of friendly ſtates: all were to be involved in one common fate. It was on one condition alone, that the French rulers would conſent to a peace; namely, that the emperor ſhould abandon all his pretenſions on Italy, and accept Iſtria and Dalmatia, Saltzburgh and Paſſau, for the territory which he had loſt. This, the Directory ſaid, was its ultimatum, and rather than change one word of that ultimatum, it would prefer being expelled from Italy by the chance of war. It, however, flattered itſelf that its arms would be triumphant: and it partly grounded its hopes on the circumſtance of its being then negociating with Ruſſia for a peace, and with Pruſſia for a treaty of offenſive and defenſive alliance: "ſo that," ſaid in an exulting tone the miniſter for foreign affairs, "the emperor is on the eve of having a friend leſs and an enemy more." It is manifeſt that M. Talleyrand, who at that period was the miniſter, was not bleſſed with the gift of prophecy.

The publiſhed addreſſes of the Directory and its agents were in the ſame hoſtile ſpirit. On the twentieth of September, the Directory put forth to its armies a proclamation, calling on them to be ready to march on the ſixth of the following month. This paper was made up of the cuſtomary abuſe of England, bitter accuſations of treachery and treaſon againſt Carnot, Barthelemi, and the baniſhed members of the two councils, much affectation of philanthropic feelings, vague proteſtations of a love of peace, and heavy reproach of the emperor, who was charged with "acting in contradiction to the wiſh of his ſtates, and of his own heart, refuſing to ſatisfy the want of peace which was felt by his people, and giving himſelf up wholly to preparations for war." Similar and even ſtronger language was held by general Augereau, who, on the death of Hoche, was placed at the

head

head of the armies of the Sambre and Meuſe and the Rhine, which were now united, under the menacing denomination of the army of Germany. His addreſs to his ſoldiers, on his aſſuming the command, was compoſed of common-place remarks, in an inflated ſtyle, mingled with threats againſt Auſtria, and ſcorn of its armies. "If our enemy continue obſtinate, ſaid he, in concluſion, "if rejecting the pacific offers of our government, he ſtill wiſh for blood, let him be gratified. It is only becauſe we were generous, that he exacts ſo much; let us once more become terrible, and let it at a future day be aſked, if the people of Vienna ever had maſters."

As a preliminary meaſure to hoſtilities, and perhaps alſo to ſhew that the country on the left of the Rhine was irrevocably ſeparated from the German empire, an entire change was effected in the mode of governing the eccleſiaſtical electorates. The ſenate of Cologne, and the regencies and magiſtracies, which had inexpiably ſinned by oppoſing with ſpirit the revolutionary proceedings of the French, were depoſed, and in their ſtead municipalities were eſtabliſhed, which took an oath "to obey the laws of the French republic, to execute faithfully all orders which ſhould be ſent to them in its name, and to raiſe no obſtacles to the propagation of the principles of civiſm and liberty." The friends of republicaniſm, who had long been at work, but who nevertheleſs, formed a ſmall minority, were next incited to a deciſive manifeſtation of their ſentiments and views. This was no doubt intended as the commencement of a German revolution. Though reſiſted in many parts by the people, they opened clubs, planted trees of liberty at Cologne, Coblentz, and other cities, and at length decreed the formation of a republic, under the title of the Cis-Rhenane. This mock republic, however, after having anſwered the purpoſe of thoſe by whom its creation had been promoted, was ſpeedily reduced to its original nothingneſs.

To give weight to its haughty language, the Directory exerted itſelf to collect the means for a vigorous proſecution of hoſtilities. The army in Germany was reinforced, and meaſures were alſo adopted to add ſtill further to its ſtrength. That army had, within the period of five months, drawn more than three millions of livres, in contributions, from the haraſſed and impoveriſhed natives of the country which it occupied. It now expected every day to be ſummoned to the field, and, as ſoon as Augereau joined it, the din of warlike preparation was heard, in every quarter, on the banks of the Lahn and the Rhine. In Italy, Buonaparte inceſſantly called for reinforcements; ſome, though ſcanty, he received, and more were promiſed to be ſent him with all practicable ſpeed. Genoa was expected to ſupply a ſmall portion, and the Ciſalpine republic was looked to for aſſiſtance of greater magnitude. The policy of concluding an offenſive and defenſive alliance with the king of Sardinia, the treaty ſtipulating which had for ſeveral months waited only to be ratified, was repeatedly and forcibly inſiſted on by Buonaparte; but, ſo bent was the Directory on executing its revolutionary

lutionary ſchemes, that it manifeſted the utmoſt repugnance to accede to his wiſhes. His approaching downfal would, it ſaid, be the probable conſequence of what was doing in Italy; and it began to feel a virtuous dread of being accuſed of Machiaveliſm, in caſe of his ruin occurring after it had allied itſelf with him. It urged, beſides, that the article of the treaty upon which that monarch ſet the moſt value, was that which guaranteed the ſafety of his kingdom; and that the Directory couldnot give to ſovereigns a guarantee againſt their people, as ſuch an engagement would place the republic in the ſituation of fighting againſt thoſe principles for which it had till then fought, and to which it was indebted for moſt of its victories. If the French general wiſhed to obtain Piedmonteſe troops, it was ſuggeſted to him that they might be invited, enrolled, equipped and paid, by the Ciſalpine republic; a meaſure which would, doubtleſs, not be objected to by his Sardinian majeſty, as it would rid him of men who were his determined foes. Buonaparte did not yield to this reaſoning; and at length the Directory, finding that it had need of every reſource, gave, but too late, a tardy and ſullen aſſent to a treaty, by which he was to be furniſhed with ten thouſand men. He, meanwhile, was actively engaged in making preparations to commence the campaign. Palma-Novo, Oſopo, and other places, were ſtrongly fortified, bridges, covered by entrenchments, were thrown over the Iſonzo, and all things were ordered to be in readineſs for the troops to march at the earlieſt moment. Among the firſt efforts which he intended to make, was an attempt to recover Iſtria and Dalmatia, which he deſigned to invade by means of the Venetian fleet; and, that the Venetians might the more cheerfully ſecond him, he did not heſitate to aſſure them that no conſent had been given, by the French republic, to his Imperial Majeſty's occupation of thoſe provinces.

The emperor was not leſs active than his adverſaries in preparing for the field, and was, perhaps, even more ſucceſsful. Well convinced of the ſoundneſs of the maxim, that he who wiſhes for peace muſt appear to be ready for war, he early began to encreaſe his armies, and to ſtation them in ſuch a manner as to be rapidly and advantageouſly brought into action, wherever their exertions might be moſt required. From Hungary, from Bohemia, from the moſt remote corners of his dominions, troops and recruits were continually arriving at Vienna, whence they were forwarded to their deſtination. The levies in maſs and the reſerves were organized; and, to encourage the inhabitants of the threatened provinces to take up arms, vaſt numbers of medals were diſtributed among them, commemorative of the loyalty which they had manifeſted previouſly to the ſigning of the preliminaries at Leoben. The defenſible poſts and towns were fortified; and, to provide againſt the worſt that might happen, new entrenchments were thrown up, for the purpoſe of covering the approaches to the capital. Towards the end of September, ſtill more activity was diſplayed, and the diviſions in Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola,

Carniola, received orders to move to the Italian frontier. Never, since the commencement of the war, had the Auſtrian armies been more numerous, animated with more ſpirit, or in a better condition than they now were.

So confident was the cabinet of Vienna in its ſtrength, that, notwithſtanding the menacing language and conduct of the French, it raiſed inſtead of lowering its tone. At the end of September, count Cobentzel was added to the number of the negotiators, and he was the bearer of demands well calculated to excite the anger of the individual with whom he was to treat. Thoſe demands extended to all the north of Italy as far as the Adda, the three legations, and the duchy of Modena. While, however, he made them, count Cobentzel allowed it to be perceived that the Auſtrian monarch was willing to be ſatisfied with leſs then he thought it proper to require.

Determined, as he afterwards confeſſed, to diminiſh his offers in proportion as the Auſtrian negotiators increaſed their claims, Buonaparte ſcarcely condeſcended to notice this new propoſition, otherwiſe than by coolly remarking that, as the Directory had acknowledged the miniſter of the Venetian republic, it was impoſſible, under any pretext or any circumſtances whatever, to permit the emperor even to poſſeſs himſelf of Venice. Struck with ſurpriſe by this declaration, count Cobentzel, after a long ſilence, replied, "if this is the way in which you always act, how can a negotiation be carried on with you?" It did indeed ſeem that all hopes of a favourable reſult were now at an end. Nevertheleſs, inſtead of the conferences being broken off, it was reſolved to continue the armiſtice for three weeks longer, and to make freſh efforts to bring about a peace.

This further delay was in direct oppoſition to the clearly expreſſed wiſhes of the Directory; that body, far from being anxious to ſpare the effuſion of blood, having declared its reſolution to appeal to arms, and having actually ſent orders to Augereau, on the Rhine, to annul the convention, by which it had been agreed, that fourteen days notice ſhould be given of the recommencement of hoſtilities. Buonaparte, however, more politic than his employers, was not inſenſible to the difficulties which he would have to encounter ſhould the war be renewed. In his diſpatches, he owned that the fate of the campaign entirely depended on his being able to begin offenſive operations before the enemy; he declared that it was abſurd to treat the Auſtrian armies with contempt, they being recruited, and better organized than ever; he warned the Directory of the imprudence of acting rather like the furious demagogues of a club than like ſtateſmen at the head of a great nation; he reminded them that the policy which was followed by the republic in 1793 was no longer practicable, the means of pouring ſuch immenſe numbers into the field, and the firſt burſt of enthuſiaſm, which could never be more than momentary, being now gone; he diſapproved of the project of revolutionizing Italy; and, in alluſion to ſome of the orders which he had received, he ſarcaſtically obſerved, that the things which he was deſired to perform were

were miracles, and that the talent of performing miracles was one which he did not pretend to poſſeſs.

Such being his ſentiments it was not difficult for the negotiators to come to a good underſtanding. At the moment, therefore, when, to outward appearance, mutual ſuſpicion and irritation had reached their utmoſt height, and when each party ſeemed on the point of drawing the ſword and throwing away the ſcabbard, at that moment the peace was brought to a favourable concluſion. The terms were agreed on by the tenth of October, but the treaty did not receive the ſignature of the plenipotentiaries till the ſeventeenth. Campo Formio, near Udine, was the place at which it was ſigned, and by the name of which it is uſually known.

When Buonaparte communicated to the Directory the intelligence that the treaty was about to be completed, and again when that was done, he thought it neceſſary to enter into an elaborate defence of his conduct. He urged that the ſeaſon was too far advanced to admit of his undertaking offenſive operations with the certainty of ſucceſs, the mountains being already covered with ſnow; that his army was too feeble, while, on the contrary, the majority of the emperor's forces was arrayed againſt him; that, ſuppoſing he had been victorious, he muſt have loſt a conſiderable part of his troops; that no help was to be expected from the Italians, whom he deſcribed as being a ſluggiſh-minded, ſuperſtitious, buffooniſh, cowardly people, who had no attachment to liberty and equality, and did not deſerve that forty thouſand Frenchmen ſhould be ſacrificed for them; that the refuſal to ratify the treaty with the king of Sardinia had deprived him of ten thouſand men; that the plan for the campaign was the worſt combined that could be imagined; that the French wiſhed for peace, a wiſh which was manifeſted even by the ſoldiery; and, laſtly, that, the negotiation at Liſle having failed, the republic would find that England was an enemy of ſufficient conſequence to require that ſhe ſhould be oppoſed by the moſt ſtrenuous exertions. "England," ſaid he, "was on the point of renewing the coalition. The war which, while the enemy was on our frontiers, was national and popular, ſeems now to be foreign to the people, and to be only the war of the government. According to the natural order of things, we muſt have finiſhed by ſuccumbing." Now, however, he flattered himſelf that England might be overcome, and that France would derive incalculable advantages from this deſirable event. "The Auſtrians," ſaid he, "are dull and avaracious; there is no people leſs intriguing, and leſs dangerous to our military affairs, than they are; the Engliſh, on the contrary, are generous, intriguing, enterpriſing. Our government muſt either deſtroy the Britiſh monarchy, or it muſt calculate upon being itſelf deſtroyed by the corruption and arts of thoſe active iſlanders. The preſent period offers us a favourable opportunity. Let us concentrate all our activity in the raiſing of a navy, and let us deſtroy England. That being done, Europe is at our feet."

The reaſons which Buonaparte aſſigned

assigned for concluding the treaty were, undoubtedly, of great weight; but it is probable that there was one reason, not divulged, which with him, had still greater weight. This was, his natural desire to consummate the work which he had begun, in order to prevent any other person from having a share in his glory. By some yet unexplained proceeding of the Directory, which he characterized as being a proof of "horrible ingratitude," he was, towards the end of September, so deeply disgusted, that he insisted upon resigning his command; and, though the Directory in the humblest tone apologized, deprecated his retiring, and loaded him with flattery, we may be justified in believing that his confidence in that body was not revived; and that he was determined not to run the risk of seeing another general reap laurels at the head of the army of Italy, or another negotiator enjoy the praise of having given the blessing of a continental peace to the people of France.

By the public treaty, which consisted of twenty-four articles *, the emperor relinquished to France the Austrian Low Countries, and ceded the Brisgau, in return for which he was to possess, in full sovereignty, Istria, Dalmatia, the mouths of the Cattaro, the city of Venice, and all that part of the Venetian republic comprehended between the Lake of Garda, the Adige, the White Canal, the Tartaro, the Polisella and the Po, to the sea coast, with a district of three thousand fathoms in extent, on the right bank of the Adige, round Porto Legnano. The Brisgau was to be given to the duke of Modena, to indemnify him for the loss of his dominions.

The Cisalpine republic, to which his Imperial Majesty gave up the Milanese and the Mantuan, was acknowledged as an independent power, and was stated to consist of the ceded territories, the duchy of Modena, the Venetian territories on the right of the Adige, the principality of Massa and Carrara, and the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna.

The other articles were occupied by stipulations of minor importance; such as the release of prisoners, the restoration of sequestrated property, the discontinuance of contributions, the security of mortgages, and the unimpeded removal of those individuals who did not chuse to live under the government of the newly established sovereign.

In these articles there is enough to call forth the bitterness of censure. These, however, were not the whole. There was another part of this mystery of iniquity, which was kept back from the public eye, till fresh disputes, between the emperor and the Directory, stimulated the latter, in revenge, to give it publicity. To the treaty were appended fourteen secret articles, equally disgraceful to his Imperial Majesty with those which were avowed. By the first and the tenth of these, he engaged to use his influence that the frontier of the French republic should be extended as far as the left bank of the Rhine, from Alsace, to the branching off of the Nethe, above Andernach, inclu-

* State Papers, p. * 425.

ding the head of the bridge of Manheim, and the town and fortreſs of Mentz; and he promiſed, within twenty days after the ratification of the treaty, to evacuate Mentz, Ehrenbreitſtein, Philipſburgh, Manheim, Konigſtein, Ulm, and Ingoldſtadt, and alſo the whole territory appertaining to the German empire between the Rhine and the boundaries of the hereditary ſtates. In caſe of the empire refuſing to conſent to this ceſſion, he bound himſelf to furniſh no more than his contingent, and not to ſuffer even that to be employed in any fortified place.

By the third article he renounced the ſovereignty of the country of Falkenſtein, but not gratuitouſly; as the fifth article ſtipulated that the French republic ſhould "exert its influence that he ſhould receive the archbiſhopric of Saltzburgh, and that portion of the circle of Bavaria which lies between the rivers Inn and Saltza, and the Tyrol, including alſo the town of Waſſerburgh on the right bank of the Inn, with a tract of country three thouſand fathoms in circuit." In another article, the ſixth, he conſented to give up, on the concluſion of a peace, the Frickthal, and all his territory on the left of the Rhine, between Zurzach and Baſil, to be united to the Helvetic republic, on condition of his receiving a ſuitable indemnification.

The ſeventh article gave room for the introduction of a boundleſs ſyſtem of robbery. It ſeems indeed to have been meant as the preliminary to the introducing of ſuch a ſyſtem. It declared that "when in the enſuing peace the French republic ſhall make an acquiſition in Germany, his Imperial Majeſty ſhall receive an equivalent; and if his Imperial Majeſty ſhall make ſuch an acquiſition, the French republic ſhall in like manner receive an equivalent." The acquiſitions here alluded to could be meant only on the right bank of the Rhine; the left bank being already ſurrendered to the French, at leaſt as far as it was in the power of the emperor ſo to do. By this article it is evident that the Auſtrian monarch ſanctioned any encroachment which the republicans might commit, provided he were admitted to be a ſharer in the plunder.

The only ſtipulations which bore the ſemblance of ſome reſpect for the rights of others, were the eighth and the twelfth, by which it was agreed that the Stadtholder, and the diſpoſſeſſed princes on the left of the Rhine, ſhould receive proportionable indemnities for the loſſes which they had ſuſtained.

Such was the treaty of Campo Formio, of which it is not too much to ſay, that no ſovereign ever ſet his hand to a more diſgraceful compact. It was, almoſt from beginning to end, a maſs of baſeneſs, barbarity, and injuſtice. The treacherous and concealed abandonment of the empire to the mercy of its enemy, by him who was officially its head and protector, and the readineſs, perhaps eagerneſs, to ſhare in its ſpoils, muſt be regarded as an act of an abſolutely traitorous kind. This, however, ſinks into inſignificance when compared with the profligate acceptance of the Venetian provinces. The republic of Venice had committed no crime againſt the Auſtrian monarch, unleſs its weakneſs in not reſiſting the demands of Buonaparte may be regarded as ſuch; it had refuſed

to

to receive an aggrandizement, which probably would, in part, have been at the expence of the emperor; its heavieſt guilt in the eyes of the French general was its preſumed bias to the Imperial cauſe; it had long been a ſafe and unoffending neighbour; it was in ſome degree conſecrated by its paſt glorious combats and triumphs; far from having any wiſh to come under the Auſtrian yoke, a vaſt majority of its ſubjects dreaded, and deprecated ſuch an event; yet, in ſpite of all theſe conſiderations, in ſpite of the laws of equity, and regardleſs of the wiſhes of the people, the emperor ſeized with avidity on the diſmembered Venetian ſtates, and declared himſelf their ſovereign with as much boldneſs as if he had received an undoubted warrant from Heaven to authorize his proceedings. Conduct like this, no more requires further comment than it admits of being juſtified on the principles of honour.

That France ſhould have excited the Venetians to inſurrection, that ſhe ſhould have lulled them with the hope of independence and a free government, that ſhe ſhould have deluded them by a ſimulated treaty, that, under pretence of being their friend, ſhe ſhould have impoveriſhed them by requiſitions, ſtripped their arſenals, ſeized their veſſels, and occupied their iſlands, and that ſhe ſhould have finiſhed by fixing on them the yoke of a deſpotic ſovereign, will not excite ſurpriſe in any one who has attentively ſurveyed her general conduct, and conſequently ſeen, as it is almoſt impoſſible not to ſee, that when her intereſt was believed to be concerned, no feeling of generoſity or of equity was ever ſuffered for a moment to impede her progreſs. Every part of her conduct has at leaſt the merit, ſuch as it is, of being perfectly conſiſtent.

The ruin of Venice was, as we have ſeen, conſummated; to inſult her in her fallen ſtate, was all that her enemies could now do; and that was done. Villetard, the French agent, who had aſſiſted in bringing about the revolution of Venice, having humbly remonſtrated with Buonaparte, on the betraying of the Venetians into the hands of Auſtria, the French general replied in a ſtrain of the bittereſt invective and abuſe. His language is, in every reſpect, ſo extraordinary, that it deſerves to be literally recorded. "The French republic," ſaid this profound caſuiſt and moraliſt, "is not tied to the municipality of Venice by any treaty which obliges us to ſacrifice our intereſt and advantage to that of the committee of Public Safety, or of any other individual of Venice. Never has the French republic adopted it as a maxim to make war for the people of other countries. I ſhould like to know what principle of philoſophy or morals it is that calls upon us to ſacrifice forty thouſand Frenchmen, contrary to the clearly expreſſed will of the nation, and the obvious intereſts of the republic. I am well aware that it coſts nothing to a handful of babblers, whom I deſcribe correctly, when I call them madmen, to be deſirous of an univerſal republic. I ſhould like to ſee theſe gentleman making a winter campaign. Beſides, the Venetian nation did not exiſt. Divided

into as many intereſts as there are cities, effeminate and corrupted, equally cowardly and hypocritical, the people of Italy, and eſpecially the Venetian people, are not made for liberty. If the latter people were competent to appreciate it, and had the virtues neceſſary to acquire it, the preſent circumſtances afford them a highly favourable opportunity: let them defend their liberty. They have not had the courage to conquer it, even from a few contemptible oligarchs."

After having proceeded in this decorous ſtyle for ſome time, he added, "beſides the French republic cannot give, as ſome may imagine, the ſtates of Venice. Not that, in point of fact, thoſe ſtates do not belong to France by right of conqueſt, but becauſe it is not according to the principles of the government to give away any people. When the time comes for the French army to evacuate this part of Italy, the various governments will be the maſters to take whatever ſteps they may think moſt likely to benefit their country." He wound up this philippic by repeating againſt its objects the charge of cowardice, and by declaring that he was not in want of them; and the ſole conſolation which he deſigned to offer to his victims was that ſuch of them as choſe to ſell their property, and follow the French army, would have the chance of being acknowledged as citizens of the Ciſalpine republic. The cruel mockery of telling the Venetians that they were at liberty to reſiſt, unaided, the gigantic power of Auſtria, ſtands in need of no remark to render it obvious; but it ſufficiently explains the fact, which we have already noticed, of the republic having poſitively refuſed to guarantee the poſſeſſions which were to be acquired in Italy by the Auſtrian monarch. Such a guarantee would have extinguiſhed the hopes of the diſcontented, and would thus have deprived France of a perpetual pretext for interference, and of her anticipated allies.

The ratifications of the treaty of Campo Formio were regularly exchanged at Raſtadt on the laſt day of November. On the following day, Buonaparte and the Auſtrian negotiators ſigned a convention, which ſettled the mode of carrying the treaty into effect. The troops of the emperor were to evacuate the territory of the empire by the twenty-fifth of December, and retire behind the Inn, while at the ſame period his contingent fell back behind the Lech. On the twentieth he was to evacuate Manheim, Philipſburgh, Ehrenbreitſtein, Ulm, Ingoldſtadt, and Wurtzburgh, which were to be reſtored to their reſpective ſovereigns. The Auſtrian garriſon was to be removed from Mentz in time to allow the French to take poſſeſſion of the fortreſs on the thirteenth of the month. In return for this, the French and Ciſalpine troops were, by the ſame day, to deliver up to the Auſtrians the fortreſſes and the whole of the Venetian provinces, as far as the courſe of the Adige and the Po.

On the ſide of the emperor this convention was punctually complied with; the fortreſſes were quitted by his garriſons; and Mentz was entered by the French at the day ſpecified. The Directory, however, did not ſo readily perform

form its part. The order, for the French army to give up the ceded provinces, was delayed in ſuch an unaccountable manner, that general Berthier, whom Buonaparte had left in command for the purpoſe of executing the treaty, and who was daily preſſed and wearied with remonſtrances by the Auſtrian general, knew not what excuſe to offer, and became ſo diſguſted with his ſituation that he earneſtly beſought to be removed from it as ſpeedily as poſſible. It was not till count Cobentzel had complained of and reprobated, in very ſtrong terms, this breach of faith, that the order was at length reluctantly iſſued for the republican army to reſign that portion of the Venetian ſtates which was allotted to the emperor. The Imperialiſts entered Venice on the eighteenth of January, 1798, and from that moment the Venetian republic ceaſed to have even the ſemblance of exiſtence. Independence, power, dignity, every thing, was loſt to the Venetians, except the remembrance of their former glories; a remembrance which could only ſerve to encreaſe and embitter the already bitter feelings which could not fail to ariſe from contemplating the humiliation and ſlavery to which they were then reduced.

CHAP. XXI.

Proceedings at Genoa. Subſerviency of the Genoeſe Rulers to the French. Cauſes of it, ariſing from Hatred of the Sardinian and Auſtrian Monarchs, and from pecuniary and mercantile Connexion with France. Inſult offered to Captain Inglefield by the French, in the Port of Genoa. Capture of the Modeſte by the Engliſh. Rage of the Convention. Remonſtrances of the Britiſh Envoy at Genoa not regarded. The French enter the Genoeſe Territory, for the Purpoſe of ſeizing Oneglia. Falſehood of the French Proclamation. French Proteſtations of Friendſhip to the Genoeſe, and Machinations at Genoa. General de Vins apprizes the Genoeſe Government of his Intention to enter the Territory of Genoa. Diſſatisfaction expreſſed by the Genoeſe. Angry Correſpondence between General de Vins and the Genoeſe Rulers. Partiality of the latter. Complaints made by them againſt Nelſon, who then commanded the Britiſh Ships on their Coaſt. His Vindication of his Conduct. He proves their Charges to be without Foundation. A French Seaman killed in an Attempt of two Privateers to violate the Genoeſe Edicts. Inſolent Note of the French Envoy. Submiſſion of the Genoeſe Government. Remonſtrance of the Britiſh Envoy. Untruths aſſerted, in Anſwer, by the Genoeſe. Conduct of the French in the Genoeſe Territory. The French Directory reſolves to overturn the Genoeſe Government. Salicetti demands the Garriſoning of Savona, and a Loan of thirty Millions of Livres. The Genoeſe are deterred from yielding by the Menaces of the allied Powers. Vengeance taken by the French. Scheme of the French for ſeizing Genoa. It is fruſtrated. Diſſatisfaction of Buonaparte with it. Deſigns of the Directory againſt Genoa. Speech of M. Faypoult to the Genoeſe Government.

ment. Inſtructions of the Directory to Buonaparte, with Reſpect to Genoa. Harſh Meaſures againſt the Genoeſe. Buonaparte begins a Quarrel with the Government. Demands made by him and M. Faypoult. Satisfaction given to the French. Nelſon vindicates his Conduct. Attempt to ſend Count Girola from Genoa. Proclamation iſſued by the Government to exculpate the French. Reaſon aſſigned by Buonaparte for the Genoeſe diſliking the French. Plan of Attack upon Genoa. It is ſuſpended. Artful Conduct of Buonaparte. Plan reſumed and again ſuſpended. Reaſons for ſuſpending it. Unjuſt Conduct of the Genoeſe to the Britiſh. Diſpute reſpecting the Seizure of a Tartan. Nelſon's Ship is fired at by the Genoeſe. Baſeneſs of the French. The Genoeſe Ports are ſhut againſt the Engliſh. Capraja ſeized by the Engliſh. A Convention concluded at Paris, with the Directory, by the Genoeſe Envoy. The Terms of it are highly diſadvantageous to the Genoeſe. Protection afforded by it to Conſpirators. Diſſatisfaction occaſioned by no Guarantee being given to the Genoeſe Territory. Buonaparte offers a Part of that Territory to the King of Sardinia, ſubſequently to the ſigning of the Convention. The Revolutioniſts begin to act with the utmoſt Audacity. Formation of Clubs. Entertainment given to Madame Buonaparte by the Revolutionary Party. Conſequent Breach of the Law. Cauſes which delayed for a while the Fall of Genoa. Language of Buonaparte. Conference of the Deputies of the Senate with M. Faypoult. Haughty Language of M. Faypoult. The Inſurrection againſt the Government breaks out. Weakneſs of the Government. The Revolters are defeated by the People. The Peaſants rally round the Government. Demands of Buonaparte. Approach of a Diviſion of the Army of Italy. It encamps in the Valley of Polcevera. Eſtabliſhment of a Proviſional Government. A Conſtitution prepared and accepted. Name of the Republic changed to the Ligurian Republic.

IN the preſent chapter we ſhall bring to a cloſe the narrative of the changes, which, during this year were made in Italy by French violence and intrigue. Once the rival of Venice in commerce, riches, arms, and fame, and reſembling that republic in the ſlow and continual decline of all theſe; Genoa was now deſtined to furniſh another ſtriking point of ſimilarity to Venice, in the ſubverſion of her ancient government, at the ſame period, and by the ſame hands; though, more fortunate in one reſpect than Venice, ſhe was not yet obliterated from the liſt of ſtates, and, in contempt of the voice of the people, her territory relentleſsly aſſigned to the ſway of a foreign deſpot. That conſummation of her wrongs was reſerved for later times, and to be committed, firſt by the general ſpoiler of Europe, and laſtly, and perhaps even more baſely, by potentates ſome of whom had themſelves been enſlaved, and who bore inſcribed upon their banners, as their rallying words, the liberation of Europe.

If weakneſs and ſubſerviency could preſerve a ſtate from the graſp of an ambitious and powerful

ful neighbour, Genoa might, with even more reaſon than Venice, have hoped that ſhe would be ſpared by France. When the Venetian rulers ſubmitted to the demands and inſolence of the French, they yielded only to that which they were induced, however erroneouſly, to conſider as the dominion of a ſtern neceſſity. It was not ſo with the Genoeſe. Their ſubmiſſion had in it more of the nature of a free-will offering. This, as we have ſhown in a former chapter, was explicitly declared by Buonaparte himſelf. Various cauſes, indeed, conſpired to give them a leaning to the ſide of France. Among theſe were old prejudices and antipathies, and preſent feelings and intereſts. The King of Sardinia was looked upon, perhaps not quite unjuſtly, as a dangerous neighbour; he had long-ſtanding pretenſions to ſome parts, and, in fact, if puſhed to the fulleſt extent, to the whole of their territory, and it was believed that he would not be averſe from enforcing them, whenever an opportunity ſhould occur. To aſſiſt in embarraſſing him might be conſidered as a ſtroke of policy. Nor was the Auſtrian Monarch regarded with a more favourable eye. Though nearly half a century had elapſed ſince thoſe events took place, neither the conduct of Maria Thereſa, with reſpect to the marquiſate of Finale, nor the ſubſequent inſufferable tyranny exerciſed by the German troops in the city of Genoa, nor the gallant expulſion of thoſe troops by the perſecuted and indignant citizens, was yet forgotten by the government or the people. Under ſuch circumſtances, it was not unnatural, that the Genoeſe ſhould rather wiſh the ſucceſs of their ancient allies and protectors the French, than of their ancient enemies and oppreſſors, the Germans. But, in addition to theſe motives, there were others, which aroſe out of the ſituation of affairs, and which, with ſome minds, were likely to poſſeſs a ſtill more preponderating influence. The Genoeſe were deeply intereſted in the French funds; they being holders of property in them to a vaſt extent. Neither was this the only tie of intereſt by which they were bound to France. Many of them had acquired national property, or had engaged in other pecuniary ſpeculations; and many more of them had been enriched by the commerce which was thrown into their hands, in conſequence of the war. They had in truth become the medium of ſupply to the republican armies in the ſouth, and the carriers of the French for the whole of the departments on the Mediterranean coaſt; a lucrative branch of trade, the very exiſtence of which depended on their continuing in amity with France. Their rulers had, therefore, the ſtrongeſt reaſons for conciliating thoſe of the French, and they earneſtly endeavoured to accompliſh this purpoſe. What was the reward of their exertions will ſoon be related.

From the commencement of the war, the partiality of the Genoeſe to the French was, indeed, ſo flagrant, that it frequently drew forth remonſtrances from the envoys of the combined powers, and particularly from the Britiſh envoy. Theſe remonſtrances were, however, of no avail. Even in the port of Genoa,

Genoa, the French carried their inſolence to the higheſt pitch. In the ſummer of 1793, re-
1793. gardleſs of the profeſſed neutrality of the Genoeſe government, two French frigates, which were lying in the harbour, groſsly inſulted an Engliſh frigate, commanded by captain Inglefield. They hauled along ſide of him, entangled their yards with his, and left nothing untried that could irritate the feelings of captain Inglefield, and provoke him to hoſtility. In this ſituation of affairs, he diſpatched an expreſs to lord Hood, by whom the Alcide and two frigates were immediately diſpatched to ſet him free.

This ſhameful inſult was ſoon after puniſhed as it deſerved; the Modeſte republican frigate, and two Tartans, being boarded, and carried off from the port, by the Britiſh ſquadron. This juſt retaliation excited loud clamours from the Conventional government, and was ſubſequently adduced as one of the pretexts for paſſing the ſanguinary and infamous decree, by which quarter was forbidden to be granted to Britiſh and Hanoverian ſoldiers. But, while the Convention laviſhed its execrations and threats upon this country, it declared that no blame attached to the Genoeſe, in conſequence of this event. This declaration, made perhaps as an act of juſtice, was no leſs an act of policy. At this moment, the Genoeſe were ſupplying the French with corn, and covering French property, by means of neutral papers, to ſuch an extent, that Nelſon, who was then in the Mediterranean, aſſerted it to be a farce for the Britiſh ſhips to remain on that ſtation, unleſs a ſtop were put to this mode of proceeding. It was in vain that the Engliſh envoy addreſſed the ſenate on the ſubject, and on the repeated inſults offered to the Britiſh flag, by the republicans, on the coaſt and in the ports of Genoa. Inſtead of remedying the evils which were complained of, the government adopted meaſures of defence, and no alternative was left for bringing it to reaſon but that of declaring the port of Genoa to be in a ſtate of blockade. It is, therefore, not wonderful that the conduct of the Genoeſe ſhould have been the conſtant theme of praiſe in the republican journals.

The neutrality of the Genoeſe territory had as yet remained unviolated, by land. In 1794, however, that territory was made the theatre of war by the French, primarily for the purpoſe of wreſting Oneglia from the king of Sardinia, but with the more important ulterior view of opening an eaſier paſſage into the heart of
Italy than by the valley 1794.
of the Stura. Permiſſion for the French to croſs the weſtern diſtrict of the Genoeſe ſtates was formally aſked of the Senate, by which body a faint or feigned denial was returned, on the ground that the ſame favour would probably be required by the Auſtrian general. The republicans, either knew that the refuſal which had been given was merely intended to ſave appearances, or were reſolved that nothing ſhould be ſuffered to ſtand in the way when their intereſt was concerned; and they accordingly perſevered in their original plan. Nevertheleſs, to give ſome colour of right to their invaſion, and likewiſe to win over the people,

by

by an affectation of being their protectors, the Conventional commiſſioners iſſued a proclamation, in which they affirmed that, their government having diſcovered the deſign of the combined powers to ſeize the Genoeſe ſtates, and give them to the king of Sardinia, in order that they might more eaſily penetrate into the French territory, France was compelled, for her own ſafety, to march her army into a part of the Genoeſe ſtates. Not a ſhadow of proof was, however, offered that ſuch a deſign had ever exiſted. After a violent invective againſt the Engliſh, the commiſſioners added that "the law of the moſt exact neutrality ſhould be religiouſly obſerved by the French, and that the preſence of the republican troops ought not to alarm the Genoeſe, as the French were the friends of the people, and the Genoeſe would find in each of them a ſincere and ardent friend." The ſame ſeductive language was alſo held verbally; the commiſſioners proteſting that the French would guarantee the ſtates of Genoa againſt all invaſion, and were ready to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in its defence. Notwithſtanding theſe warm proteſtations, it is ſaid that, during the whole period of his reſidence in the capital, Tilly, the French envoy, was actively employed in ſpreading revolutionary principles, and endeavouring to bring about a change in the form of the government.

This ſyſtematic partiality of the Genoeſe for the French was continued in the following year. As the republicans were pre-
1795. paring to attack Piedmont and Lombardy through the ſtates of Genoa, the baron de Vins, who had aſſumed the command of the Auſtrian army, reſolved to fruſtrate their ſcheme, by becoming himſelf the aſſailant, and, if poſſible, expelling them from the Genoeſe territory. Previouſly to his putting his forces in motion, he communicated his intention to the government of Genoa; requeſting, at the ſame time, that the imperial troops might be ſupplied with proviſions, as the French were, and promiſing to obſerve the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and, in caſe any exceſs ſhould be committed, pledging his honour to give immediate ſatisfaction and indemnity to the fulleſt extent.

The government had ſuffered with much patience the violation of its neutrality by the French, but it was not diſpoſed to tolerate ſuch a meaſure in the Auſtrians. It replied, that it had been unable to prevent the entrance of the French, that it had proteſted againſt their entrance, and that it could not give its aſſent to the plan of general de Vins, "more eſpecially, becauſe the object of the Auſtrian army being to drive the French from the Genoeſe territory, the latter would inevitably be rendered the theatre of war." It, therefore, called on him to relinquiſh his project; and informed him that a meſſenger had been diſpatched to Vienna, to remonſtrate on this ſubject with the imperial cabinet. According to the logic of the Genoeſe rulers, it appears that the French were to ſin with impunity; that they were to be permitted to convert the ſtate of Genoa into a place of arms, where they might mature their plans, and collect their reſources, for overruning Italy, but that they were

were on no account to be disturbed there, because an attempt to expel them would expose that state to be, what it was, in fact, already become, a theatre of war. This reasoning was not fortunate enough to convince de Vins, and he therefore persisted in his intention.

The consequences arising from the movements of the Austrian general, soon produced fresh complaints from the Genoese government. The interruption and examination of all correspondence, the suspension of commerce, and the rigour with which supplies were cut off from the western part of the Riviera, were the principal grievances which were alleged. De Vins angrily replied, that the ground which he occupied had been won from the French at the expense of the blood of the Austrian troops, that the Genoese had taken no pains to preserve their neutrality, and that he would, therefore, in a military point of view, consider the whole country, to the westward of Borghetto, as if it were a French province. The Genoese republic, which had acted in such a manner towards the Austrian army as would have justified his treating it hostilely, ought, he said, to be grateful to his imperial majesty, for having left it the rights of sovereignty over a territory which it had resigned to the enemy. In proof of the partiality of the Genoese rulers, he stated that individuals had been arrested merely for having, from curiosity, visited his camp at Dego, and that the defeated French, with arms in their hands, had been sheltered in the covered way of Genoa, while the imperialists were fired upon from the ramparts as soon as they approached. Notwithstanding all this, he had, he said, maintained the strictest discipline, and had paid for every thing with ready money. The carrying on of commerce, and the transport of provisions, he, however, positively refused to allow; as to grant those points would, he urged, be furnishing the French with the means of retaining their positions in the Genoese dominions, from which they would otherwise, by the want of subsistence, be compelled to retire. The stopping of couriers and opening of letters was, he affirmed, a necessary precaution for the safety of his army, to the adoption of which he was compelled by the senseless and violent designs of some persons of Genoa, who wished the people to take up arms against the imperial forces. This allusion was to a plan, concerted between the French and their partisans in Genoa, for the purpose of exciting several thousands of the peasantry of the valleys to join the republicans in an attack upon the Austrian army; a plan which was fortunately discovered in time to prevent it from being carried into effect.

The government replied; but its reply was not of a satisfactory nature. It pleaded that it had been unable to prevent the entrance of the Conventional troops, a plea which probably was true; but it forgot that the Sardinian and Austrian monarchs were not called upon, by any law or duty, to be tame sufferers from the weakness of the Genoese and the injustice of the French. The shelter afforded to the routed republicans was not denied, and the arrest of individuals, whom curiosity had led to the

Austrian

Auſtrian camp, was attempted to be excuſed by the moſt offenſive of all reaſons, that of fearing to give to the enemy a cauſe of complaint. The ſchemes of inſurrection formed by Genoeſe ſubjects were lightly paſſed over, as being merely that kind of indiſcreet talk which, in a free country, would be heard alike from both parties, and which ought not to be made againſt the government a topic of reproach. This ſpecies of defence was calculated to provoke at once reſentful and ludicrous feelings; it being notorious that the Geneoſe ſtate had no claim to be called a free country; that no plans of inſurrection had been meditated by the Auſtrians or their friends; and that the government would certainly have puniſhed any of its ſubjects who, to the prejudice of France, had dared to indulge in ſuch indiſcreet talk as that which was the ſubject of remonſtrance from the Auſtrian commander.

Againſt the Britiſh the murmurs of the Genoeſe were ſtill louder than againſt the Auſtrians, and, if poſſible, with ſtill leſs juſtice. Nelſon, who was then watching the coaſt, was particularly obnoxious to them, from his inceſſant activity in haraſſing the French; though, as far as circumſtances would permit, he carefully avoided to take any ſtep which could be productive of injury to the Genoeſe. As, however, the republicans had taken poſſeſſion of, and converted into a ſource of annoyance the whole of the coaſt from Nice to Genoa, and as not a day paſſed that they were not guilty of ſome groſs violation of neutrality, it was impoſſible for a man like him to endure their inſolence, without now and then inflicting on them an exemplary chaſtiſement. Whenever he puniſhed or repreſſed their audacity, they raiſed a cry againſt him, which was ſlaviſhly echoed by the Genoeſe rulers, who did not ſcruple even to falſify facts, in order to give to his conduct an unfavourable appearance.

From their repeated accuſations and calumnies, Nelſon vindicated himſelf with temper and ability, and ſatisfied his ſuperior officers and his government that he had performed his duty, in a ſpirit of equity and even kindneſs towards the Genoeſe ſubjects. In anſwer to ſome cavils which had been raiſed, with reſpect to the ſtations of his cruizers, he wrote in the following terms, to the Britiſh envoy, Mr. Drake, on the ſixth of Auguſt. "The diſpoſition and acts of my cruiſers will ſoon prove inconteſtibly that Genoa is not blockaded, as all veſſels will arrive in perfect ſecurity which are not French, or laden with French produce. Cruiſers off Cape Corſe, or the ſtraits of Bonifaccio, would not ſtop the trade ſo well as where I have placed them; were I to remove thoſe ſhips on the Eſpecia ſide of the gulph, nothing could prevent the eſcape of the French ſquadron, and any convoy they might chooſe to carry with them. It ever has been cuſtomary to endeavour to intercept enemy's veſſels coming from neutral ports, and the cruiſers of Port Eſpecia are very little nearer Genoa than Leghorn, and are at the utmoſt extremity of the Genoeſe territory; for I have been moſt careful to give no offence to the Genoeſe territory, or flag. Were I to follow the example, which the Genoeſe allow

allow the French, of having ſome ſmall veſſels in the port of Genoa, that I have ſeen towed out of the port, and board veſſels coming in, and afterwards return into the Mole, there might then certainly be ſome reaſon to ſay, their neutral territory was inſulted; but the conduct of the Engliſh is very different. I take the liberty, Sir, of writing thus fully, which I hope you will excuſe, as it may help to furniſh you with ſtrong arguments, ſhould the Genoeſe government complain; and another cogent reaſon why Britiſh cruiſers are neceſſary, even on the coaſt and before the port of Genoa, is the neceſſity of protecting our own trade, and that of our allies, from the numerous French privateers, which cover the gulph every night from the ports of the republic."

Nelſon had no ſooner ſhown the fallacy of one charge, than he was called on to defend himſelf from another. A long ſeries of complaints againſt him was, towards the cloſe of the year, drawn up by the Genoeſe rulers, and tranſmitted to their envoy in England, to be laid before the Britiſh miniſtry. The reply of the gallant ſailor will ſhew the futility of thoſe complaints, the mildneſs which he diſplayed, and the ſhameful contempt of decorum which was exhibited by the French. "The firſt complaint," ſaid he, "is, the diſtreſs of the weſtern coaſt of the republic from want of proviſions: to this I anſwer, That the Genoeſe government having propoſed a plan for the ſupplying of their towns with proviſions, the ſame was arranged with his Majeſty's miniſter at Genoa, and acceded to by the Auſtrian general and myſelf, although thoſe towns were in poſſeſſion of the French troops; and the marquis does not even pretend to ſtate, that any veſſels furniſhed with the documents, arranged with his government, were moleſted or detained on their voyage.

"The next hoſtile act ſtated to have been committed, was on Auguſt 26, 1795, at Alaſſio, 'when the place was threatened with demolition and conflagration, a Genoeſe veſſel burnt, and another ſeized, together with ſome of the ſame flag, under cannon ſhot of the caſtle, having Genoeſe colours flying.' To this I beg leave to reply by facts. The French army occupied the town, to the number of two thouſand horſe and foot, having cannon mounted on different parts of it: a convoy of warlike ſtores arriving at this place for the French army, I anchored in the bay of Alaſſio and Langueglia, and took a French corvette, four other veſſels of war, and five or ſix French veſſels, laden with powder, ſhot, ſhells, and proviſions. It is true, that Genoeſe colours were flying on a caſtle in the town; but the French colours were laid over the wall, and the French troops, with their colours flying, were drawn up in the caſtle, in front of the caſtle, and in front of the town, and on the beach, and fired from the beach on our boats, that were employed in cutting out the veſſels; and my forbearance will be conſidered as great, when I aſſert, that fifteen muſket balls paſſed through my barge, yet I would not ſuffer the town to be fired upon. A veſſel, whoſe cable was cut, ran on ſhore, and was burnt, in oppoſition to all the French troops. I here

here affirm, on the honour of an officer, that no Genoeſe or other neutral veſſel was kept poſſeſſion of; and indeed it is acknowledged, by my conduct to the Adriot veſſels, that neutrals had only to declare their neutrality, to claim reſpect from me. As to the threats of demolition and conflagration to the town, I have to ſay, that I neither received nor ſent any meſſage, nor had any communication whatever with the town; therefore this muſt be wilful miſrepreſentation.

"To the circmſtance of Auguſt 27th, 1795, where it is ſtated, that the Engliſh purſued another veſſel, and chaſed her into a little bay, and cannonaded her upon the territory of the republic, I muſt here obſerve, that although the Genoeſe may claim, and have undoubted right to, the poſſeſſion of their territory, yet the French having taken poſſeſſion of every foot of ground from Ventimiglia to Voltri, erected batteries at whatever places they thought proper, ordered requiſitions of proviſions, mules, and drivers, and fired on the ſhips of their enemies, although they may be friends of the Genoeſe; are not theſe acts, which the marquis muſt acknowledge to be every day committed, proofs ſufficient that the French, and not the Genoeſe, are the maſters of the country: nor can the French allowing Genoeſe flags to be hoiſted on ſome of the fortifications, alter the caſe. The veſſel alluded to was a French gun-boat, which had fired on his Majeſty's ſhip, and received the chaſtiſement ſhe ſo highly merited; but this happened on a beach, where not a houſe belonging to the Genoeſe could be injured."

Having equally refuted the remaining charges, Nelſon thus wound up his defence. "I beg leave to ſay a few words on the concluſion of the Genoeſe miniſter, which is certainly a moſt extraordinary one. To pretend to aſſert that, although our enemies take poſſeſſion of, and continue in the republic of Genoa, we are not, by every means in our power, to attack them both at ſea and on ſhore, will not bear reaſoning upon, but I can with truth declare, that in the act of diſtreſſing our enemies in the republic of Genoa, the greateſt forbearance, and even acts of kindneſs, have been conſtantly ſhown to individual Genoeſe. The republic of Genoa has now had ſix months unmoleſted fraternization with the French army, and I am aſſured that the inhabitants of the republic had rather again encounter our fancied breaches of neutrality, and violation of territory, than the fraternal embraces of the French troops, which have been given to their women, their churches, and olive trees."

The ſubſerviency of the Genoeſe government to the French, and its conſtant ill-will to the Engliſh, were, however, inſufficient to conciliate to it the friendſhip of the French rulers. A ſtriking proof of this was afforded early in the month of Auguſt. In direct contravention of the Genoeſe edicts, and in ſpite of cautions and remonſtrances, two French privateers perſiſted in an attempt to ſail from the port of Genoa, without having given the cuſtomary ſecurities that they would not violate the neutrality

trality of the country, by committing acts of hoſtility in leſs than twenty-four hours after they quitted the port. Their object, too, was the ſeizure of Genoeſe veſſels which were trading with the ſubjects of the allies. An unſhotted gun was fired, to warn them not to proceed; and this being diſregarded, the officer, who commanded at the battery of the Mole, fired with ſhot, by which a ſailor was killed on board of one of the ſhips. Finding that they could not carry their intention into effect with impunity, the privateers made a virtue of neceſſity, and returned into the harbour.

This event called forth, from M. Villars, the French envoy, a note, addreſſed to the Genoeſe ſecretary of ſtate, and drawn up in language of unmeaſured inſolence. He demanded juſtice on thoſe who had been guilty of what he was pleaſed to call the murder of the French ſailor, he accuſed the government of connivance with the aſſaſſins, claimed a penſion for the widow and children of the man who had fallen, intimated that further conceſſions would be neceſſary to ſatisfy the vengeance to which his nation was entitled, and inſiſted upon a prompt and categorical anſwer. "Dilatory ways and pretexts," ſaid he, "are not ſufferable in this caſe. It is neceſſary that, in the courſe of the day, the Genoeſe government ſhould explain itſelf definitively, and in a clear and open manner, that the French republic may know poſitively, whether the promiſe of neutrality, which has been ſo flagrantly abuſed, is any thing more than a means choſen to ſerve the enemies of France, while it pretends to ſerve her intereſts; whether the moſt ſerene government will allow that a few Genoeſe, who are the enemies of the French people, and of the order of things which they have eſtabliſhed, ſhall ſacrifice the true intereſts of the Genoeſe republic to their pride and cupidity; and whether, in fine, the friendſhip which the moſt ſerene government profeſſes to entertain for France, is a feigned feeling, or a real one, on which the French nation may rely."

Such a paper as this it required all the audacity of a French conventional agent to preſent to an independent power, whoſe laws his countrymen had ſet at defiance; and had not the Genoeſe rulers been blinded by intereſt, partiality, or terror, they would at leaſt have attempted to ſupport their dignity and their rights. Inſtead, however, of making ſuch an attempt, they yielded without reſiſtance to the menaces of M. Villars. They arreſted the officer and cannoneer who had performed their duty by firing, they ſubmitted to the apology and reparation which which was required from them, and they conſented to allow French privateers to ſail freely from their harbours.

Partiality ſo glaring and ſo injurious it was impoſſible for the Britiſh envoy to paſs over in ſilence. He conſequently requeſted to be informed whether the reports were correct which he had heard on this ſubject; as, if officers were to be puniſhed for obeying the orders of their ſuperiors by oppoſing thoſe who violated the laws, and France could, by dint of threats, obtain whatever

whatever conceſſions ſhe pleaſed, it was manifeſt that no reliance could be placed on the repeated proteſtations of neutrality which had been made by the government. At the ſame time he gave notice that, in obvious breach of the ſeventh article of the edict of neutrality, privateers were then fitting out by the enemy in the port of Genoa.

The reply of the government was in a petulant tone; and it ſhewed the degraded ſituation to which the Genoeſe rulers were reduced; for, in order to extricate themſelves from the dilemma in which they were placed by the note of the Britiſh envoy, they had recourſe to a direct falſehood. M. Villars, they ſaid, had not complained of the privateer being fired on, but only that, contrary to uſage, the firing had been with grape ſhot; and, in conſequence of the irregularity which was the cauſe of his remonſtrance, the government had put under arreſt the gunner and the officer, even before he had brought forward any complaint. In neither of theſe aſſertions was there ſo much as the ſhadow of truth. With reſpect to the fitting out of privateers, it was left unnoticed; but vague proteſtations of rigid neutrality were repeated, and it was conſidered as an injuſtice to the Genoeſe rulers to entertain any doubt with reſpect to their veracity upon this delicate ſubject.

It is the fate of thoſe who deſcend to mean ſubmiſſions and offices, to be deſpiſed and miſuſed by the very perſons who derive benefit from the ſacrifice of their character. The perſevering patience and truckling of the Genoeſe government did not ſecure its ſubjects from being treated with brutal harſhneſs by the French. In the ports of Provence and Languedoc, the Genoeſe traders and ſailors, highly uſeful as they were to the republicans, were, nevertheleſs, expoſed to all ſorts of indignity, vexation, and violence; ſo that even the callous feelings of the ſufferers were at length affected, and the hope of gain could no longer allure them to continue their commercial intercourſe. The dread of a famine in the ſouth of France awakened the republicans to the impolicy of their proceedings; and, that they might obtain ſupplies of corn from the magazines of Genoa, they thought it prudent to tempt back the Genoeſe to their coaſt, by apologies for the paſt, and aſſurances for the future.

In the Genoeſe territory the French officers and ſoldiers conducted themſelves in ſuch a manner as to juſtify the ſeverity with which, as we have already ſhewn, they were alluded to by Nelſon. While ſome of the former interfered in the adminiſtrative concerns of that part of the country which they occupied, and others acted ſtill more reprehenſibly, the latter indulged their propenſity to plunder and to cruelty. Evidence, not only againſt the ſoldiery, but alſo againſt a portion of their leaders, is furniſhed by their general, Scherer, who found it neceſſary to addreſs to them a proclamation, to check, if poſſible, the crimes which they committed. "After having triumphed for liberty," ſaid he, "many of you have diſhonoured yourſelves, by thefts, by conflagrations, and by puniſhable behaviour

to women. Your blind fury has puſhed you to theſe diſhonourable exceſſes, even in the Genoeſe dominions, where no wrong has been done to you, and which have conſtantly refuſed to form a coalition with your enemies. Soldiers, your father, for the laſt time, warns you to deſiſt from theſe acts, which fix a ſtigma on the reputation of the army of Italy. You know the laws which forbid, under pain of death, the crimes of which you have been guilty. You would have no excuſe, even within the limits of a conquered ſtate, ſince you have taken up arms to exterminate only thoſe who combat againſt your country, and not to war upon the unfortunate and peaceable inhabitants. I conſequently forewarn you of the firm and unalterable reſolution which I have taken, to puniſh, with all the rigour of the law, the firſt among you who ſhall give himſelf up to the commiſſion of exceſſes, which muſt cover you with infamy. I know that among your leaders there are officers vile enough to ſtand forward as the protectors of ſuch miſconduct; but they alſo ſhall be puniſhed, and with ſtill more ſeverity than the private ſoldier." When ſuch was the picture which was drawn of them by their general, who muſt naturally have been ſlow to criminate them, and anxious to palliate their tranſgreſſions, it may eaſily be conceived to what an extremity of outrage they were prompted, by their blind fury againſt the neutral Genoeſe.

A ſtill heavier fate was, however, impending over the Genoeſe government. Hitherto, their armies having only a precarious footing on the verge of Italy, it had not been the intereſt of the French rulers to puſh their encroachments too far, ſo as to compel the Genoeſe to throw themſelves for protection upon the Sardinian and Auſtrian monarchs. But a change in the ſituation of affairs was now about to take place, which would enable them to execute their plans to the fulleſt extent. The directory, which had by this time gained a firm hold of the reins of authority, was reſolved to make a deciſive effort to overrun Italy; and, among the many objects which it intended to accompliſh in that country, was the downfall of the ancient conſtitution of the republic of Genoa.

The firſt ſtep taken by the directory was to recal M. Villars, who was ſuppoſed not to have talent and firmneſs enough for the ſtation which he filled. For the moment, his place was ſupplied by Salicetti, who was inſtructed to demand that the fortreſs of 1796. Savona ſhould be garriſoned by French troops, and that the republic ſhould furniſh France with a loan of thirty millions of livres. One of theſe demands would, perhaps, have been granted wholly, and the other in part, as the government was deliberating on the propriety of ſacrificing five millions of livres to be excuſed from any further claims, had not the Britiſh envoy and the miniſters of the other belligerent powers, joined in a note, declaring that they could not believe that the republic would ſo far forget her neutrality, as to comply with the requiſition of M. Salicetti, and that, if ſhe did comply, the coaleſced ſovereigns could no longer acknowledge her as a neutral

a neutral ſtate, but muſt conſider her as the ally of France. This had the deſired effect; the propoſition for conſenting to the loan being negatived in the council, by a majority of one hundred and forty-two againſt thirty-four. This defeat the French revenged by quartering great numbers of their ſoldiers in the country ſeats of thoſe who had voted againſt them, and of the nobles who were ſuppoſed to be unfriendly to their cauſe.

At this period a plot, the particulars of which are not known, was formed by the French, probably in conjunction with the Genoeſe malcontents, to obtain poſſeſſion of the city of Genoa itſelf, either with a view of converting it into a military poſt, or of ſubverting the eſtabliſhed order of things, and democratizing the ſtate. In the beginning of April, the French right wing, led by La Harpe, was marched towards the city; in the neighbourhood, and in one of the ſuburbs of which it took up a menacing poſition. The government was ſo alarmed by this hoſtile demonſtration, that it haſtily called in two thouſand of the Genoeſe militia, mounted artillery on the ramparts, ſtrengthened the hands of the police, and adopted various other meaſures to avert the danger. In conſequence, probably, of theſe precautions, the ſcheme of the republicans was fruſtrated. But, whatever was the ſcheme, it is certain that in its conception or execution, Buonaparte, who had recently been appointed to the command of the French army, had no ſhare. On the contrary, he complained heavily of it, as having been productive of an injurious effect. "The movement," ſaid he, "which I found commenced againſt Genoa, has drawn the enemy from his winter quarters; he has paſſed the Po, and puſhed forward his advanced poſts, by the Bormida and the Bocchetta, leaving Gavi behind him. I am extremely angry and diſſatisfied with this movement upon Genoa, which is the more out of ſeaſon, becauſe it has compelled that republic to take a hoſtile attitude, and has arouſed the enemy, whom I ſhould otherwiſe have caught in an unprepared ſituation. This will coſt us ſome additional loſs of men." He even ſeems, at the outſet, to have been averſe from all projects of aggreſſion in this caſe. For in another letter, adverting to the ſame ſubject, he ſaid, "our poſition with reſpect to Genoa is a very critical one. Things are managed badly; too much has been done, or too little, but, fortunately, this will produce no further conſequence. The Genoeſe government has more talent and more ſtrength than it is thought to have: there are only two modes of acting towards it: either to ſeize upon Genoa, by a prompt coup de main, but that is contrary to your intention, and to the law of nations; or to live on friendly terms, and not endeavour to draw from them their money, which is the only thing on which they ſet a value."

The latter alternative the Directory was not diſpoſed to chuſe. That money, which the French general deſcribed as being the ſole object of Genoeſe attachment, was a temptation which was too powerful to be reſiſted. The French rulers looked forward to the victories of Buonaparte for innumerable advantages; and among them was the facility

cility which they would afford to the extorting of a loan from rich Genoese individuals, which loan the government was to be compelled to guarantee to its subjects. "After the soldiers of Austria have been routed," said the Directory, "Genoa will cease to refuse those succours which are indispensably necessary to us." Nor were the possessions to be held more sacred than the treasures of the Genoese. Buonaparte was instructed to demand that French garrisons should be admitted into the fortresses of Savona and Gavi; and, if the rulers of Genoa should prove to be "so ignorant of their own interests" as to refuse their consent, he was authorized to resort to force for the accomplishment of his purpose.

As their instrument to execute the schemes which they meditated, the French rulers dispatched to Genoa, under the mask of an envoy, M. Faypoult, a man of an active, enterprising, and intriguing character. On his arrival at Genoa, M. Faypoult began the performance of his task by endeavouring to lull the government into a profound security. At his first audience with the Doge, to deliver his credentials, he dealt largely in amicable professions. He vouched for the warm interest which the French republic took in the safety and prosperity of the Genoese; he spoke of rendering for ever secure the good understanding which existed between Genoa and France; he promised the continual good offices of the French nation; and soaring still further from truth as he proceeded in his harangue, he, without a blush, declared that the French rulers "would be faithful and sincere in their intercourse with foreign powers, that they would establish their diplomacy on the basis of equity and truth, that they believed it to be worthy of the national generosity and greatness, not to confine their care to the interests of France, but to extend it to the happiness of all nations who were sincerely the friends of France; and, therefore, those nations might henceforth, consider the justice and power of the French republic as a tutelary ægis of their preservation."

In about a month after this speech was delivered, a commentary upon it was furnished by the Directory, in the shape of instructions to Buonaparte, which were sent to him the moment that the new sovereigns of France were informed of his having routed the enemy, and opened a passage into Piedmont. Commencing with a declaration that it was not the interest of France to drive the Genoese republic to despair, they seem to have resolved that their measures should only just stop short of that critical point. The Convention, less unjust than the heirs of its power, had exonerated Genoa from all blame with respect to the capture of the Modeste frigate; but the Directors now dragged from its three years oblivion the circumstance of that capture, that they might convert it into an instrument of extortion against those whom their predecessors had pronounced to be guiltless. "We may, in fact, urge to the Genoese," said these sound and equitable logicians, "either you allowed the frigate to be taken, and its crew to be massacred out of enmity to France, or you sacrificed it out of weakness. In the first case we call for legitimate vengeance; in the second,

ſecond, we have a right to require that you ſhould treat our enemies as you have treated us: the indemnity offered us muſt be a ſufficient one; the relatives of the French who periſhed on board of the Modeſte, muſt ſhare in that indemnity; the reparation made for ſo ſerious an injury muſt be a weighty, a ſolemn one." Independent of this, it was expected that Genoa ſhould conſent to a loan; that thoſe who, in the recent fear of being attacked, had been deſirous to call in the Auſtrians, ſhould be puniſhed as traitors, that Britiſh and other hoſtile property, which could be directly ſeized, in the ſtates of Genoa, ſhould be delivered up; that all other property ſhould be ſequeſtrated, and the rulers of Genoa made reſponſible for it; that the Genoeſe ſhould continue to provide ſupplies, for which they ſhould receive notes payable at a general peace; and, laſtly, that the French emigrants ſhould be expelled from the Genoeſe territory. Victory had baniſhed from the breaſt of Buonaparte thoſe liberal feelings which he manifeſted previouſly to the opening of the campaign; and it was at his ſuggeſtion that a part of theſe demands, particularly with reſpect to the Modeſte, was brought forward by the Directory. Such was the manner in which France covered friendly powers with her tutelary ægis.

The hoſtile feeling of the French general towards Genoa was ſoon manifeſted in various ways. Contributions were demanded from the Imperial fiefs which were held by Genoeſe nobles; though a law of the Convention had expreſsly exempted ſuch property from being ſubject to any claim of the kind. This was followed by a ſimilar, but ſtill harſher meaſure; the trying by a military commiſſion M. Auguſtine Spinola, one of thoſe nobles, and a member of the ſenate. The pretext for this proceeding was, that he had fomented a rebellion in his fief of Arquata. The crime with which he was charged is ſaid to have, in fact, been committed by thoſe who were his accuſers. He was condemned to death and the forfeiture of his property by this illegal tribunal. Fortunately, however, having no confidence in French juſtice, he contrived to effect his eſcape before the time of his trial.

It was not long before Buonaparte found, or made, a regular cauſe of quarrel with the republic of Genoa. He affirmed that the capital of the republic was the central point whence were diſpatched thoſe villains, as he called them, who infeſted the high roads, aſſaſſinated his ſoldiers, and intercepted the convoys; that Count Girola, the imperial ambaſſador at Genoa, ſtirred up rebellion in the imperial fiefs, publicly ſent ſuccours to the inſurgents, and every day welcomed the leaders of the aſſaſſins, dropping with the blood of the French; that the governor of Novi gave ſhelter to thoſe robbers and aſſaſſins; and, to crown the whole, that the Genoeſe government took no precautionary meaſures; but, on the contrary, by its ſilence and the aſylum which it granted, ſeemed to ſmile upon the murderers. Murat, his aid-de-camp, was, therefore, ſent to Genoa, with a menacing, and even inſulting letter, to demand that a ſevere example ſhould be made of the governor of Novi, that Count Girola ſhould

be arreſted, or at leaſt expelled from the Genoeſe ſtates, and that thoſe ſtates ſhould no longer afford a refuge for the banditti. The government was warned that, if it did not adopt the neceſſary means to clear its territory of thoſe who were obnoxious, the French general would, and that he would order to be burned every town and village in which a Frenchman was ſlain, and would alſo puniſh the magiſtrates who violated their duty by ſheltering the guilty from his vengeance. He concluded by an aſſurance that "the French republic would be inviolably attached to the principles of neutrality." This commiſſion was executed in a ſuitable manner by Murat. He refuſed to deliver the letter to the ſecretary of ſtate, whoſe office it was to receive it, he inſiſted on preſenting it to the doge in perſon, and he did not fail, in conjunction with Faypoult, to enforce to the doge and the ſenate, with infinite arrogance, the neceſſity of a full compliance with the will of Buonaparte.

Theſe demands were ſeconded by Faypoult, who added to them three others, namely, the expulſion of the emigrants, ſatisfaction for five veſſels which had been captured at the mouth of the Taggia by the Britiſh; and, as he himſelf expreſſed it, "the ceſſation of all rancour againſt thoſe whom we call the Genoeſe patriots." M. Faypoult was, however, ſo eager to ſee his countrymen acting with open hoſtility againſt the Genoeſe, that he omitted nothing that could ſtimulate Buonaparte to begin offenſive operations. He aſſured him that he might dictate the law whenever he pleaſed, he recommended to him to march againſt the city with fifteen or eighteen thouſand men, and eſpecially a train of mortars; and he ſuggeſted to him to ſend an engineer for the purpoſe of reconnoitring the fortifications, and chuſing two favourable ſpots for placing mortars and howitzers, to reduce the city to ſubjection. When M. Faypoult firſt arrived at Genoa, he promiſed that he would ever be animated with a ſincere deſire to be perſonally agreeable to the government of Genoa, and to obtain the confidence and eſteem of the Genoeſe nation. It was in the manner which we have juſt deſcribed that he performed his promiſe.

The government, as far as lay within its power, endeavoured to accompliſh what was required by the French general and envoy. The emigrants were ſent away, with the exception of thoſe who had reſided in the country during a period of two years, and even this exception appears to have been ſubſequently abandoned. Aſſurances were given, that every effort would be employed to prevent the neutrality of the republic from being infringed by the enemies of the French. With reſpect to the capture of the veſſels at the mouth of the Taggia, heavy complaints were made to the Britiſh admiral; but Nelſon had recently and firmly replied once more, and he was not now to be moved from his purpoſe, that while the whole of the coaſt was lined with French batteries, and his veſſels could not approach it without attempts being made to ſink them, he would never conſent to conſider the weſtern portion of the Riviera as neutral ground. "Can the ſecretary of ſtate," ſaid he, "for a moment fancy that I will

will receive ſhot and ſhells from every part of the coaſt, and not conſider it as a hoſtile one? This, indeed, he may be aſſured of, that I never have, nor ever will fire the firſt ſhot; but if ſhot are fired, I will do my utmoſt to deſtroy the batteries firing at the Britiſh flag, although in doing this, I ſhall guard as much as poſſible againſt injuring any individual Genoeſe, a nation which I reſpect on many accounts."

Nelſon, the Genoeſe rulers had no power to drive from their confines; but, to gratify the French, they gave notice to Count Girola, the imperial miniſter, that he could no longer be permitted to remain at Genoa. M. Girola, however, was ſtill leſs diſpoſed than Nelſon was to comply with their wiſhes. He refuſed to depart till he had received inſtructions from his court; and, when thoſe inſtructions came, they forbad his quitting the Genoeſe capital, and added, in a deciſive tone, that the compelling him to withdraw would be looked upon by the emperor as a declaration of war. The government was, therefore, under the neceſſity of tolerating the reſidence of M. Girola in Genoa; but it declined to have any intercourſe with him in his diplomatic capacity. This, however, did not deter him from addreſſing to it ſeveral ſharp remonſtrances, on ſubjects connected with his miſſion.

While theſe negotiations were pending, the threats of the French excited ſo much terror in the minds of many of the Genoeſe, particularly of the lower order, that ſolemn proceſſions to the churches were made by crowds of men and women, for the purpoſe of invoking the aſſiſtance of heaven, to avert the impending danger. The prieſts are ſaid to have been exceedingly active in ſpreading a dread of the French, and prompting theſe proceſſions. This afforded to M. Faypoult a freſh cauſe of complaint, of which he eagerly availed himſelf. He, in conſequence, preſented to the government an official note, deſcribing theſe proceſſions as an inſult to the French republic, deſcanting largely on the pacific and equitable conduct of that republic, and, of courſe, denying that there was any reaſon for the fear which ſome perfidious individuals pretended to feel for the ſecurity of Genoa. He, therefore, called on the government to adopt ſuch meaſures as might tranquillize the people. Irritated that his mandate was not immediately obeyed, he repeated it ſhortly after; adding, that if the government did not take the ſteps which were neceſſary, all Genoa ſhould be held reſponſible for the ſafety of the French.

As, among other things, M. Faypoult ſuggeſted the publiſhing of a proclamation to the people, to juſtify the French, the government thought proper to iſſue ſuch a proclamation. In this paper the Genoeſe rulers conſented to affirm that they had no reaſon to entertain a doubt of the rectitude of the French republic; and that the conduct of its envoy had always been conformable to juſt principles. They, therefore, invited their ſubjects to baniſh all ſuſpicion and diſquietude, and threatened with the rigour of the law every perſon who ſhould occaſion a diſturbance.

That, however, in one circumſtance alone, the mercantile claſs of the Genoeſe had ſufficient cauſe for

ſuſpicion and diſquietude, was, at this very period, confeſſed by Buonaparte himſelf, in a letter to the Directory. The manner in which the French commiſſioners had acted at Leghorn he characterized, with equal ſtrength and juſtice, as being deteſtable. "The merchants of Leghorn," ſaid he, "have been treated with the utmoſt harſhneſs; they have been treated with more rigour than you intended even the Engliſh merchants to be treated. This alarms commerce throughout the whole of Italy, and makes thoſe who are connected with it look upon us as Vandals; it has entirely turned againſt us the merchants of the city of Genoa; and the maſs of the people of that city, which has always hitherto been partial to us, is now decidedly in oppoſition to us."

The Genoeſe had, however, not yet ſacrificed enough to ſatisfy either the Directory or Buonaparte. It was determined to extort further conceſſions from them by open force. On this occaſion money was not the ſole object which the French had in view. Their intention was to effect ſuch a change at Genoa as would make the republic a pliant inſtrument in their hands. The plan was ſuggeſted by Faypoult, and conſiſted, primarily, in bringing about an alteration in the mode of deliberating, baniſhing about fifty perſons, who were ſuppoſed to be the enemies of France, and recalling home ſeveral exiles, who were known as its friends. It was adopted by Buonaparte, who recommended it to the Directory, the ſanction of which body it received; and the French general was authorized to carry it into execution, as ſoon as the French property then depoſited at Genoa had been removed from that city. It is manifeſt, that the ſucceſsful execution of this plan muſt have led to further innovations, and at laſt, or perhaps inſtantly, to the ruin of the ancient Genoeſe conſtitution.

The latter end of July was the period fixed on for ſtriking the blow. Genoa was, however, ſaved for the moment, by the ſtrenuous exertions which the emperor was making to compel the French to raiſe the ſiege of Mantua. Wurmſer was preparing to attack the republicans; and Buonaparte was, in conſequence, under the neceſſity of poſtponing his attempt upon Genoa. This being the caſe, the French general reſolved to reſort to artifice, for the purpoſe of veiling his deſigns. He directed M. Faypoult, to forget, for ſome time to come every ſubject of complaint againſt the Genoeſe, to aſſure the ſenate that the general was thoroughly ſatisfied with the ſteps which it had taken, and, in fine, "to omit no circumſtance which could re-inſpire the Senate with hope, and lull it to ſlumber, till the moment ſhould arrive for awaking it." M. Faypoult was even authorized to hold out to the rulers of Genoa the temptation of being put in poſſeſſion of a diſtrict, which was then litigated between the Genoeſe republic and the king of Sardinia. "In ſhort, citizen miniſter," ſaid this apt diſciple of Machiavel, you muſt manage ſo as to gain for us a fortnight, and to revive hope, and likewiſe confidence between you and the government, ſo that, ſhould we chance to be beaten, we may reckon upon it as a friend." Such was, he told M. Fay-

M. Faypoult, the mode of proceeding which he himſelf meant to adopt with reſpect to M. Cataneo, who had been ſent to him from Genoa, but who was not yet arrived.

In the latter end of Auguſt the ſcheme was reſumed; but almoſt as ſoon as reſumed, it was again ſuſpended, by the neceſſity under which Buonaparte lay of concentrating all his military means to make head againſt the Auſtrians. His increaſing difficulties at laſt even conſtrained him to look round for allies, and his choice was divided between Genoa and Piedmont. To Genoa he was willing to give Maſſa, Carrara, and the imperial fiefs, as the price of her aſſiſtance; and, in order to conciliate her citizens, he pointedly contradicted a report that he intended to bombard the Genoeſe capital, and he declared, at the ſame time, that "he had it much at heart to deprive the malevolent of their means for diſquieting the brave people of Genoa, to whom the army of Italy was under eſſential obligations, as well for the grain with which they had ſupplied the French in moments of diſtreſs, as for the friendſhip which they had always manifeſted to the republic."

It is, nevertheleſs, certain, from his own confeſſion, that it had very recently been his intention to march againſt Genoa. Independently, however, of the ſcantineſs of his forces, and his wiſh to procure allies, there was another weighty reaſon which concurred in deciding him to abandon his hoſtile project. Faypoult, who had hitherto prompted him to violence, now completely changed his tone. He informed Buonaparte that the Genoeſe government was appriſed of the danger, that it had reinforced the poſts with men and cannon, that the people were irritated againſt the French, that the French artillery at St. Pier d'Arena was in the power of the Genoeſe, that to take the city by ſurpriſe was become an impoſſibility, that his approach was not dreaded, becauſe his ſtrength was known to be inadequate, and that conſequently, if the general perſiſted in his enterpriſe, he would be compelled to undertake the ſiege of Genoa, while he was yet fully occupied with that of Mantua. This being the ſtate of affairs, it would, he urged, be prudent to alter their plan, and rather profit by the fears of the government, to obtain gradually the whole of their objects, than to riſk the loſs of them all, by a deſperate effort to obtain them all at once.

To this muſt be added, that the Genoeſe government had lately done much to propitiate the French by its enmity to the Britiſh. At the latter end of Auguſt, it forbid the embarkation of a hundred oxen, which had been purchaſed for the ſquadron of Admiral Jervis, and which Captain Tyrrel had been ſent to Genoa to put on board the Eclair ſloop. It was in vain that Nelſon remonſtrated; his remonſtrances were diſregarded; really on the ground that it was better to give offence to the Engliſh than to the French; but oſtenſibly on the pretext, that the exportation of proviſions had been prohibited by a decree of the preceding year. It was even confeſſed by the Doge, in a private converſation with Nelſon, that "juſtice and right were on the ſide of the Britiſh."

While

While this queſtion was in debate, an event occurred, which widened the breach between the two parties. Some deſerters having carried off a boat in the night, Nelſon diſpatched Lieutenant Berry, with two boats, but without ſoldiers, to examine the mole, and the beach of St. Pier d'Arena, for the purpoſe of recovering the ſtolen boat. The lieutenant was ordered not to touch a French tartan, which was then lying at St. Pier, unleſs he were firſt fired on by the French battery, and even then not to moleſt her, if ſhe were found not to be laden with warlike ſtores. When, however, the lieutenant approached the ſhore, a fire was opened upon him from
Sept. the battery, and he then
11. boarded the veſſel, which, being filled with warlike ſtores, he brought out of the port in purſuance of his orders. A hot cannonade and bombardment was immediately commenced upon Nelſon's ſhip, from all the batteries of Genoa. The patience of Nelſon upon this occaſion has ſeldom been equalled. "You will," ſaid he, in a letter to Mr. Drake, "mark my forbearance in your repreſentation. They muſt acknowledge that, from half-paſt ſeven A.M. to one P.M. with the intermiſſion of about half an-hour, the batteries kept up a continual fire of ſhot and ſhells. I ſhould have been more pleaſantly ſituated had I returned the fire, for my ſhip would then have been covered with ſmoke: the lives, however, that would have been loſt in the town, and the damage done, would have been immenſe; but, as at L'Arma, not one ſhot did I fire at Genoa: this the whole town will ſay is true; and that it was in my power is to be preſumed, or they would not have fired on me for ſuch a length of time. That Being who has ever protected me, did not, wonderful to tell, permit one ſhot to ſtrike the ſhip; both ſhot and ſhells came over us, under us, and on all ſides, even to throwing the water upon our decks by ſhot ſtriking the ſea; but no, not a man was hurt, nor the ſhip touched."

Irritated by the loſs of the tartan, the French endeavoured to wreak their revenge on the Engliſh, by an act of the moſt unworthy kind. An armed party of them attacked four defenceleſs boys, who had rowed on ſhore one of the jolly boats of the ſquadron. The Genoeſe guard at Porto Reale, had, however, the manlineſs to protect the children, and an affray enſued, in which they were compelled to fire, and the conſequence of this was, that a French enſign was mortally wounded.

Satisfaction was loudly demanded from the government, by M. Faypoult, and the government was not backward in complying with his demand. The ports of the Genoeſe territory were immediately ſhut againſt all Britiſh veſſels, in ſpite of the ſtatements and remonſtrances of Nelſon and Sir John Jervis. Engliſh property would, likewiſe, in all probability, have been ſeized, but for a dread of the conſequences; Sir John Jervis having threatened to proceed to Genoa with his ſquadron, and ſpeak his diſpleaſure from the mouths of his cannon. The enſign, who was killed in the cowardly attack on the boys was buried with the utmoſt magnificence in the church of St. Cyr. A numerous

merous proceſſion attended the funeral, and, with a groſs contempt of decorum, patriotic ballads, and verſes of the pſalms were alternately ſung by the French and the prieſts, who compoſed the proceſſion. To complete the reparation, on the part of the Genoeſe government, the officers who commanded the guard, were arreſted, and a ſtrict enquiry into their conduct, was ordered to be inſtituted. The Engliſh, on their ſide, ſeized the iſland of Capraja, which had long been converted into a place of refuge for French privateers. This, however, they offered to reſtore, on condition that things ſhould be placed on their ancient footing; but the Genoeſe were either unwilling, or unable, to agree to the condition which was required. By the departure of the Britiſh fleet from the Mediterranean, an end was at laſt put to the perpetual diſputes which, for the ſpace of nearly three years, had riſen between the Genoeſe rulers and our naval commanders.

The bonds of union were now drawn cloſer between Genoa and France, by the reſult of the negotiation which had for ſome months been carrying on at Paris with the Directory by M. Vincent Spinola, the Genoeſe envoy. After much coldneſs on the part of the French rulers, and much delay, a convention was at length ſettled, to terminate the differences which exiſted between the two republics. This convention, or rather treaty of alliance, was ſigned on the eighth of October, and conſiſted of fifteen articles, the firſt five of which were directed againſt England. Had a Britiſh ſquadron continued to act in the Mediterranean, there can be little doubt that it muſt ultimately have been engaged in hoſtilities againſt the Genoeſe republic. By theſe articles the Genoeſe government bound itſelf to keep its ports and roads ſhut againſt Engliſh ſhips till peace was concluded; to forbid all its ſubjects to furniſh thoſe ſhips with proviſions, ammunition, and warlike ſtores; to put its ports and roads in a ſtate of defence, or in caſe of inability, to allow the neceſſary poſts to be garriſoned by French troops In return for theſe conceſſions, the French republic promiſed that, ſhould England declare war againſt Genoa, France would protect the Genoeſe navigation and commerce to the utmoſt of its power; would, as far as circumſtances might permit, furniſh veſſels of war, for cruiſing on the coaſt, or guarding the harbours; and would include Genoa in the negotiations for a general peace, and endeavour to procure an indemnity for any loſs which it might have ſuſtained.

The ſixth and ſeventh articles were in the true republican ſpirit, and were plainly intended to give courage to the partiſans of France, with a view of ſecuring their future ſervices. They ſtipulated the annulling of all decrees, and the diſcontinuance of all legal proceedings, againſt perſons who had been proſecuted on account of their language, their opinions, and their writings, with reſpect to the French revolution; a deſcription which, in fact, was meant to apply to thoſe who had been labouring to overthrow at Genoa the eſtabliſhed order of things. To ſuch of theſe as had been excluded from the great and little councils, the reſtitution of their rights was alſo ſtipulated. One part of M. Faypoult's ſcheme was thus carried into effect.

By

By the next two articles, the French rulers graciouſly conſented to employ their good offices, for the purpoſe of ſecuring the integrity of the Genoeſe republic; bringing about a peace between it and the Barbary powers; releaſing from feudal claims ſuch portion of its territory as was dependent upon the emperor or the empire; and mediating with the king of Sardinia, in order to ſettle the diſputes between the republic and his Sardinian majeſty.

This favour was, however, not gratuitouſly granted. "The republic of Genoa," ſaid the tenth article, "grateful for the friendſhip which is teſtified to it by the French republic, and for the intereſt which that republic takes in the independence and the integrity of its ſtate, and alſo for the advantages which muſt reſult to it from the preſent convention, will pay to France two millions of livres, the firſt quarter on the firſt of next Frimaire, and the other three-fourths by ſucceſſive monthly payments." But this was not all. As a further token of their gratitude, the Genoeſe pledged themſelves to furniſh France with a loan of two millions more in the courſe of four months. It was, indeed, declared that this loan ſhould be repaid, without intereſt, after the ſigning of a general peace; but thoſe who advanced the money muſt have been well aware that there was little probability of the debt being ever voluntarily diſcharged, and that to importune ſo powerful and irritable a debtor would be an act as groſsly imprudent as to rouſe from its ſlumber a ſleeping tyger.

This treaty was, in truth, nothing leſs than an inſolent and cruel mockery of the Genoeſe. The benefits which it conferred upon the weaker party, and which were repreſented as inſpiring ſuch coſtly gratitude, were inſults and injuries. The convention expoſed Genoa to the vengeance of England, in caſe that power had not ſufficient magnanimity to forgive the compelled offender; it held out a deriſory offer of ſuccour, which France was unable to give; it aſſured of impunity all plotters againſt the government; and theſe ineſtimable bleſſings it obliged Genoa to purchaſe at the moderate price of four millions of livres; a ſum which the government was under the neceſſity of raiſing by a forced loan. This mode of procuring the money could not fail of increaſing diſcontent, and thus France doubly profited by the practice of extortion.

The treaty was ratified by the Genoeſe rulers, but it became a ſubject of ſevere public criticiſm. It was remarked, with particular diſſatisfaction, that the Directory had not guaranteed the Genoeſe poſſeſſions, but had merely promiſed its good offices; words, it was ſaid, which bound France to nothing, and afforded not a ſhadow of ſecurity to Genoa; while, on the contrary, Genoa was tied down in the ſtricteſt manner, and muſt encounter all the diſadvantages ariſing from an offenſive and defenſive alliance, without enjoying any one of the advantages which are uſually offered by ſuch a treaty. The government was equally well aware that the convention was liable to cenſure, eſpecially on this ſcore; it ſtrove to obtain the guarantee of its territories; but its efforts were not crowned with ſucceſs.

That

That the Directory ſhould decline to guarantee the integrity of the Genoeſe territories will excite no ſurpriſe, when it is known that, to bribe the king of Sardinia into a treaty of alliance with a part of thoſe territories, was one of their projects; and that an offer to this effect, was made to his Sardinian majeſty, by Buonaparte, at a period ſubſequent to the ſigning of the convention with the republic of Genoa.

The reſpite which Genoa obtained by its ſacrifices was, as may eaſily be ſuppoſed, but of brief duration. It muſt, indeed, have been the height of folly in the Genoeſe rulers to imagine that the government could long exiſt, after they had conſented to allow its bittereſt enemies to plot againſt it with impunity. The natural conſequences of their weakneſs ſpeedily followed. The revolutioniſts, confident of ſupport from the French, with whoſe envoy they acted in concert, and ſcorning their imbecile opponents, now no longer diſſembled their wiſhes, and laboured with infinite zeal in the propagation of their principles. Clubs were formed, the mother, or preſiding club of which was held at the houſe of one Morando, an apothecary; a man wholly devoid of talents or knowledge, but of a daring ſpirit, and eager for a change; and every art was employed, by miſſionaries and ſtreet orators, to excite againſt the Genoeſe conſtitution the hatred of the people.

An opportunity was ſoon found of manifeſting contempt for the laws, and openly ſetting them at defiance. Madame Buonaparte having viſited Genoa, a ſplendid entertainment and ball was given to her by M. Serra, one of the moſt prominent of the revolutionary leaders, who had been ſet at liberty in purſuance of the recent convention. To this feſtival were invited more than twelve hundred perſons, who were known to be hoſtile to the exiſting order of things. To give balls and to eat fleſh on Fridays were acts forbidden by the laws of Genoa; and, as M. Serra had choſen Thurſday for his entertainment, the Senate paſſed a decree, ordering him not to prolong the dancing and feaſting beyond the midnight hour. This decree it ſent to be officially ſigned by the proper tribunal; but the preſident, M. Pallavicini, aware that any attempt to execute the decree might probably be productive of diſturbance, contrived to delay the buſineſs till the time was paſſed over. Had the decree been notified, it would undoubtedly have been diſobeyed; for the dance and the ſupper were ſtudiouſly protracted into the forbidden day, and this violation of the laws was afterwards made a ſubject of triumph by thoſe who had been engaged in it. That the law itſelf was ſuperſtitious and abſurd there can be no doubt; but there can be as little doubt that it was in uniſon with the feelings of a majority of the Genoeſe; and, therefore, the premeditated and open breach of it was an action which would have been worthy of cenſure, even had it not been manifeſtly committed for the purpoſe, as it were, of throwing down the gauntlet to the Genoeſe government.

Sinking daily into a more profound ſtate of degradation, foreſeeing the fate which awaited it, but unable to make a ſingle effort to avert

avert the danger, the government lingered on for a period of ſix months longer. It was faſt in the toils, and the deciſive blow might be given to it at leiſure. That leiſure Buonaparte could not yet find. The firſt months of 1797 were too deeply occupied in deſpoiling the Pope, compelling the emperor to conſent to a peace, laying the foundations of the Ciſalpine republic, and ſubverting the republic of Venice, to allow of his paying full attention to the affairs of Genoa. Faypoult, however, ably ſupplied his place, and continued his revolutionary machinations with a perſevering activity. In the downfall of Venice, the government of Genoa might ſee the certain omen of its own. That event increaſed the conſternation which was felt; and while ſome, catching at every ſtraw in the hope of finding ſafety, propoſed to ſue for an alliance with France; others, prompted either by treaſon or terror, expreſſed a wiſh for the incorporation of the Genoeſe dominions with the French republic. Salicetti had already declared, to the club aſſembled at the houſe of Morando, that the Venetian oligarchy being deſtroyed, the turn of Genoa was come; and the ſame language was now held by Buonaparte, in a letter to Faypoult. "I think with you," ſaid he, "that the complete fall of Venice neceſſarily leads to that of the Genoeſe ariſtocracy, but to accompliſh this a fortnight more is neceſſary, that the Venetian buſineſs may be brought entirely to a cloſe." It was his gracious pleaſure that Genoa ſhould remain an independant republic; but he did not conceal his intention of demanding from her at leaſt the ceſſion of the Gulph of Spezzia, in exchange for the imperial fiefs, in order to aggrandize the new ſtate which he had eſtabliſhed in Lombardy.

It ſeems to have been intended, that the exploſion ſhould not burſt forth till the arrival of a French ſquadron from Toulon, and till ſome other preparatory ſteps had been taken, to enſure ſucceſs. In the meanwhile Faypoult appears to have been preparing the way for a change, by hinting the neceſſity of it to the ſenate. The Senate, in conſequence, de- May puted to him two of its 20. members, Durazzo and Cataneo, with powers to confer and to treat. The conference, however, did not lead to ſuch reſults as he probably expected that it would; the ſenators confining themſelves to a complaint againſt the Milan journaliſts, and a requeſt that Buonaparte would forbid thoſe writers from pouring forth their perſonalities on citizens of Genoa. As the government had recently, without remonſtrance, witneſſed the erection of a tree of liberty in one of the ſuburbs, by the French and Genoeſe patriots, as they were called, M. Faypoult, no doubt, expected that, on this occaſion, it would ſubmiſſively bend to whatever he might require. His diſappointment, therefore, excited in him angry feelings, and prompted him to a rudeneſs of language which was by no means in uniſon with the dignity of the diplomatic character. The evidence of this, he himſelf ſupplies, in a diſpatch to Buonaparte. "I treated this buſineſs," ſays he, "with very little ceremony, and gave theſe gentlemen to underſtand, that their government was amuſing itſelf

itſelf with trifles, and that the long prayers, and other mummeries, with which the Genoeſe ſenators believed they could ſtop the torrent of political knowledge that had ſhaken their power, could only ſerve to convert their overthrow into a cataſtrophe which it would be wiſe to avoid; that the proper means for them to employ conſiſted in ſeeing what they muſt come to in ſpite of them, and in lending themſelves to forward the event by meaſures which might conciliate for them the eſteem of their compatriots, and likewiſe earn for them the forgiveneſs of their faults." It was in this offenſive ſtrain that M. Faypoult conſidered himſelf as being authorized to ſpeak to the repreſentatives of a government which, as yet, was at leaſt nominally independent. The conference was cloſed without any further diſcuſſion.

Before every thing was perfectly in readineſs to ſtrike the blow with deciſive effect, a criſis was brought on at Genoa, by the raſhneſs and impatience of the revolutionary party. For ſeveral days a violent fermentation had exiſted in the city. The ſtreets were paraded by bands of young men, who ſung the Marſeilleſe hymn, and other ſongs of the ſame kind, and groups were formed, which were harangued by itinerant orators, who declaimed againſt the tyranny of the Genoeſe rulers, and incited their auditors to acts of outrage. The arreſt of two of theſe diſturbers of the peace of the capital, rouſed all the rage of their companions, and produced a premature recourſe to the deciſion of arms. On the twenty-firſt of May, a troop of malecontents aſſembled on the public walk, hooted, inſulted, and threatened the nobles who paſſed by, and then hurried to the theatre in a body, for the purpoſe of compelling the actors to ſing the patriotic ſongs. The precaution had, however, been taken of clearing and ſhutting up the theatre, previouſly to their arrival. Finding themſelves diſappointed there, they proceeded to the houſe of M. Faypoult, to deſire that he would inſiſt upon the liberation of their impriſoned friends. The French envoy received them graciouſly, and promiſed to comply with their wiſhes.

This was but the prelude to the long-meditated inſurrection. Believing that they were now ſufficiently ſtrong to accompliſh their purpoſe, the revolutioniſts determined not to brook any further delay. The night was ſpent in collecting their ſtrength, and arranging their plans, and, at nine o'clock on the following morning, having at their head Philip Doria, Morando, and others, they hoiſted the ſtandard of revolt, and ſpeedily made themſelves maſters of the marine arſenal, of ſeveral poſts, and of the principal gates on the ſide of the ſea, and of the ſuburb of St. Pier d'Arena. Their next ſtep was to ſend a deputation to M. Faypoult, to deſire that he would take upon him to notify their demands to the Senate. This commiſſion he readily undertook to perform. It is ſaid that among them were many French and Lombards; and it is certain, that a part of them wore the tri-coloured cockade. To ſwell their numbers with willing allies, they now ſet at liberty the galley-ſlaves, and opened the doors of the priſons. May 22.

Far

Far from attempting to make any reſiſtance, the government, trembling and helpleſs, at once gave itſelf up as loſt. Its only reſource ſeemed to be in the philanthropy and influence of the French miniſter. M. Durazzo was, therefore, diſpatched to requeſt that he would accompany him to the ducal palace. When M. Faypoult arrived there, he was entreated to confer with the people, and to this he gave a cheerful aſſent. Accompanied by ſomeof the patricians,he accordingly proceeded to the place where the leading revolutioniſts were aſſembled, to whom he propoſed to name four deputies, who, in conjunction with the ſame number of members of the government, ſhould deliberate on the meaſures which it would be neceſſary to adopt. He then returned to the palace, and a decree was paſſed by the Senate, to authorize the commencement of the meditated reforms. The inſurgents, however, did not appear diſpoſed to be ſatiſfied with any thing ſhort of entire ſubmiſſion to their will.

The revolution ſeemed now to be conſummated, and Faypoult is ſaid even to have ſent off to the Directory the joyful tidings of the triumph which had been gained. But in this caſe, as in many others, appearances were deluſive. The government was vanquiſhed; and had, indeed, diſplayed a ſort of ſuicidal haſte to ſhorten its own exiſtence: but the revolutioniſts had yet another and firmer enemy to encounter with. As ſoon as the revolt became generally known, crowds of artiſans and citizens of the lower claſs ruſhed to the ducal palace, and implored to be furniſhed with arms for the defence of their rulers. Fearing probably that the ſtruggle would be an unavailing one, and might only ſerve to bring down upon them a ſeverer fate, thoſe rulers repeatedly refuſed to comply with their requeſt. The multitude however, were determined not to ſtand tamely by, while the government was overthrown. They broke open the arſenal, ſupplied themſelves with arms and cannon, ſwore to conquer or die, and then, about five in the afternoon, with loud ſhouts of *Viva Maria & Principe*, they marched to give battle to the revolters. After a ſucceſſion of ſanguinary conteſts, in which Philip Doria was killed, the inſurgents were driven from all the poſts which they occupied, and were entirely defeated and diſperſed. When the houſe of Morando was broken into and ſearched, it is ſaid that, among other papers of importance, there was found a liſt of proſcribed individuals, and another containing the names of perſons who were objects of ſuſpicion. Morando himſelf, with many of his accomplices, found a ſhelter in the houſe of M. Faypoult.

The news of this event rapidly ſpread through the neighbourhood of Genoa, and rouſed into activity thoſe who were friendly to the government. Twenty thouſand peaſants of the valleys of Polcevera and Beſagno immediately offered their ſervices for the ſupport of the ſtate. InGenoa likewiſe, the greater number of the citizens manifeſted the ſame ſpirit; and even many of the moſt reſpectable of thoſe who had not been hoſtile to the plans of the inſurgents, were now neutral, the meaſure of liberating the galley ſlaves and priſoners having excited

cited in them at once diſguſt and fear.

During the conteſt between the two parties, M. Faypoult diſplayed no ſmall degree of alarm. He requeſted to be eſcorted out of the city, that he might put his perſon in ſafety; but he was aſſured, in anſwer, that while the conflict was raging, it was more dangerous to attempt to quit Genoa than to remain in it. A ſtrong guard was placed at his houſe, and as he continued to tremble for his exiſtence, the guard was twice augmented by detachments of fifty men. His fears were, perhaps, not wholly groundleſs, ſeveral Frenchmen being ſlain as participators in the revolt. It was, however, denied by the miniſter that his countrymen had any ſhare in the inſurrection, and he blamed, or affected to blame, the inſurgents, for having expoſed the French to popular violence, by an unauthorized aſſumption of the national cockade.

Notwithſtanding the victory which had been won for it, and, in fact, forced upon it, the government thought it prudent to conciliate its enemies, and eſpecially France, by making the changes which it had promiſed in the conſtitution of Genoa. As a preliminary to the quiet performance of this taſk, it endeavoured, by offering a price for each muſket, to recover the arms which had been taken from the magazines by the multitude. It alſo called together the citizens in their ſeveral corporate companies and bodies, to conſult them on what was proper to be done to give them ſatisfaction. From the confeſſion of M. Faypoult, it appears that the reſult of this enquiry was not favourable to the views of the revolutioniſts. "It is," ſaid he, "pretty generally agreed, that many changes are neceſſary in certain parts of the conſtitution of the country; but every thing proves that a great majority wiſh to preſerve the chief power in the hands of the nobles, where it has ſo long been." He ſubſequently declared, in even ſtronger terms, that "all the people ſtill wiſhed for what they called their prince, that is to ſay the nobles, and allowed themſelves to be entirely led by their prieſts, and that events had proved that the Genoeſe were not yet ripe for a revolution."

As the fears of M. Faypoult ſubſided, he reſumed his former imperious tone. He demanded, in the firſt place, that all Frenchmen, Lombards, and Genoeſe, in the ſervice of the French republic, who had been arreſted, as having been actors in the conſpiracy, ſhould be ſet at liberty; and, in the next place, that a proclamation ſhould be iſſued to enlighten the people, by ſolemnly aſſuring them that the French had no ſhare whatever in the diſturbances, and that the Genoeſe, and their rulers could not but be filled with grief, in conſequence of the exceſſes which had been committed againſt ſo many of the French. If theſe conceſſions were refuſed, he threatened to depart from Genoa.

The demands of Buonaparte were of a ſtill more exorbitant nature. Profiting by the movement which he had excited, he repreſented the tumult which the population of the ſtate of Genoa had aſſiſted its government in quelling, as a marked teſtimony of the feeling of that population againſt its government.

A negociation at the point of the bayonet is ſpeedily decided. The preliminary diſcuſſions were few, and the threat of military occupation ſoon brought them to concluſion. The approach of generals Ruſca and Sahuguet with a diviſion of the army of Italy, was notified to the ſenate. The functions of that body were declared at an end, though a deputation was permitted to liſten to the conditions which the conqueror ſhould dictate. Twelve thouſand men encamped in the valley of Polcevera, and on the 6th of June a convention was ratified by Buonaparte at Monte Bello, for the eſtabliſhment of a proviſional government*. The ſovereignty was transferred, on the cuſtomary French model, to the aggregate of the citizens. Two repreſentative councils had the care of legiſlation; and the Doge retained a nominal power as the preſident of an executive of ten. The extinction of all factions hoſtile to France, was recommended as the primary object to which the new councils were to addreſs themſelves; and a committee was inſtructed to prepare a conſtitution for the regenerated ſtate. Little reſiſtance could be offered by a people who were at once victims to domeſtic faction, and overawed by an invading army. The chief fears which were manifeſted, regarded the preſervation of religion: and on this head Buonaparte offered unlimited guarantees. The conſtitution was rapidly framed. The government for the eſtabliſhment of which Doria was honoured as "the Father of his Country, and the Reſtorer of its Liberty," was ſwept from the face of Europe, and THE LIGURIAN REPUBLIC aroſe upon the ruins of that which once was Genoa.

* State Papers, 421.

CHRONICLE.

1797.

JANUARY.

1st. THIS morning an elderly woman, apparently insane, went to the house of Mary Hamweil, an old infirm woman, in Mortimer's-folly, near Tottenham Court-road, and finding her alone, threw her down, and, with a butcher's cleaver that was unfortunately in the room, cut and mangled her about the neck in so dreadful a manner, that there is little hope of her recovery. Her cries bringing some of the neighbours about the house, they forced open the door, and rescued her from death. The maniac was immediately carried before Richard Ford, esq. at the Public office, Bow-street, where she confessed every circumstance attending the transaction, which, she said, she committed at the instigation of God, revealed to her in a dream the preceding night; said her name was Maria Frances Petit; that she formerly kept a public-house in Holborn, but at the death of her husband went to service; that she now got her living by needle-work, and resided in Eagle-street, Red Lion-square. Mr. Ford ordered her to be kept in close custody. Mary Hamwell is in the Middlesex hospital, but unable yet to give her testimony.

2d. The Lisbon Mail, which arrived on Saturday evening, brings us the melancholy intelligence of the loss of his Majesty's ships, the Bombay Castle of 74 guns, commanded by captain Sotheby, and the Courageux of 74 guns, commanded by captain Hallowell. The fleet of admiral sir John Jervis encountered a severe storm in coming through the Straits of Gibraltar. The Courageux was seen to go down. Captain Hallowell, the master, and about 100 of the crew, were happily saved; but between 400 and 500 brave men lost their lives. The Bombay Castle was lost close to the Tagus, and the captain and all the crew were fortunately saved.

3d. Part of that stupendous monument of antiquity, Stonehenge, was observed to fall, by some husbandmen who were ploughing near it; a remarkable concussion of ground was occasioned by the circumstance. Three of the five trilithons (or pairs of stones at the western end, with their imposts) of which the adytum of the structure

originally conſiſted, fell flat weſtward, levelling alſo, in their deſcent to the ground, a ſtone of the ſecond circle, that ſtood juſt in the line of their precipitation. The two other trilithons remain in their original poſition. One of the trilithons in the inner circle had long been obſerved to decline from its true perpendicular. The ſtones which fell were ſeven feet eight inches wide, three feet thick, and twenty and a half long, of which four feet and a half were always under ground. On the top of theſe ſtones were ſemi-globular tenons, of eighteen inches diameter, made to fit mortiſes in a cap-ſtone, which is laid acroſs them; that ſtone is ſixteen feet in length, four feet nine inches in width, and three feet in thickneſs. From the lower ends of the ſupporters being now expoſed to view, their prior depth in the ground is ſatisfactorily aſcertained, ſix feet. The deſtruction of any part of this grand oval is a circumſtance to be regretted, as it contained the moſt gigantic materials of the whole ſtructure. Repeated moiſture, and particularly the rapid thaw which ſucceeded the late deep ſnow, had, in all probability, ſapped the foundation. No account is upon record of the falling of the other parts; and, perhaps, previouſly to this tremendous downfall, no alteration in the ſtructure had taken place for the three laſt centuries. The impoſt, which is the ſmalleſt of the three ſtones, weighs about thirty tons, and does not appear to have received any injury by the fall. In 1795 a ſubterraneous paſſage, at Old Sarum, was diſcloſed by a ſimilar change of weather.

Hague.—A dreadful inundation has taken place at Bois le Duc, where the water is ſo high in the town, that a horſe could ſcarce get through it without danger of being drowned. Poverty and diſtreſs have arisen to the higheſt pitch. A can of milk is ſold at ten ſtivers, and nobody can leave the town without expoſing their lives to the moſt imminent danger. From every part of the country ſignals of diſtreſs are heard from the villages by the diſcharge of guns; and nobody can approach thoſe diſtricts, which are probably under water. We ſpeedily expect further news reſpecting thoſe dreadful diſaſters.

The new emperor of Ruſſia has iſſued an order, enjoining all foreigners in Peterſburgh to wear cocked hats, their hair in bags, &c. and not to drive through the city with more than two horſes. With reſpect to the mourning for the empreſs, the four firſt claſſes of people muſt furniſh their ſervants with ſables; every coach muſt have the ſame covering, and horſes, without diſtinction of colour, be provided with black tails. The wearing of any gold or ſilver upon the uniforms of the military is prohibited.

At Northallerton, lately, a turnip being cut open, a gold ring was diſcovered in the centre of it. The ring had been loſt 15 years ago, by a lady who lived on the premiſes, to whom it was now fortunately reſtored.

Lately was diſcovered, at Cadwgan Houſe, near Wrexham, four ſuits of iron armour, and the ſkeleton of a very large horſe, depoſited in a dry ſandy ſoil, in the ſide of an artificial mount, within the ancient mural extent of the Caſtelline incloſure. One of the caſques, or helmets, differs from the reſt, and bears a ſtriking reſemblance to the iron bonnet of Bulkley, on the tomb at Beaumaris.

Beaumaris. The armour was complete, in head-piece, gorgets, or safeguards for the neck, an iron apron in front, with a cuirass for the back, annexed to the apron by hinges. The suits were evidently knightly, the hooks and hinges being extremely compact, and well executed. The position of the horse's head was singular, being placed on the coats of mail.—Cadwgan House stands on an elevation, on the terrace of Offa's Dyke, is a very ancient edifice, and was once ennobled by the residence of a succession of Welsh chieftains.

The following fact gives a melancholy instance of the mortality which still rages in the island of St. Domingo:—Twenty officers of different corps agreed to meet at a tavern to dine that day week; when the time came, only eight assembled, the other twelve being carried off, in that short interval, by the pestilential disorder of the climate!

7th. This being the day appointed for enrolling the Supplementary Militia at Carlisle, a numerous mob assembled to prevent its being put into execution. They went to the town clerk, and got from him the balloting books and lists, which they carried off in triumph, and burnt at the Cross, amidst the loudest acclamations. They then went to the clerk of the peace, being informed that he had in custody some books of a similar description, but which was not the case. He found it prudent to go out to the street, to prevent their forcing the office. They then carried him to the high constable's, from thence to the town clerk's, and then to captain Foster's, a magistrate. The mob, which consisted of 1000 at least, then allowed him to make his escape unhurt.

8th. The steeple of Hornington church, near Norwich, fell down, while the bell was ringing for divine service. Fortunately no further injury was done, nor were any lives lost.

10th. The following curious article is extracted from one of the Paris papers:—Citizen Finot, president of the provisional administration of the department of the Yonne, formerly a hussar at Avrolles, and afterwards a member of the national convention, has found the means of multiplying, by a single alliance (not indeed a very common one) his kindred and family connexions.—He married, as his first wife, the female citizen Bribot, widow of Rose, by whom she had a daughter, now living, named Mary Ann Rose. The president Finot had by this widow, another daughter, who is also now living. His wife died, and, on the 14th of January last, he married his daughter in law, Mary Ann Rose. The consequence of this marriage is, that the president becomes the son-in-law of his first wife, the father-in law of his second wife, and brother-in-law of his own daughter. Madame Finot becomes the mother-in-law of her sister. If Madame Finot contributes any little Finots to the republic, Monsieur Finot will be both their father and grandfather; and the first Miss Finot will be their aunt and sister.

11th. About noon, a melancholy accident happened in Liverpool harbour. As Mr. Slack, deputy constable, was conveying a party of volunteers, raised in Manchester and the adjacent parishes, for the navy, the boat in which they were proceeding to the tender overset, by

which fatal accident 25 perſons loſt their lives.

12th. *Edinburgh.*—At ſeven in the morning, the River Clyde, above the celebrated Fall of Corra, deſerted its uſual courſe, leaving its bed below, for four hours, almoſt entirely dry. The cotton-mills of New Lanerk were conſequently ſtopped; and at eleven o'clock, when the waters reſumed their courſe, there was leſs at Mauldſlie Ford, ſome miles below, than what the ſmall rivers, the Mouſs and Nethan, commonly afford. Although this is the fourth inſtance of the ſame kind in remembrance, and the ſecond ſince the eſtabliſhment of the mills, the cauſe has not been aſcertained.

Some of the ſingle plays of Shakſpeare, belonging to the late Mr. Dodd the actor, were ſold at the following prices:

The ſecond part of Henry IV. printed by Andrew Wiſe and William Aſpley, 1606, 3l. 8s.—The Midſummer Night's Dream, 1l. 18s.—King John, printed by Valentine Sims, for Helme, 1611, 1l. 16s.—Richard II. printed by Purfoot and Law, 1621, 1l. 13s.—Richard III. printed by Matthew Law, 1615, 1l.—Some of the moſt curious of the dramatic productions were purchaſed by Mr. Nicol, for the King; among the reſt, a comedy, entitled, "Gammer Gurton's Frolicks," printed in 1485, fourteen years after printing was introduced into England, in 1471, by Caxton, when the firſt printing-houſe was erected in Weſtminſter. Alſo an Operatical Interlude, printed in 1658, and performed in honour of admiral Blake, during the Protectorate, entitled, "The Courſe of Sir Francis Drake, illuſtrated with Muſical Sonnets and Scenical Decorations, as acted at the Cockpit, Drury-lane."

16th. The ſeſſions at the Old Bailey cloſed, when the recorder pronounced ſentence of death on Thomas Smith, for burglary, and ſtealing in the day-time; Nathan Jacklin, for highway robbery; William Smith, William Green, John Milton, George Waring, and Tate Corbet, for burglaries; Thomas Ellſtone, for returning from tranſportation; and John Bates for privately ſtealing in a dwelling-houſe to above the amount of forty ſhillings.

John Cunningham, for manſlaughter, was ordered to be impriſoned one year in Newgate, and fined 1s.

Elizabeth Waring, for receiving ſtolen goods, to be tranſported for fourteen years.

Lancelot Knowles to be tranſported for ſeven years: as were alſo Thomas Bull, Ann Rochford, George Morgan, W. Nowland, Mary Cordell, Eliz. Ogle, Eliz. Lewis, W. Wyatt, George Bird, Thomas Spencer, Elias Nathan, G. Burſbich, and James Dempſey.

Four were ordered to be impriſoned for two years, four for one year, and five for ſix months.

Ann Williams, Charles Harris, George Barber, and Mary Lumſdale, who had been capitally convicted at former ſeſſions, were put to the bar, and offered his majeſty's pardon, upon condition of being tranſported to New South Wales, for the term of their natural lives; which the three firſt accepted with thanks, but the latter abſolutely refuſing, ſhe was ordered to a condemned cell.

17th. This day the following melancholy intelligence arrived from America:—

Savannah,

Savannah, Nov. 29.—On Saturday the 26th inſtant, this city exhibited a ſcene of deſolation and diſtreſs, probably more awfully calamitous than any previouſly experienced in America.

Between ſix and ſeven o'clock in the evening, a ſmall bakehouſe, belonging to a Mr. Gromet, in Market-ſquare, was diſcovered to be on fire. The citizens, together with the officers and crews of the veſſels in the harbour, were ſoon convened; but, unfortunately, no immediate and deciſive meaſures were adopted, by which the fire could be ſtopped at its beginning. The fortunate eſcape from this deſtructive element, which the city for many years paſt experienced, had greatly lulled the vigilance of its inhabitants, and prevented ſuitable preparations for ſuch a calamity.

The period when ſuch precaution and the united efforts of active exertion could have been uſed, was, however, of very ſhort duration.

The ſeaſon, for two months previous to this accident, had been dry; the night was cold, and a light breeze from N N.W. was ſoon increaſed by the effect of the fire. The covering of the buildings being of wood, were from the above circumſtances rendered highly combuſtible. Several of the adjoining houſes were ſoon affected, and then almoſt inſtantly in flames: the wind now became ſtrong, and whirled into the air, with agitated violence, large flakes of burning ſhingles, boards, and other light ſubſtances, which, alighting at a diſtance, added confuſion to the other terrors of the conflagration.

The uſe of water was now rendered totally vain; its common extinguiſhing power ſeemed to be loſt. Torrents of flames rolled from houſe to houſe, with a deſtructive rapidity, which bad defiance to all human controul, and individual exertions were from this time principally pointed towards the ſecuring of private property.

The direction of the fire being now committed to the wind, its rage was abated only when, by its extending to the common, it found no farther object, wherewith to feed its fury.

On the north ſide of Market-ſquare, and thence in a ſouth-eaſterly direction, the inhabitants were enabled, by favour of the wind, to ſave their houſes, and limit the conflagration.—On the other hand, by the time it had extended on the bay, nearly to Abercorn-ſtreet, the prodigious quantity of heat already produced in the centre of the city, began to draw in a current of air from the eaſt, and enabled ſome of the moſt active inhabitants and ſeamen to ſave a few houſes in that quarter, after having been in imminent danger.

Between twelve and one the rage of the fire abated, and few other houſes from this time took fire. The exhauſted ſufferers, of both ſexes, had now to remain expoſed to the inclemency of a cold froſty night, and to witneſs the diſtreſſing ſpectacle of their numerous dwellings, covered with volumes of ſmoke and flame, tumbling into ruins.

In four hours, 229 houſes, beſides outhouſes, &c. were deſtroyed, amounting to one million of dollars, excluſive of looſe property; 375 chimnies are ſtanding bare, and form a diſmal appearance; 171 houſes only, of the compact part of the city, are left ſtanding;

upwards of 400 families are deſtitute of houſes.

New York, Saturday, Dec. 9.—Dreadful Conflagration.—About one o'clock this morning, a fire broke out in one of the ſtores on Murray's wharf, coffee-houſe ſlip, and raged with ſuch fury as to baffle all human exertion, till it had laid in aſhes the whole block of buildings included between that ſlip, Front-ſtreet, and the Fly-market. The number of buildings conſumed may be from 50 to 70, conſiſting moſtly of large warehouſes, with ſome large and valuable dwelling houſes. The goods in the ſtores firſt burnt, were all conſumed, with all the books and papers of the occupiers. Of this number are Meſſrs. Robinſon and Hartſhorne, Meſſrs. Loomis and Tillingham, Wm. and S. Robinſon, and the repreſentatives of Nicholas Cook.

The merchandize in the ſtores nearer to the Fly-market was much of it ſaved.

Fortunately it was high water, and the wind off ſhore, by which means the ſhipping was ſaved.

In the courſe of the above conflagration, captain Sharpe, and the crew of his majeſty's packet, the Swallow, exerted themſelves in a manner to impreſs, with the warmeſt gratitude, the inhabitants of New York. They cut out of the flames ſeveral veſſels that had actually caught fire, and ſaved the lives of thirty perſons who were on board.

20th. The wife of Oliver Scrufe, labourer, of Orcheſton St. George, Wilts, in a fit of inſanity, murdered her three children (the eldeſt of whom was four years old, and the youngeſt ſix months), by burning them on the hearth with a large fire, made of oat ſtraw. Immediately after the horrid deed, ſhe attempted to cut her own throat with a knife; but not finding that ſufficiently ſharp, ſhe took her huſband's razor, with which ſhe made a conſiderable inciſion, though not ſufficient to deprive her of life on the ſpot. Her huſband, returning to breakfaſt, was preſented with the dreadful ſpectacle of his wife in that ſituation, and the ſmall remains of his children which were unconſumed. On being queſtioned, as to her motive for this horrid act, ſhe anſwered—"ſhe could not help it; ſhe was forced to do it; that when ſhe found the blood come, ſhe was ſenſible of what ſhe had done, and kneeled down and ſaid the Lord's prayer twenty times." On a ſurgeon arriving the wound was ſewed up, but it ſubſequently proved mortal.

On the coroner's inqueſt, it appeared that ſhe had been indiſpoſed for nearly ſix weeks; that her complaint at length affected her head; and that for a day or two previouſly to the cataſtrophe, ſhe was incapable of taking care of her family. On the day preceding, a poor woman, a neighbour, had aſſiſted her, by putting on the children's clothes; ſhe then complained much of her head, and appeared too ill to be left; but the woman could not attend her on the next day; and Scrufe, the huſband, being only a threſher, was obliged to work, to get neceſſaries for his family. When he returned home, at eleven o'clock, he beheld his wife, and the miſerable remains of his children, in the horrible ſtate already deſcribed. The unhappy mother was herſelf examined;

examined; but ſhe had no recollection of any circumſtance, from the time her huſband left her in the morning, till ſhe found the blood flowing from her throat, when, ſuddenly, as from a dream, ſhe ſaw and felt the effect of her diſorder, dropped on her knees, and ſaid the Lord's prayer. She admitted that her ill health, and the diſtreſſed ſituation of her family, had preyed much on her mind; but not ſo as to occaſion any reſolution of violence either to herſelf or her infants. It appeared that ſhe had ever before conducted herſelf as an affectionate parent, and been remarkably attentive to her children. Mr. Johnſon, a medical gentleman, of Ameſbury, depoſed, that he had examined the poor woman, and, from her ſtate of health, could very naturally account for the ſudden derangement of her intellects, and as ſudden reſtoration to reaſon; he had no doubt but that the bleeding occaſioned by the wound in her throat, relieved her head, and was the cauſe of the latter. After this long examination, the jury returned a verdict of the ſimple fact—"That the children were burnt to death by the mother, in a fit of inſanity."

23d. This night, at eleven o'clock, a cottage at Newton Ferrars, about eleven miles from Plymouth, in which ſlept an induſtrious widow (cottager) and her two children, was overwhelmed by the burſting of a very large field, and orchard on a hill above the cottage, in Memblard-lane. It totally deſtroyed the cottage and a barn, and ſuffocated the widow and her two children, who were found dead under a very great heap of earth, elm-trees, and cider-trees. A large chaſm in the field above the cottage was found, out of which iſſued a rivulet of water. The farmers imagine it was owing to the burſting of a ſpring, that this accident happened. The bodies were dug out on Monday; and Mr. Whitford, coroner for the ſouthern diſtrict of Devon, took an inquiſition, and the jury returned a verdict, "Accidental death."

At the Quarter Seſſions held at Bourn, for the diſtrict of Keſteven, in the county of Lincoln, Joſeph Tye, a blackſmith, was found guilty of uſing ſeveral ſeditious expreſſions; ſuch as "D——n to the K—g; the K—g is a raſcal, and all that belong to him; his g———t is a raſcally deſpotic g———t; K—gs are of no uſe," &c. &c. His ſentence was, that he ſhould be kept in ſolitary confinement without ſeeing or ſpeaking to any perſon, except the perſon who takes him his victuals, for the ſpace of twelve months; and at the expiration of that time to enter into certain recognizances. 25th.

J. W. Haygarth, G. Truſſel, J. Bowen, A. Brown, A. Waiham, W. Oſmond, and W. Bampton, old lieutenants in his majeſty's navy, are juſt choſen to be the ſeven poor naval knights of Windſor, a new eſtabliſhment of a private nature, according to the will of the late S. Travers, eſq. Each has an apartment near the caſtle, and 60l. per annum ſalary, independent of the half pay, with 12l. per annum additional to the ſenior. They are ſingle, and without children, according to the ſaid will. Two eſtates in Eſſex are ſettled in truſt to make good the ſaid eſtabliſhment.

Some preſents from the king of the iſland of Owhyhee in the South Seas, where capt. 28th.

Cook met his death, brought over by capt. Vancouver, have been presented to the King at Buckingham-houſe, by the duke of Portland; the principal of which conſiſts of two ſtate garments, and a helmet, or crown: of the former, one is wholly made of otter ſkin, in a very ingenious manner; the other is of the cloth of the country, covered with the feathers of birds, ſo conſtructed, as by a ſingle move of the hand alternately to diſplay red or yellow. The helmet is of otter ſkin, covered with feathers in a very maſterly manner.

31ſt. About ſix in the evening, as the earl of Strathmore was proceeding in a poſt-chaiſe, near Finchley Common, the chaiſe, in which were his lordſhip and a French nobleman, was ſtopped by two highwaymen, one of whom came up to the window, and preſented a piſtol to his lordſhip, which he attempted to fire, but it flaſhed in the pan; at the ſame inſtant his lordſhip diſcharged a piece at the robber, which ſhot him in the neck, and he directly fell from his horſe, and expired. His companion made off with the greateſt precipitation, leading off with him the horſe on which his comrade had rode. On inſpection of the body, it turns out to be that of William Lancaſter, a very old offender, and who was liberated only on Monday laſt, having been confined on a charge of robbing lord Borringdon. His lordſhip, who was on his way for Scotland, immediately returned to town, and ſending notice of the accident to the Public Office, Bow-ſtreet, Fugion and Rivett, two of the officers, who went down, inſtantly recogniſed him, although diſguiſed in a moſt extraordinary manner. This is the ſame perſon who ſome years ago made his eſcape, when in cuſtody for robbing Mr. Starley, a king's meſſenger. The body was taken to the workhouſe at Finchley, where the coroner's inqueſt was ſummoned to ſit on it this day.

Died.—At Bury, Ann Prigg, aged 104.—Near Exeter, Mr. Woolcombe, aged 90.—At Kentiſh Town, Mrs. Gibſon, aged 90.—At Stanton, Glouceſterſhire, Mrs. Church, aged 109. Under the ſame roof lived the old lady, her daughter, her grand daughter, and her grand daughter's children; making four generations in one houſe. Her death was haſtened by a fall down ſtairs, a few weeks before.—At Llangarren, Mary Davis, aged 105.—At Stenton, Mrs. Mary Reynolds, aged 109.—At Aſhby de la Zouch, Hannah Sturges, aged 106.—At Newcaſtle, Mrs. Greenwall, aged 97.—At Broomhill, Mrs. A. Pickering, aged 97.—At Relpha, Mr. T. Jackſon, a reſpectable yeoman, aged 105. He was able to hold the plough till his 100th year; and has left, by three deſcents, a progeny of 55 deſcendants.—At Leeds, Ann Driver, mother, grandmother, and great grandmother to 108 children; of whom 92 are living.—At Lincoln, widow Robſon, aged 100.—At Derby, Mr. B. Granger, aged 92.—Near Congleton, M. Wright, aged 100.—At Hereford, Mrs. Price, aged 98; Mrs. Trehearne, aged 95.

FEBRUARY.

1ſt. This evening, about ten o'clock, the patrol, going their rounds, diſcovered the body of colonel Frederick lying dead under the porch of the weſt gate of Weſtminſter

minſter Abbey. He appeared to have been ſhot, one ſide of his face being totally gone, and a vaſt quantity of blood and ſome brains lying about the ſpot where he was found. Several of the inhabitants near the ſpot, about half paſt eight o'clock were alarmed by the report of fire-arms. The colonel's hat was lying by his ſide; and in his pockets were found two ſhillings, a paper with a ſmall quantity of gunpowder, and a card of his addreſs.

The coroner's inqueſt ſat upon the body; when Mr. Sterling, of Northumberland-ſtreet, with whom the deceaſed had lodged for ſome time paſt, and a gentleman of the name of Gretton, ſpoke particularly as to the deranged ſtate of the deceaſed's mind for ſeveral months; that he ſuppoſed his derangement originated from diſtreſs, occaſioned by his loſing a penſion of 200l. per year, allowed him by the ducheſs of Wirtemberg previous to the war, but who, to compenſate the loſs, propoſed raiſing a regiment of ſoldiers, to be diſpoſed of as the Britiſh Government ſhould think fit, on condition that the deceaſed ſhould have the command of it, which regiment was offered to the Eaſt India Company, or to ſerve in Portugal; but for ſome unknown reaſons was not accepted; which affected the deceaſed ſo much, his diſtreſſes increaſing, that he frequently told ſeveral of his friends he ſhould deſtroy himſelf.

Mrs. Segur, who keeps a coffee-houſe in Palace-yard, alſo ſpoke to the deranged ſtate of the deceaſed's mind, who called at her houſe on Tueſday evening, appeared in a high fever, and refuſed to take the ſmalleſt refreſhment.

Mr. Gwilliam, of the Story's Gate coffee-houſe, proved the deceaſed's dining there on Wedneſday; but obſerved nothing particular in his conduct.

William Colvin, the boy who ſaid he ſaw the deceaſed killed, was re-examined before the coroner; when on the oath being adminiſtered, he confeſſed that all he had before ſaid was falſe; and that he knew nothing further concerning the tranſaction, than that he met a boy on Wedneſday night in St. Margaret's church-yard, who informed him the body of a man was lying under the porch of the Abbey-gate, oppoſite Tothill-ſtreet, and whom he accompanied to view it.

Under theſe circumſtances, and it alſo appearing that the deceaſed had borrowed a piſtol a few days ago from a perſon in St. Martin's-lane, the jury, at near four o'clock, returned a verdict of "Lunacy."

The piſtol has not yet been found; moſt likely it was picked up by the boy who firſt diſcovered the body.

Colonel Frederick, we are aſſured, was more than 70. He has left a daughter, and, we believe, four grand children.

He was a very amiable and unoffending character.

He was the chief companion of the preſent king of Poland, while in this country, and uſed to relate a curious anecdote of dining with the king, then count Poniatowſki, at an obſcure coffee-houſe in the city, where each relied upon the other for money to pay the expence of a moderate dinner, but both were too neceſſitous, and Frederick was obliged to pledge his watch, to liberate himſelf and the future monarch of Poland.

The remains of this unfortunate gentleman

gentleman were yeſterday interred in the church-yard of St. Ann's, Soho, near to the body of his father. The hearſe was accompanied by two mourning coaches, in which were ſome gentlemen, who admired and eſteemed him when living, and were desirous of paying this laſt tribute to departed worth. About an hour before the interment, a very reſpectable perſon deſired to place upon the church-wall, at the head of the grave, the following character. It was ſubmitted to the miniſter, who granted the requeſt.

"Here lie the mortal remains of colonel Frederick, ſon of Theodore, king of Corſica. In his deportment he was a finiſhed gentleman; in honour, honeſty, and truth, he was princely. He was poor in circumſtances; rich in the poſſeſſion of the moſt liberal heart; and the greateſt diſtreſs he laboured under, was the want of abilities to relieve the diſtreſſes of others.—God be with him."

[King Theodore died in the pariſh of St. Ann's, at the houſe of Mr. Deſchamps, No. 5, Little Chapel-ſtreet, on the 11th of December, 1756.]

Derby, Feb. 1.—The following melancholy circumſtance has recently occurred at Brown Hill, in the neighbourhood of Burſlem.—Mr. Oliver, a reſpectable ſurgeon and apothecary, of Burſlem, had for a conſiderable time paſt, entertained a ſtrong attachment for Miſs Wood; but the connection on ſome account being diſagreeable to the family, Mr. Wood ſome time ſince forbad Mr. O. to enter his houſe. Mr. O. could not bear with patience this rude behaviour and diſappointment, and reſolving to ſeek ſatisfaction, he went to Mr. W.'s houſe early on Friday morning, the 27th of January, before Mr. W. was up, and ſent one of the ſervants to ſay, that he, Mr. Oliver, wiſhed to ſpeak with him. Mr. W. immediately dreſſed himſelf, went down into his counting houſe, and ſent his clerk into the parlour, with the money to diſcharge a ſmall bill he owed Mr. Oliver. Mr. Oliver however informed the clerk, that the buſineſs he had to ſettle muſt be done with Mr. Wood himſelf; the clerk immediately delivered this meſſage to his maſter, who went to Mr. O. when the latter preſented his bill, and ſoon after pulled out a brace of piſtols from his pocket, while Mr. W.'s back was turned; the clerk ſeeing them, aſked, what thoſe were for? At that moment Mr. W. turned towards Mr. O. who inſtantly levelled one piſtol at Mr. W. and the other at himſelf: that pointed at Mr. W. immediately went off, and ſhot him through the body. The clerk then knocked the other piſtol out of Mr. O.'s hand, before it was diſcharged. Mr. Wood exclaimed, "Sir, you have killed me!" Mr. Oliver replied, "It is what I intended." The family being alarmed, a ſurgeon was ſent for; Mr. O. told them it was uſeleſs, as Mr. W. would be a dead man in two hours: "and I too," ſaid Mr. Oliver, "ſhall be dead before I leave this room;" at that inſtant he put ſomething into his mouth, which it appeared afterwards was poiſon: but this ſecond attempt to deſtroy himſelf was fruſtrated; for although it made him extremely ill, yet the doſe being too ſtrong, he threw it off his ſtomach. Mr. Wood languiſhed till the following Monday, when he expired. Mr. O. was committed to Stafford jail,

In

In the Parish of Tibshelf, Derbyshire, which does not contain 100 houses, there are now living between 70 and 80 persons, all of whom are upwards of 60 years of age; among these, four have nearly reached the age of 100, 13 have passed the age of 80, and 22 that of 70.

2d. A motion was carried in the common council, for an address to his Majesty, on the abrupt conclusion of the late negotiation, and pledging the resources of the corporation of London in the vigorous prosecution of the war.

3d. Shot himself, at his house at Debdenhall, Essex, Richard Muilman Trench Chiswell, esq. member of parliament for the borough of Aldborough, in the county of York. This melancholy suicide was occasioned by a chain of unsuccessful speculations on West India estates, &c. at the commencement of the war. Previous to his unfortunate entrance into parliament, and the connections thence arising, Mr. Chiswell was confessedly worth near a million sterling. About a year and a half since, there were unfavourable rumours upon 'Change respecting his paper credit; since which time his spirits were evidently depressed. On the morning of the catastrophe, he destroyed some particular papers, and then fastening his dressing-room door, discharged a brace of balls from a pistol through his head. His valet hearing the report, immediately forced open the door, and found him expiring. Mr. Chiswell has left a wife, and an only daughter, now the widow of the late sir Francis Vincent, bart. a few years since ambassador at Venice, by whom she had one son, now sir Richard Vincent, bart. an accomplished youth, about 17 years of age, who was in an adjoining room when the fatal accident happened. Mr. Chiswell possessed a landed estate in Essex of near 2,000l. per ann. He has left a will, in which he makes Mrs. Chiswell sole executrix. A coroner's inquest, composed of the principal gentlemen in that quarter of the county of Essex, sat on the body a few days since, and, after considerable deliberation, brought in their verdict "Lunacy."

6th. A man named Charles Leland, who had lately married a woman of some property, under the character of a clergyman and schoolmaster, but who turned out to be a shoemaker, was examined before the magistrates of the Public Office, Worship-street, for a violent assault upon his wife. When ordered by the magistrate to be committed for want of bail, and put into the lock-up room; out of resentment for his wife's ill-treatment, he took the desperate resolution of stabbing himself in the belly with a penknife. A surgeon was immediately sent for, who dressed him, and he was shortly after conveyed to St. Bartholomew's hospital; but it is judged that his wound will prove mortal.

10th. The six original pictures of Hogarth's Marriage a-la-Mode, once belonging to col. Cawthorne, were sold by auction, for 1000 guineas, to Mr. Angerstein.

Mr. Adams was declared to be elected president, and Mr. Jefferson vice president, of the United States. The former had 71 votes, the latter 68.

11th. The court of King's Bench passed sentence of two years imprisonment and hard labour upon John

John Smith, a bookſeller in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, who had been found guilty of ſelling a ſeditious political pamphlet, entitled "The Rights of Citizenſhip."

14th. Sir John Jervis, with fifteen ſail of the line, attacked the Spaniſh fleet, conſiſting of twenty-ſeven ſail of the line, off Cape St. Vincent, and captured four of them; in which action there were 300 killed and wounded on board the Britiſh fleet, and 603 on board the four Spaniſh ſhips which were taken.

18th. A plot was diſcovered at Porcheſter caſtle, near Portsmouth, by which, if it had ſucceeded, numbers of the priſoners of war confined there would have made their eſcape. A large hole had been dug under one of the priſons, and a paſſage was nearly completed to the outſide of the walls of the caſtle. Information being given, at a ſet time in the evening, after the priſoners were all locked up in their different apartments, it was agreed that the officers on guard, and a ſufficient number of ſoldiers, ſhould ruſh in among them, and diſcover the priſoners at work. This was done, and ſome of the men were taken out of the ſubterraneous paſſage. Shortly after an alarm was given in another quarter, and a priſoner was detected making his eſcape through a broken part of the walls.

The priſoners, from this diſappointment, grew riotous and very refractory, and continued ſo the whole of the night, keeping in lighted candles, ſinging republican ſongs, and behaving in a diſorderly and alarming manner; ſo much ſo, that it was found neceſſary to fire ſome ball cartridges among them. This was attended with no other effect than procuring order for a ſhort time.

On the next morning (Saturday) diſorder and tumult again prevailed; the ſentinels were inſulted on their duty, and it became neceſſary to make ſome examples.

One man, in attempting to get out of the ventilators at the top of the building, was ſhot through the back; the ball was obſtructed by the ſhoulder blade, and went out at the neck; the wound, however, is not mortal. Very ſoon after, more provocation was given, and another Frenchman was ſhot through the heart—he died, of courſe, inſtantaneouſly.

It is preſumed, that, from the recent ſucceſſes of the French over the arms of Auſtria, the ſafe return of the French fleet into Breſt, and other circumſtances, theſe men were led on to that kind of behaviour, which has been the cauſe of this fatality.

If this plan had been attended with ſucceſs, the intention was to have murdered ſuch of the ſentinels as came in their way.

Verdict of Coroner's Inqueſt—Juſtifiable Homicide.

21ſt. Sir Godfrey Webſter obtained a ſentence of ſeparation againſt his wife, in Doctors Commons, on Thurſday, for adultery with lord Holland. The charges upon which the divorce was founded, and to which lord Holland made no defence, were in ſubſtance as follow:—

"That ſir Godfrey and lady Webſter, in the beginning of the year 1795, were at Florence, together with their three children, and that lord Holland viſited them, in common with others, until the

month of February, at which time ſir Godfrey had occaſion to return to England, in conſequence of the death of Richard Vaſſall, eſq. his father-in-law, leaving lady Webſter behind him, who, from being with child, could not travel:—That lord Holland continued his viſits to lady Webſter during the abſence of ſir Godfrey, who did not return again to Florence, but remained in England: That lady Webſter made ſeveral excurſions in the abſence of ſir Godfrey, to Padua, Vienna, &c. &c. in which ſhe was accompanied by lord Holland; and in June 1796 they arrived at Cruxhaven, on their way to England: That they lived together at the ſame inn at Cruxhaven for ſix days, carrying on adulterous intercourſe, and took their paſſage home by the ſame veſſel: That they arrived at Yarmouth in the ſame month, and immediately proceeded to London. On their arrival there lady Webſter ordered her coachman to drive to the houſe of a lady in Albemarle-ſtreet, where ſhe ſaw ſir Godfrey, and where ſhe remained ſome time, but refuſed to ſleep with him: her maid-ſervant conſtantly ſlept in her room, who depoſed that during her lady's ſtay in Albemarle-ſtreet, neither ſir Godfrey nor any other perſon ſlept with her: That on her quitting Albemarle-ſtreet, ſhe went to reſide in ready-furniſhed apartments in Brompton-row, and ſlept in a two-pair of ſtairs room, in which there was only one bed: That lord Holland viſited lady Webſter at theſe apartments, ſlept in the ſame bed with her, and they lived together in this place in all reſpects as man and wife, until the month of Auguſt laſt, at which time they removed to Brompton-Park, where they have ever ſince reſided: That on the 6th day of November laſt, lady Webſter was delivered, by Dr. Crofts, of a full-grown infant, at Brompton-Park: That lady Webſter had frequently acknowledged the child to be lord Holland's, and that lord Holland had paid the uſual fees to Dr. Crofts, and had ever ſince maintained the child as his own.

[Sir Godfrey has ſince obtained 6000l. damages againſt lord Holland; who, immediately after the divorce had taken place, married lady Webſter.]

Advice was received that 25th.
a ſmall body of French troops had landed on the coaſt of Pembrokeſhire.—See Appendix to the Chronicle.

At Mr. Trumbull's ſale of pictures, Mr. Weſt made ſeveral purchaſes for the King. Among theſe were Dejanira and the Centaur, 5881; a Landſcape, with figures and cattle, by Berghem, 945l.; and the Virgin, Chriſt, and St. John, by Raphael, 892l. The whole collection, containing 91 pictures, ſold for 8,217l. 17s.

On Friday evening, about ſeven o'clock, a dreadful fire broke out in a warehouſe near the Old Dock, Liverpool, belonging to Mr. Walton, which, with the whole of its contents, conſiſting of a large quantity of manufactured cotton goods, was totally deſtroyed in about two hours; but, by the very great exertions of a number of gentlemen, and others, aided by the aſſiſtance of the firemen, the adjoining drug-warehouſe of Meſſrs. Welſh and Sinclair, the roof of which had at one time caught fire, was preſerved, with little damage.

27th.

27th. The city of London has been for ſome days thrown into a ſtate of unuſual alarm, by the ſtoppage of payment in caſh at the bank of England. The following particulars will give an idea of this affair.

The critical poſture of the empire making it neceſſary to take the king's pleaſure on a ſtep of the higheſt and moſt important nature, and which nothing but deſperate alarm can juſtify, Mr. Shaw, the meſſenger, was ſent on Saturday to requeſt his Majeſty to come to town on Sunday morning, to aſſiſt at a privy council. It is the firſt time during his reign, that his Majeſty has come to town to do buſineſs on Sunday. The council was accordingly held at St. James's; preſent his Majeſty, the chancellor of the exchequer, the duke of York, the duke of Portland, lord Grenville, the marquis Cornwallis, earl Spencer, and the earl of Chatham; the deliberation laſted till three o'clock, when a proclamation was directed to be iſſued.

As ſoon as the plan was agreed upon at the privy council, the miniſters were met in Downing-ſtreet by the governor and deputy governor of the bank, Mr. Thornton, Mr. Boſanquet, and other gentlemen in the direction. It was communicated to them, and a long and warm conference took place on the occaſion.—The ſubſtance of the meaſure is, a recommendation to the bank of England, not to iſſue any more gold in payment of their notes, until the ſenſe of parliament ſhall be taken.

On this day (the 27th) the following notice was publiſhed by the directors of the bank:—

Bank of England, Feb. 27, 1797.

In conſequence of an order of his majeſty's privy council, notified to the bank laſt night, a copy of which is hereunto annexed,

The governor, deputy-governor, and directors of the bank of England, think it their duty to inform the proprietors of bank ſtock, as well as the public at large, that the general concerns of the bank are in the moſt affluent and proſperous ſituation, and ſuch as to preclude every doubt as to the ſecurity of its notes.

The directors mean to continue their uſual diſcounts for the accommodation of the commercial intereſt, paying the amount in bank notes; and the dividend warrants will be paid in the ſame manner. (Signed)

FRANCIS MARTIN, ſecretary.

Copy of the order of privy council.

At the council chamber, Whitehall, Feb. 26, 1797.

By the lords of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council. Preſent,

The Lord Chancellor,
Lord Preſident,
Duke of Portland,
Marquis Cornwallis,
Earl Spencer,
Earl of Liverpool,
Lord Grenville,
Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequ^{r}.

Upon the repreſentation of the chancellor of the exchequer, ſtating that from the reſult of the information which he has received, and of the inquiries which it has been his duty to make, reſpecting the effect of the unuſual demands for ſpecie, that have been made upon the metropolis, in conſequence of ill-founded or exaggerated alarms in different parts of the

the country, it appears that unleſs ſome meaſure is immediately taken, there may be reaſon to apprehend a want of a ſufficient ſupply of caſh to anſwer the exigencies of the public ſervice. It is the unanimous opinion of the board, that it is indiſpenſably neceſſary for the public ſervice, that the directors of the bank of England ſhould forbear iſſuing any caſh in payment, until the ſenſe of parliament can be taken on that ſubject, and the proper meaſures adopted thereupon, for maintaining the means of circulation, and ſupporting the public and commercial credit of the kingdom at this important conjuncture; and it is ordered, that a copy of this minute be tranſmitted to the directors of the bank of England, and they are hereby required, on the grounds of the exigency of the caſe, to conform thereto, until the ſenſe of parliament can be taken as aforeſaid. (Signed) W. FAWKENER.

The ſame day, at 12 o'clock, a meeting of the moſt opulent merchants in London, and of all the bankers, was held at the Manſion-houſe, when the following reſolution paſſed unanimouſly:—"At a meeting of merchants, bankers, &c. held here this day; to conſider of the ſteps which it may be proper to take, to prevent embarraſſments to public credit, from the effect of an ill-founded or exaggerated alarm, and to ſupport it with the utmoſt exertions at the preſent important conjuncture; reſolved unanimouſly, we, the underſigned, being highly ſenſible how neceſſary the preſervation of public credit is at this time, do moſt readily hereby declare, that we will not refuſe to receive bank-notes in payment of any ſum of money to be paid to us, and will uſe our utmoſt endeavours to make all our payments in the ſame manner."

It was alſo the opinion of the meeting, that the bankers ſhould all agree only to pay the fractional parts of drafts in ſpecie, ſo that every perſon might remain on an equality.

A reſolution, to ſupport the credit of bank-notes, was alſo publiſhed, with the ſignatures of 42 members of the privy council.—For further proceedings on this head, ſee the Appendix to the Chronicle.

At the ſittings before Lord Kenyon, at Guildhall, in an action for a breach of promiſe of marriage, the Jury gave 4000l. damages to the plaintiff, who was a button-maker at Shafteſbury, named Acheſon. The defendant is Mrs. Baker, aged ſixty-two; and Mr. Acheſon is upwards of ſeventy-two. The lady has a fortune of 24,000l. 28th.

The law of the tythe of hops has been clearly laid down by a legal deciſion, in a long-depending cauſe between the lay impropriator of Farnham diſtrict, and the hop-planters of the ſame, viz. that the tythes of hops ſhall be taken from the tenth buſhel after having been picked, and not from the tenth hill ſet out. This deciſion has overturned the verdicts of ſeveral former juries.

DIED.—At his houſe in Pall Mall, in the 74th year of his age, James Dodſley, eſq. many years a very eminent and reſpectable bookſeller. He was the brother, the partner, and ſucceſſor in the buſineſs, of the late ingenious Mr. Robert Dodſley, author of "Triſles," "The Economy of Human Life," "Cleone, a tragedy," &c. 19th.

&c

At an early age, he was removed from his native place, Anſton, in Nottinghamſhire, to London, by his brother, who had ſettled as a bookſeller in Pall Mall; and from that time till his death, a period of 60 years, he continued in the bookſelling buſineſs. In 1758, in conjunction with his brother, he ſtarted that well-known work, "The Annual Regiſter," and continued to publiſh it till the year 1790. Mr. D. was particularly fortunate in his literary connections, and, in conſequence, realized a very handſome fortune. It is worthy noticing, as a literary anecdote, that he ſold no leſs than 18,000 of Mr. Burke's famous "Reflections on the French Revolution." In the year 1782, he communicated to the Rockingham adminiſtration, the plan of the Tax on Receipts, which, though troubleſome to the trader, has been productive of conſiderable revenue to the ſtate.

At Bilton, near Rugby, county of Warwick, Miſs Addiſon, only ſurviving daughter of the celebrated Joſeph Addiſon, eſq. born juſt before his death in 1718, by Sarah, counteſs dowager of Warwick, daughter of Thomas Daſhwood, eſq. alderman of London. The eſtate of Miſs Addiſon ſhe willed to the third ſon of Lord Bradford. There are left at her late houſe, at Bilton, ſeveral portraits of Mr. A. and his friends; and his library, which it is preſumed, contains many valuable books and MSS. She inherited her father's memory, but none of the diſcriminating powers of his underſtanding; with the retentive faculties of Jedediah Buxton, ſhe was a perfect imbecile. She could go on in any part of her father's works, or repeat the whole, but was incapable of ſpeaking or writing an intelligible ſentence.

At Walthamſtow, Mrs. Fowler, aged 96.—At Netherwinton, Mrs. M. Thornton, aged 91.—At Burgate, Mr. J. Stowers, aged 101.—At Litchfield, Mr. W. Deekin, aged 93; Mr. J. Thompſon, aged 91.—At Worceſter, Joyce Pardoe, aged 105.—At Alderſtrop, Mr. Hopkins, aged 92.—At Rhoſlanyrihog, Mrs. Pritchard, aged 98.

MARCH.

1ſt. A very ſevere affray took place this evening in Market-lane, Pall-mall. An order had imprudently been given to the ſoldiers guarding the entrance of the Opera-houſe in that lane, to turn out the ſervants of the nobility who ſtood in the lobby; which the ſervants reſiſted, and the chairmen taking their part, attacked the ſoldiers ſo violently with their poles, that it was found neceſſary to call in the aſſiſtance of the guard at the front of the houſe to quell the riot. Several of the ſervants were much wounded in the affray.

3d. Public rejoicings took place in London, on account of the victory of admiral Jervis over the Spaniſh fleet; and a ſubſcription was entered into at Lloyd's, for the relief of the widows and orphans of the brave men who fell on that occaſion.

4th. Twenty-ſhilling notes were iſſued by the bank of England.

6th. This day, Dr. Brown, of the College, ſtated in the Houſe of Commons of Ireland, the horrible murder which had been committed on a rev. and learned gentleman, a fellow of Trinity College,

College, an ornament to the learning of this country, an active magiſtrate, a moſt worthy member of ſociety, and a particular and eſteemed friend of his own, Dr. Hamilton, who had a living in the North, near the banks of Lough Swilly. This gentleman having dined a few days ſince, at the houſe of a Mr. Waller, in his neighbourhood, the houſe was ſurrounded by a banditti of armed ruffians, about ten o'clock at night, who broke into the houſe while the family were at ſupper, calling loudly for Dr. Hamilton, and threatening death to the whole family. Mrs. Waller implored mercy for her huſband, a feeble poor gentleman, who, having loſt the uſe of his limbs, was unable to fly from their fury; and ſhe threw herſelf over him to protect him from aſſaſſination, when the miſcreants fired three ſhots through her body, and killed her inſtantly. They then threatened to raze the houſe, and put all its inhabitants to death, if Dr. Hamilton was not produced; and the ſervants, to ſave their own lives, dragged him from the wine-cellar to the door: he endeavoured to cling by the ſtaple of the hall-door lock; but the villains burnt his hand to force him to quit his hold, and then dragged him a ſhort diſtance from the houſe, where they in a moſt barbarous manner murdered him. This worthy gentleman has left a wife and nine children wholly unprovided for.

A very extraordinary diſcovery has been made, which promiſes to bring to juſtice the perpetrators of the above horrid murder. As lord William Murray, the commander of the Scots regiment in the quarter where the murder was perpetrated, was walking over the ſpot where the unfortunate gentleman was ſacrificed, he diſcovered a ball-cartridge, the paper of which was part of a letter directed to a man in Derry, in whoſe houſe he found, on ſtrict ſearch, a correſponding part of the ſame letter in another ball-cartridge in the man's poſſeſſion, and ſome other papers, which induced him to take the owner of the houſe into cuſtody, with ſeveral other perſons, and lodge them in the jail.

8th. A general faſt was this day obſerved throughout the kingdom.

9th. This day the Bank began to iſſue dollars at 4s. 9d. each. There is the mint ſtamp affixed on each, which conſiſts of the king's head marked on the king of Spain's neck.

The names of five magiſtrates of Cumberland have been lately ſtruck out of the commiſſion of the peace, for certain colluſive practices with the pariſh officers of Whitehaven, in order to defraud the town of a conſiderable ſum of money. The parties convicted were further obliged to pay the entire coſts of ſuit, amounting to 1,291l. and were mulcted in the penalty of 6s. 8d. each. Their crime and diſgrace is alſo put upon record.

11th. At the Police Office, Marlborough-ſtreet, lady Buckinghamſhire, lady E. Lutterell, and Mrs. Sturt, were convicted before N. Conant and T. Robinſon, eſqrs. in the penalty of 50l. each, for playing at the game of Faro; and Henry Martingdale was convicted in the ſum of 200l. for keeping the Faro-table at lady Buckinghamſhire's houſe.—The witneſſes were two *ci-devant* ſervants to lady B.

The ladies appeared by counſel, who gave notice, that they ſhould appeal to the Quarter Seſſions.

There were informations againſt Mr. Concannon and Mr. O'Burne, for ſimilar offences. Both defendants were found guilty, and paid the penalties.

As Mr. Denne, of Littlebourne-court, near Canterbury, was returning home from Whatmer-hall, Surry, this evening, about half-paſt ſix o'clock, he ſhot a very large eagle, which meaſured ſeven feet from tip to tip of his wings. The ſame gentleman, 26 years ſince, (March 24, 1771), ſhot an eagle within ſixty rods of the ſame place.

There is now, at Henry B. Barnard's, eſq. at South Cave, in the Eaſt Riding of Yorkſhire, ſeven partridges, four of which are of the moſt delicate milk white, without a ſingle coloured feather. The remaining three are pied.—The covey conſiſted of eight. The above ſeven were taken by a net in September laſt, the eighth eſcaped. They are kept in a place built for the purpoſe of keeping pheaſants, and birds of that kind, and do not appear to ſuffer at all from their confinement.

Thomas Muir, tranſported by the Britiſh government to Botany Bay, reached Cadiz about the beginning of this year. The veſſel in which he ſailed carried him only to Nootka Sound, from whence he travelled nearly the whole length of the weſt coaſt of America, and reached Panama, the governor of which ſhewed him every civility. He croſſed the iſthmus of Darien, and went in a Spaniſh frigate to Cuba; but the governor not thinking it proper to ſuffer a man of his principles to be at large, confined him on the north ſide of Cuba, till a proper opportunity occurred to ſend him to Spain.

A boat, in which were two midſhipmen and ſix ſailors, belonging to the Europa Ruſſian ſhip, at Chatham, coming from Sheerneſs, was overſet by a ſquall of wind; by which unfortunate accident one midſhipman and four men were drowned; the others were taken up by a ſailing barge, and put on ſhore in the marſh, near the Folly-houſe; but not knowing the direct road, and the tide approaching very faſt, overwhelmed the remaining unfortunates, who alſo fell victims, except the midſhipman, the only ſurvivor left to relate the ſhocking circumſtance; and he now lies dangerouſly ill on board the Archipelago Ruſſian frigate.

A fire broke out in a malt-kiln at Burwell, near Newmarket, occupied by M. Barlow and Wedge, which entirely conſumed the ſame, with the malting, in which were 351 coombs of malt and barley, moſt of it damaged; alſo a houſe and workſhop, the property of Mrs. Brown, fellmonger, widow, a houſe of Mrs. Mary Iſaacſon's, another of R. Bunting's, a coal-ſhed of Mr. Robt. Edwards's, and part of the premiſes belonging to Mr. William Shaw. Fortunately, the wind blew from the ſouth-eaſt, which drove the flames towards the fen. Bunting is a great ſufferer; being a waterman, he had ſeveral ſums of money belonging to Lynn, all of which were loſt in the flames, not having time to get any thing out of his houſe. 15th.

At a court of common council, the lord mayor called the attention of the court to a requiſition ſigned by forty-three liverymen, 16th.

liverymen, desiring him to call a common hall, "To consider of an humble address and petition to his majesty, upon the present alarming state of public affairs, and praying him to dismiss his present ministers from his councils for ever, as the first step towards obtaining a speedy, honourable, and permanent peace." That he had answered he would consult the court, and had received a protest against such a measure. His lordship submitted the several papers to the court, who were unanimously of opinion, that it would be highly improper for them to give any opinion respecting the propriety or expedience of convening a common hall.

19th. A dreadful fire broke out in the Minories, near the corner of the Little Minories, which was not extinguished till near thirty houses were consumed, besides an immense quantity of property, a great deal of which was uninsured; the flames were so rapid, that it was with the greatest difficulty the inhabitants of some of the houses escaped their fury; several were much burnt.

21st. A most extraordinary accident happened on the road near Bournbridge, Cambridgeshire, early this morning. The mail coach, coming from London, met a broad-wheel waggon, belonging to Mr. Archer, of Barton Mills, loaded with upwards of four tons of hay, when the lamp of the coach striking against the hay, broke the glass, and instantly set the hay on fire; and the wind being brisk, the whole load of hay and the waggon were consumed, and it was with the utmost difficulty the horses were saved.

Pursuant to his sentence, William Suffolk, aged 46, was this day executed on the Castle-hill, Norwich, for the wilful murder of Mary Beck, of North Walsham. An intimacy subsisted between the prisoner and the deceased, which the brother disapproving, desired Suffolk to discontinue his visits. Upon this a violent quarrel arose, in which Suffolk declared to the brother, that he should see a great alteration before night. Accordingly, meeting with the deceased unfortunately in the course of the day (Feb. 3) on the common, near North Walsham, he with a large stick attacked her, and repeated his blows till he left her for dead. In this state she was discovered, and had only strength to declare that Suffolk was her murderer; who, on being taken into custody, and soon after being informed by the constable that she was not then dead, declared, that if he thought she could have stirred hand or foot, he would have beaten her till this time. His body is hung in chains, near the spot where the murder was committed.

23d. At a numerous common hall, a petition to the purpose before expressed, was almost unanimously voted; and the sheriffs, with the city's representatives in parliament, were requested to present it to his majesty on the throne.

24th. The sheriffs of London attended at St. James's, to know when his majesty would be pleased to receive the petition of the livery upon the throne; and were informed that his majesty would receive no petition from the city of London, except in its corporate capacity; but that he was willing to receive it at the levee, in the ordinary manner of accepting addresses.

A riot of a serious nature took

place at Derby, on Monday night laſt. A number of perſons having aſſembled in the Baptiſt chapel, to hear Thelwall lecture on political ſubjects, a mob collected in the ſtreet with drums, horns, &c. and after contenting themſelves ſome time with drowning the voice of the orator in tumult, they at length broke the windows, wounded ſeveral perſons with bricks and ſtones, and threatened to deſtroy the chapel. Thelwall, with a piſtol in his hand, declared he would ſhoot any perſon who moleſted him; in conſequence of which he was ſuffered to depart without receiving any injury. It was a long time before the mob ſeparated.

26th. This afternoon, about four, a dreadful fire broke out at the old family manſion of the duke of St. Alban's, at Hanworth Park, near Hampton, which, in the courſe of three hours, deſtroyed every part of the building, and all the beautiful gallery of paintings, which were an heir-loom with the houſe. Very little of the furniture was ſaved. The fire broke out at the back of the houſe, near the library, and was occaſioned by a girl belonging to a farm yard, lighting her fire too near the windows. Owing to the high wind, the flames caught the ſhutters, and the conflagration ſpread through the manſion before any aſſiſtance could be obtained.

A very melancholy affair has lately taken place at Smyrna. The circumſtances are briefly theſe:—A party of ſtrolling German rope-dancers had arrived, and were exhibiting their feats on the tight rope to a numerous audience. As is the cuſtom of that place, four janiſſaries were placed as ſentinels at the door of the theatre, to preſerve the peace. After the performance had commenced, a number of Sclavonians entered the doors, one of whom inſulted the janiſſaries, who reſented his conduct. A ſcuffle enſued, which terminated in the death of one of the janiſſaries, who was ſhot by a Sclavonian. An enquiry was inſtantly ſet on foot, and a demand ſent to the theatre to give up the aſſaſſin: he, however, from the fidelity of his comrades, could not be diſcovered. Time was allowed for the diſcovery, but to no effect; and it was at length determined to deſtroy the theatre, unleſs he was given up. They ſtill perſiſted in their ſilence, which induced the janiſſaries to ſet fire to the theatre; and it was completely deſtroyed. The Turks proceeded to ſet fire to all the Engliſh and other Chriſtian factories, deſtroyed property to the amount of nearly 100,000 l. killed between 1200 and 1300 people, and threatened to deſtroy all the Chriſtians in the place.

Died.—5. At Tiverton, Devon, aged 52, capt. J. G. Stedman. He entered in the navy, but relinquiſhed it on the laſt peace, and accepted an enſign's commiſſion in one of the Scots brigade regiments paid by the Dutch. He had attained the rank of lieutenant when the meaſure of ſending a military force againſt the rebel negroes on the river Cottica, in Surinam, the moſt important, and now the only remaining, Dutch poſſeſſion on the coaſt of America, was projected. Impelled by a deſire of exploring a part of the world not generally known, and the hope of preferment in ſuch a dangerous ſervice, he obtained admiſſion into the corps of 500 volunteers, formed into

into ſeven companies, embodied as a regiment of marines, and intended for Surinam, and was advanced by the prince of Orange to the rank of captain by brevet, under colonel Tourgeoud, a Swiſs, commander in chief. He quitted the Texel on Chriſtmas-day, 1772, and anchored in Surinam river Feb. 2, 1773. He ſoon formed an attachment with a beautiful mulatto girl of 15, one of the natural children of a Dutch planter, whoſe goodneſs of heart, and faithful attachment to him, were ſtill more endearing than all her perſonal attractions; but, by the laws of the ſettlement, ſhe could not be redeemed from ſlavery, or brought home to Europe; ſhe died of poiſon, a victim to jealouſy, after the captain quitted her. After undergoing a variety of fatigues, and witneſſing the moſt horrid cruelties, as well as moſt extravagant diſſipation, in the colony of Surinam, he returned to his native country; and, a little before his death, publiſhed an intereſting narrative of the expedition against the revolted negroes of Surinam, in two volumes 4to, illuſtrated with eighty elegant engravings, from drawings made by himſelf. He has left a widow and five children.

15th. At her houſe in Halfmoon-ſtreet, Piccadilly, after having been for ſome weeks paſt confined to her bed by a very ſevere illneſs, Mrs. Pope, the celebrated actreſs. She was one of the laſt of the legitimate ſchool of Garrick; and had for years maintained, both as a tragic and comic performer in the London theatres, the moſt reſpectable ſituation. Her merits and talents, after nearly 30 years experience, are too well known to need any comment; they were univerſally acknowledged and admired: and, while ſhe is lamented as a great public loſs, thoſe who knew her domeſtic worth, will feel alſo, in the death of ſo eſtimable a woman, a ſource of much private affliction. In a wide range of characters, in tragedy and comedy, and in the humorous as well as the faſhionable walk of the latter, ſhe has been uniformly diſtinguiſhed with applauſe. Mrs. Pope was deſcended from a good family, of the name of Younge, who left her little beſide her education: ſhe had her ſituation in life to make at a period when moſt girls are occupied by no other ideas than their pleaſure. In the courſe of her education, ſhe had acquainted herſelf with the beſt Engliſh dramatic writers. It was a ſtyle of reading ſhe always reliſhed ſo much, that ſhe now began, ſeriouſly, to think of putting it into practice; and, procuring a letter of recommendation to Mr. Garrick, he was ſo well pleaſed with her firſt eſſay, that he took the pains of attending her at ſeveral private rehearſals, when every trial gave freſh proofs of her abilities. At the end of three months (in the winter of 1768) ſhe came out in Imogen, in Cymbeline: a part, however, hazardous, from the variety of its difficulties; yet ſo ſtrongly was ſhe poſſeſſed of the ſpirit of the author, and ſo powerfully aſſiſted by her addreſs, and other ſtage accompliſhments, that ſhe obtained univerſal applauſe. At Drury-lane theatre, this admirable actreſs continued till the year 1779. She then engaged with Mr. Harris, patentee of Covent-garden theatre, from which ſhe has ſince been abſent but one ſeaſon.

In 1784, during a profeſſional excurſion in Ireland, ſhe ſaw Mr. Pope perform at Cork, and approved ſo much of his powers, that ſhe recommended him to Mr. Harris; and at Covent-garden theatre his ſucceſs juſtified her opinion of his talents. A mutual affection aroſe from this circumſtance, and in a ſeaſon or two afterwards, they were married.—Her remains were, on the 22d, conveyed from her houſe to Weſtminſter-abbey, in a hearſe and ſix, followed by ſeven mourning coaches and her own carriage. In the firſt were ſome particular friends of the deceaſed; theſe were followed by the School of Garrick (of which reſpectable ſociety ſhe was an honorary member) and by the principal performers of Covent-garden theatre. The body was interred in the cloiſters on the ſouth ſide, near the remains of ſir Richard Jebb, and on the right of Dr. Dupuis. The funeral ſervice was read by the Rev. Weldon Champneſs. Mrs. Pope was born in the year of the rebellion, 1745. The ſtone that is placed over her remains is inſcribed "In memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Pope, of the Theatre Royal, Covent-garden, who died on the 15th of March, 1797, aged 52 years."

19th. Dr. Philip Hayes, profeſſor of muſic at the Univerſity of Oxford. He had juſt come to town, in order to preſide at the enſuing feſtival for the new Muſical Fund. In the morning he had dreſſed himſelf to attend the Royal Chapel, St. James's, when he was taken ill, and died almoſt immediately. He was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, and is ſuppoſed to have been the largeſt man in England.

At Llanricheyn, Caernarvonſhire, aged 103, Elizabeth Rogers; her corpſe was attended to the ground by all her deſcendants, viz. ſeven children, 27 grand-children, 47 great grand-children, and three in a ſtill later deſcent.

At Kendal, Mrs. Atkinſon, aged 92.—At Attleborough, Mr. J. Cols, a farmer, aged 95. He left behind him 115 children and grand-children.—At Halewood, Mr. Holland, aged 97.—At Hull, Mr. Chidſon, aged 97.—At Eaſt Malling, Mrs. Blunden, aged 92.—At Colyton, Mrs. Cox, aged 97. She retained her ſenſes to the laſt, and left a progeny of 156 deſcendants.

APRIL.

1ſt. This day another numerous meeting of the livery was held at Guildhall, when the ſheriffs having reported, that his majeſty declined receiving upon the throne their addreſs for the removal of miniſters; the following reſolution was paſſed by the meeting, with only one diſſenting voice: "That the anſwer given to the ſheriffs, when they attended to know his majeſty's pleaſure, as to the time of receiving their petition, was given by the third ſecretary of ſtate, one of the perſons for whoſe removal they petitioned; that the ſheriffs do again attend at St. James's, and requeſt a perſonal audience of his majeſty, at which, if granted, they do repreſent to the king, that it is the privilege of the livery to preſent petitions to the ſovereign on the throne; and that the ſheriffs do make a report of this application to a future hall."

The ſheriffs attended, according to

to the above reſolution, when his majeſty, in perſon, confirmed the meſſage before delivered by the duke of Portland.

3d. This evening a moſt alarming fire was diſcovered in the ſuperb manſion-houſe of Yeſter, belonging to the marquis of Tweedale, which, by the wonderful activity of the ſervants and workmen belonging to the place, aided by a numerous body of the inhabitants from the village of Gifford, together with the Haddington engine, brought thence by 100 of the Durham Rangers now ſtationed there, who attended, accompanied by their officers, on the firſt alarm, happily ſaved the principal part of the houſe; only one of the wings was burnt, and a great part of the furniture deſtroyed. The fire was occaſioned by a wooden joint being placed too near one of the vents, which had been burning ſome time before burſting forth.

A gentleman of Yarmouth, has in his poſſeſſion a pig, only thirteen months old, which meaſures upwards of eight feet in length, ſtands ten hands high, and weighs 53 ſtone, 14 lb. to the ſtone.

Five poor girls, apprentices to James Adams, ſenior, and James Adams, junior, wool-combers, of Huſband's Boſworth, have lately been diſcharged from their apprenticeſhip, by the county magiſtrate, in conſequence of cruel treatment, &c. Their ſubſiſtence was, for the moſt part, coarſe barley cakes, and that afforded very ſcantily; their lodging was a few old rags, ſewed up in hop-ſacking, without either bedſtead, mat, or ſheets, &c. in a room, the windows of which were entirely unglazed; their clothes were made up of a few rags, faſtened about their bodies, ſo as to be an inſufficient protection againſt the inclemency of the weather; their bleeding wounds, occaſioned by too ſevere beating, were often dreſſed by ſome humane individuals of the neighbourhood.

Mr. Jackſon, of New Burlington-ſtreet, who was for- 5th. merly ſteward to the duke of Newcaſtle, put an end to his exiſtence on Wedneſday morning, by placing a piſtol at his ear, and blowing his brains out. It appears, that on the morning of the ſuicide, the ſervant-maid went into his bed-room, as uſual, to light his fire; but he deſired her not to diſturb him. Soon after, the ſervant heard a noiſe, which appears to have been the report of a piſtol fired up the chimney, for the purpoſe of trying if it was in order. Not ſuſpecting any thing wrong, they took no further notice of the noiſe, till they heard a ſecond report, on which one of them went up ſtairs, and found her maſter lying dead.—He has left three amiable daughters.

The great tunnel of the Birmingham and Worceſter canal, has been lately completed, in a maſterly ſtyle. The firſt brick of this ſtupendous work was laid July 28, 1794, and the whole of it was arched over by February 25, 1797. Upwards of 1780 yards of it were finiſhed in the year included between January 1, 1796, and January 1, 1797. The extent of the tunnel comprehends a ſpace of upwards of a mile and a half, yet it is ſo rectilineal, that it may be diſtinctly ſeen through from one end of it to the other. The brick-work, throughout the whole of it, is executed with the greateſt accuracy. The tunnel was lately paſſed through,

for the firſt time, by ſeveral veſſels of ſixty and eighty tons burden, laden with coals, which landed their cargoes at Hopward wharf. Alvechurch, Redditch, Beoley, Studley, &c. will now be plentifully furniſhed with coals by this canal, and the farmers will be enabled to convey readily and cheaply, their grain, &c. to Birmingham, and other populous towns.

Lately, at the celebration of a holiday in the neighbourhood of Appleby, while a ſet of maſquers, or ſword-dancers, were exhibiting their performances, in a large upper room, crowded with ſpectators, the main beams of the floor breaking with the weight, about one hundred and fifty perſons, together with the loft, were ſuddenly tumbled in a confuſed heap, on the ground-floor. No individual, however, was killed by the accident, nor was any leg or arm fractured.

8th. That excellent actreſs, Miſs Farren, performed this night, for the laſt time, previous to her marriage with the earl of Derby. —The play ſhe choſe was the School for Scandal. The different avenues leading to the theatre were crowded with all ranks and deſcriptions at a very early hour, and in a few minutes after the opening of the doors, every bench in the houſe, and every paſſage in the theatre, even to the ſeveral doors, was completely occupied. Never was ſuch an audience ſeen at this or any other theatre.

On her firſt entrance ſhe was greeted in the moſt flattering manner; and the audience appeared to be animated with a principle of emulation, in beſtowing their liberal plaudits throughout the whole of her performance.

At the concluſion of the play, Mr. Wroughton immediately came forward, and addreſſed the audience as follows:

But, ah! this night, adieu the mirthful mien,
When Mirth's lov'd fav'rite quits the mimic ſcene!
Startled Thalia would aſſent refuſe,
But Truth and Virtue ſued, and won the Muſe.
Aw'd by ſenſations it could ill expreſs,
Though mute the tongue, the boſom feels not leſs;
Her ſpeech your kind indulgence oft has known,
Be to her ſilence now that kindneſs ſhewn:
Ne'er from her mind th' endear'd records will part,
But live the proudeſt feeling of a grateful heart.

This addreſs was repeatedly interrupted by general and reiterated plaudits from all parts of the houſe. Miſs Farren appeared much affected at the generous conduct of the audience. After the torrent of applauſe had ſubſided, Miſs Farren came to the front of the ſtage, with graceful and diffident ſteps, to take her final farewell of her patrons. In a manner the moſt elegant and impreſſive ſhe made her courteſy, firſt to the right, next to the left, and laſtly to the front of the houſe, amidſt the univerſal, reiterated, and rapturous plaudits of the audience, many of whom accompanied their tokens of reſpect with tears of ſenſibility.

The trial of Jones, the delegate of the London Corres- 9th. ponding Society, came on at Warwick on Thurſday, before Judge Groſe and a ſpecial jury. The proſecution was led by Mr. Percival, in a fair and candid manner; and the defendant was as ably ſupported by Meſſrs. Romilly and Vaughan.

Vaughan.—The Judge gave a charge, and in a few minutes the jury found a verdict of Guilty on the third count, which was,—"Will the people of Birmingham ſubmit to the treaſon and ſedition laws?" Binns's trial is poſtponed till next aſſizes; four only of the ſpecial jury being preſent, and only ſix others appeared in court, who were admitted by the crown and defendant. The conviction of Jones is the firſt that has taken place under the late act. His ſentence is not yet known.

12th. At another common hall the report from the ſheriffs was read; ſtating, that having taken the earlieſt opportunity of waiting on his majeſty at the levee, they had obtained an audience, and delivered the meſſage directed by the livery; to which his majeſty anſwered, "That the addreſs not being the addreſs of the city of London in its corporate capacity, he could not receive it on the throne; that the anſwer given by the duke of Portland was by his majeſty's deſire; and that his majeſty repeated his readineſs to receive the petition of the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery, at the next or any other levee, provided the perſons preſenting it did not exceed the uſual number of ten."

Two reſolutions were then paſſed, declaratory of the rights of the livery; and another was offered, which the lord mayor ſaid "he could not, conſiſtently with his duty to preſerve inviolate the rights of the livery, admit to be put: the buſineſs of the day upon which the livery were met being ſpecified in the ſummons iſſued to call them together, it was his duty to take care that no other buſineſs ſhould be diſcuſſed." After much altercation had taken place between ſeveral ſpeakers, the lord mayor ordered the inſignia of office to be taken up, and the hall was of courſe diſſolved; but not before an unanimous vote of cenſure, on the motion of Mr. Waithman, was paſſed on the conduct of the lord mayor, for this unprecedented attack on the deliberative rights of the livery of London in common hall aſſembled.

15th. The prince of Wirtemberg arrived in town, waited upon the royal family at Buckingham-houſe, and paid his reſpects to the princeſs royal, his intended bride.

A general and alarming mutiny broke out on board the Channel fleet, at Spithead.—For a complete narrative of this mutiny, ſee the Appendix to the Chronicle.

17th. The prince of Wirtemberg ſet out on his tour to Bath, Briſtol, Birmingham, Oxford, Portſmouth, and other places, previous to his marriage.

21ſt. This morning early a fire broke out at Mr. Bartlett's, tallow chandler, Brewer-ſtreet, Golden-ſquare, which in a ſhort time conſumed the whole of the premiſes, the inhabitants eſcaping with only their lives. A quick ſupply of engines and water, and the great exertions of the firemen, prevented its ſpreading further.

From Liſbon, under the date April 14, the following remarkable circumſtance is thus ſtated: "On Monday evening laſt, a dreadful affray took place at Belem, between the ſoldiers of the twelfth regiment of light dragoons and our people. It began in a public-houſe, where two of the ſoldiers went to get

ſome

ſome wine. The landlord would not permit them to go into a room to ſit down to drink it: this gave riſe to a deal of abuſe on both ſides. At laſt the landlord drew a knife, and ſtabbed one of the ſoldiers, but fortunately not dangerouſly; the ſoldier knocked him down, and dragged him into the ſtreet, where he beat him heartily. Our people ſeeing their countryman ſo roughly handled, took his part, and pelted the Engliſh with ſtones: this alarmed their comrades in the barracks, who ſallied out, and drove the Portugueſe into the queen's ſtables, where they ſuppoſed the ſoldiers would not dare to follow them, and from the windows of which place they continued the pelting, and wounded an officer and a private. This enraged the dragoons ſo much, that they drew their ſwords, ſtormed the ſtables, broke down the doors, and laid about them without mercy. Our people, to ſave themſelves, jumped out of the windows, and ſeveral of them are much cut and bruiſed. The Engliſh took eight priſoners to the guard-houſe, from whence they have been removed to another priſon. They will be ſeverely puniſhed; and if they eſcape hanging, may think themſelves lucky, as a riot is conſidered here as a greater crime than murder. In the heat of the battle, the princeſs dowager of Brazil happened to paſs by in her carriage, the windows of which were broken by the ſtones thrown from the ſtables; her *eſcudiero* (eſquire) a man of great conſequence, a *fidalgo* (a noble) a character conſidered in this country as ſacred, being above the reach of the laws, began to divert himſelf by horſewhipping the ſoldiers; they immediately pulled him from his horſe, treated him with half a dozen ſound Engliſh kicks, and carried him priſoner to the guardhouſe. The dragoons are obliged to be cautious; and do not go out ſingly or without arms, as they run a riſk of being aſſaſſinated. Inquiry is making by our court to diſcover the ring-leaders; and every body acquits the Engliſh from the ſmalleſt degree of blame."

29th. As ſome workmen were removing the root of a tree, near the houſe of Mr. Burke, at Beaconsfield, they found a ſmall urn, or earthen veſſel, in which were 65 Roman ſilver coins, many of them in fine preſervation. The veſſel not being ſo valuable to the men as the contents, was immediately broken. The coins conſiſted of three of Veſpaſian, one of Titus, three of Domitian, three of Nerva, ſixteen of Trajan, ten of Adrian, two of Sabina, ten of Antoninus Pius, ſeven of Diva Fauſtina, four of Aurelius Cæſar, two of Lucius Verus, one of Marcus Aurelius, and three of Fauſtina.

The coinage of gold and ſilver ſince the Reſtoration has been as under:—

Total coinage from 1660 to 1760 -	44,111,817
Coined in the preſent reign - - - -	51,073,362
Total -	95,185,179

From which ſum, deducting the re-coinage, and ſuppoſing, though highly improbable, that full half has been illegally exported or manufactured, there ought ſtill to remain above forty millions in circulation. The gold coin in circulation in 1794 amounted to 37,500,000 l.

The following is a copy of the return of the numbers of emigrants in England,

England, which has juſt been delivered in to the duke of Portland:

French clergy, ſupported by government - - - - 5000.

Lay people, ditto, including women and children - - - 2950.

Clergy, not ſupported by government, or having means in themſelves, or living by their induſtry, about - - - - - 500.

Emigrants not ſupported by government, as having ſaved ſome wrecks of their fortunes, including old people, women, children, maid-ſervants, &c. about - 3000.

To which may be added in the iſland of Jerſey - - - - 700.

DIED.—At Aſton, the Rev. W. Maſon, LL.D. and F.R.S. His father, a clergyman, was poſſeſſed of the vicarage of St. Trinity, Hull. Mr. Maſon was admitted, after a preparatory education, of St. John's College, Cambridge, where he took the degrees of B.A. and M.A. and, in 1747, he obtained a fellowſhip in Pembroke Hall. In 1754, he entered into holy orders, and was patronized by the then earl of Holderneſs, who obtained for him the appointment of chaplain to the king, and preſented him with the valuable rectory of Aſton, in Yorkſhire. This gentleman was an acknowledged ſcholar, and poſſeſſed a well-founded claim to a high degree of poetical reputation. All that could be gathered from the Greek and Roman ſtores, certainly contributed to embelliſh his; although it has been queſtioned by ſeveral critics, whether he was enriched by any great ſhare of original genius. The memorable epiſtle to ſir W. Chambers, has been often attributed to the pen of Mr. Maſon, who, if he were the author of it, certainly poſſeſſed no ſmall portion of ſatirical humour, as well as poetical ſtrength. It is thought, however, to be ſo different from the general character of his other productions, that it is ſcarcely, perhaps, to be conſidered as the offspring of his mind. It is certain that he never acknowledged it. In private life, his character, though with ſomewhat in his manners beyond the mere dignity of conſcious talents and literature, was diſtinguiſhed by philanthropy, and the moſt fervid friendſhip. The genius of Mr. Gray he eſtimated with a zeal of enthuſiaſm, almoſt "amounting to idolatry."

Many popular works, which were attributed to the pen of others, were certainly produced by Mr. Maſon His poſthumous writings, when publiſhed, will not detract from the taſte and underſtanding univerſally allowed to him. Of his works, the eſtimation has been various, and the general opinion rather arbitrary than concentrated. His Elfrida and Caractacus tranſcend any poems of the ſame caſt, written in imitation of the ancient drama, in our own or any foreign language; in the firſt, the diction is elegant and ſweet, in the latter, daring and ſublime. The former, in his own opinion, was the moſt popular; the latter, however, is acknowledged to be the moſt perfect, and is ſuppoſed, like Dryden's ode, to ſtand unrivalled. In theſe performances, are ſentiments and expreſſions, which would do honour to the deſcriptions and ſimplicity of Shakſpeare. His elegies, particularly that on the death of his wife, and that on the demiſe of lady Coventry, have been generally read and extolled, though not more than they deſerve, as ſuperior in claſſic elegance to any thing of the kind in the Engliſh tongue, and expreſſing

a manlineſs and tenderneſs of the pathetic, rarely found in the moſt poliſhed elegies of Roman writers. The ſplendor of genius, and accuracy of judgment, conſpicuous in his dramas, are equally diſplayed in his character as a lyric writer. His quarry was bold and impetuous, and he never ſwept the ground with an ignominious flight. The Engliſh Garden was the publication on which he plumed himſelf the moſt; a ſubject rather treated with profeſſional ſkill than poetical delight, and hence often occurs in it a dryneſs of expreſſion and ſterility of thought, the natural conſequence of long-drawn, didactic inveſtigation. As precentor of York cathedral, he publiſhed a ſmall volume on church muſic, which has alternately met with oppoſition and applauſe. In his Sappho and Phaon, he has happily imitated the ſtyle of Dryden and Metaſtaſio. Should the poem be finiſhed on which he was at work ſometime previouſly to his deceaſe, it will be ſeen with what ſucceſs he has meaſured his ſtrength againſt Dryden. His Sermons, which are numerous, are intended for publication.

His death was not occaſioned either by old age or inveterate diſeaſe: as he was ſtepping into his chariot, his foot ſlipped, and his leg grazed againſt the ſtep. This accident had taken place ſeveral days before he paid any attention to it; on April 3d, however, a mortification enſued, which, in forty-eight hours time, cloſed his life. Upon the whole, Mr. Maſon may be conſidered as a man who merits to be ranked with the ableſt ſupporters of Britiſh literature and morals. He married Mary, daughter of William Sherman, of Kingſton upon Hull, eſq. who died, March 24th, 1767, in her 28th year, at Briſtol: in the north aile of which cathedral he erected to her memory a neat monument of white marble, appropriately inſcribed.

The appointment of the four canon-reſidentiaries of York cathedral is in the gift of the dean, who is obliged, by ſtatute, to give the vacant canonry to the firſt man he ſees after the vacancy, capable of taking it. Mr. Markham was his firſt ſight on the death of Mr. Maſon.

At her apartments in Store-ſtreet, Miſs Ryves, a lady of conſiderable literary merit. —She was well acquainted with French and Italian literature; and had made a tolerable progreſs in acquiring the learned languages. Her poetical compoſitions are diſtinguiſhed by vigour, and even an air of originality; this is particularly apparent in her Addreſs to Earl Fitzwilliam, on the birth of his ſon. She tranſlated from the French Rouſſeau's Social Compact, and other works of acknowledged merit. Miſs Ryves had turned her attention to the drama, and had written a tragedy and a comedy.—In private life her character was marked by unaffected gentleneſs of temper, good ſenſe, and varied information. 29th.

At Lauſanne, in Switzerland, S. A. D. Tiſſot, M. D. who, for near half a century, enjoyed a very extenſive reputation as a phyſician and medical writer. He was one of the earlieſt, ableſt, and moſt zealous vindicators of the practice of inoculation on the continent of Europe. His treatiſe on this ſubject, "*L'Inoculation juſtifiée*," was publiſhed in 1754; but the works which rendered him the moſt popular were, his "*Avis au Peuple*," and his treatiſes on the health of literary men, and of people of faſhion.

At Weſt Bolton, Mr. Cooper, aged 95.—At Bamborough, Mr. Grey, aged 102.—Near Carliſle, Ann Hutton, aged 101.—At Meſſingham, Winfred Foxon, aged 104.—Near Bampton, Mr. Yeatman, aged 97.

MAY.

1ſt. Skiddaw and the neighbouring mountains (called the Cumberland Alps) were covered with a deeper ſnow, on May 1ſt, O. S. than at any time during the months of December and January laſt. In many places, at the foot of the mountains, the ſnow fell twelve inches.

5th. A melancholy accident happened this evening at Plymouth: two young ladies, daughters of Mr. Sheppard, ſurgeon, of the dock-yard, and another lady of the name of Grigg, were playing on one of the ſhip's yards, which was at the maſt-houſe to be repaired; when it gave way on a ſudden, and the ladies not being able to extricate themſelves, it rolled over them, which occaſioned the immediate death of the two firſt, who were moſt ſhockingly mangled; and the other had her leg broken. The eldeſt of the two ſiſters was 15, and the other 12 years of age.

6th. This night, between eight and nine o'clock, three fellows went into the Three Compaſſes public-houſe, at Waltham Abbey, kept by Mrs. Gray, a widow, where they continued drinking till paſt eleven o'clock; every perſon being gone, except a young man, a carpenter, who was desired by the landlady to ſit up while they ſtaid; this young man ſeeming to be aſleep, the fellows went up to the bar, and demanded the landlady's money. Mrs. Gray making ſome reſiſtance, one of the villains drew forth a piſtol, and ſhot her through the left breaſt, the ball coming out at her neck; the carpenter ſtruggling with one of the men, another piſtol was diſcharged at him, the ball from which entered the ſleeve of his coat, and came out near the elbow, without doing him any material injury. A man and his wife, who lodged in the houſe, jumped out of a one pair of ſtairs window, and Mrs. Gray ran into the ſtreet. But notwithſtanding an alarm given, they made off without effecting their intention of robbing the houſe, and have not yet been taken. Mrs. Gray died ſhortly after.

As a fiſherman, of Bidford, was lately fiſhing in the Avon, near to where the Arrow diſembogues itſelf into that river, he caught, at one draught of his net, upwards of 27 cwt. of fiſh, conſiſting, for the moſt part, of gudgeons, roach, and dace.

Lately was killed, at Berwick, a ſhort-horned ox, four years and eleven months old, whoſe four quarters, when the tallow was taken out of them, weighed 145ſt. 3lb.; the tallow weighed 20ſt. 9lb.; the hide 8ſt. 11lb.; and the head, tongue, and tripes, &c. 15ſt.

7th. This evening, between eight and nine o'clock, Mr. Fryer, of Southampton-buildings, Holborn, clerk to an attorney, accompanied by a young lady, his couſin, and of his own name, to whom he was ſoon to be married, was attacked in the fields near White Conduit Houſe by three footpads, who ſhot him through the head, and robbed him of his watch and money.

The Bow-ſtreet patrol, who were within

within a ſhort diſtance at the time, on hearing the report of a piſtol, made to the ſpot, where they found Mr. F. weltering in his blood, who in a few moments after expired.

A very ſhort time before this happened, a Mrs. Park, an aged woman, was ſtopped and robbed of half-a-crown and her watch, near Iſlington Workhouſe, by the ſame three villains; and, on Friday night, Mr. Patience, of Church-paſſage, Iſlington, was ſtopped near the ſame place, and robbed of his watch and caſh. The villains beat him about the head in ſuch an inhuman manner, that he has been laid up ever ſince.

8th. A moſt inhuman murder was committed, about half a mile from Newark, on the road leading to Balderton. A ſergeant and two privates belonging to a regiment of foot arrived at Newark on Saturday, with a deſerter under their care, whom they were conducting to London.

In the evening, Fletcher, one of the privates, met with one George Willis, an Iriſhman, with whom he had been formerly acquainted; they drank pretty freely together, and on the ſoldiers marching next day he treated them at ſeveral public-houſes, and accompanied them part of the way on the road, by which moſt of them were much intoxicated.

They had not proceeded far before the ſergeant found a difficulty in getting Fletcher on the road as faſt as he wiſhed; he therefore marched with the deſerter and the other ſoldiers, and left Fletcher with Willis to follow them. Soon afterwards Willis wiſhed to return to Newark, but Fletcher inſiſted on his going with him, alleging that he was a deſerter. This Willis refuſed to do, when Fletcher threatened to ſhoot him if he would not, and immediately fired beſide his legs, with a view of intimidating him. Fletcher then reloaded his piece, and they walked together about 60 yards, when Willis would go no further, and dared Fletcher to fire at him. On this, Fletcher, at the diſtance of about four yards, deliberately took aim at him, and ſhot him through the body. A coroner's inqueſt ſat on the body, and gave in a verdict of wilful murder againſt Fletcher, on which he was committed to Nottingham gaol, to take his trial at the next aſſizes.—Willis, the deceaſed, had worked at Newark a ſhort time as a looking-glaſs frame-maker, but was much better known in the country by the name of Sutton, having travelled ſeveral years with Mr. Jones, as a rider and tumbler.

Laſt week, a young woman, of North Curry, Somerſet, after eating about ſix pounds of pork, vegetables, &c. for dinner, undertook to eat ſeven four-penny eaſter cakes, which ſhe accompliſhed with great eaſe; and drank three four-penny glaſſes of brandy, to keep the ſame from riſing on her ſtomach.

Another common hall was held at Guildhall, when 11th. ſeveral ſtrong reſolutions were entered into, declaratory of the rights of the livery; aſſerting, 'that his majeſty's miniſters have wantonly plunged this nation into an unjuſt and unneceſſary war, which has produced a ſeries of calamities unexampled in hiſtory; an enormous increaſe of public debt; an alarming diminution of our trade and manufactures; an abridgment of our rights and privileges; a ſhameful profuſion of our national wealth, by ſubſidiſing

ſubſidiſing allies abroad, and ſupporting a ſyſtem of corruption at home, to the deſtruction of public credit—thus evincing a diſpoſition to ſacrifice the blood, treaſure, and liberties of the kingdom, in ſupport of meaſures repugnant to the principles of the conſtitution, derogatory to the dignity and ſafety of the king, and inconſiſtent with the happineſs of the people; directing their repreſentatives in parliament to move for an addreſs to the king, 'to diſmiſs his preſent miniſters, as the moſt likely means of obtaining a ſpeedy and permanent peace;' and concluding with a cenſure on the lord mayor, who, 'by diſſolving the laſt common hall on a frivolous and unfounded pretence of the irrelevance of the reſolution which was moved to the occaſion on which the hall was aſſembled, by refuſing to convene another common hall for all the purpoſes ſpecified, on a like frivolous and unfounded pretence of the livery of London not being a deliberative body; and by convening the preſent common hall for purpoſes ſhort of thoſe which are ſpecified in the requiſition, has violated the rights of the livery, has ſuffered his political attachments to warp his official conduct, and proved himſelf to be utterly undeſerving of the confidence of his conſtituents.'

Theſe reſolutions, having been carried by a large majority of the perſons preſent, were ordered to be publiſhed once in all the newspapers in Great Britain.

The following is the counter-declaration of the livery of London, to that agreed to at the common hall:

'We, the underſigned livery of London, think it neceſſary to make this public declaration of our diſſent, and full diſapprobation of the ſeveral violent proceedings at the three laſt common halls, held in this city.

'In common with our fellow-citizens, we deplore the evils of war, and earneſtly pray for the return of peace: we have beheld, with ſatisfaction, the repeated efforts of government to put an end to hoſtilities; and we truſt thoſe efforts will be continued, until ſuch a peace may be obtained as Engliſhmen ought to deſire—ſuch a peace as may preſerve the independence, the honour, and the commercial intereſts of this great nation.

'And we think it expedient further to declare our averſion and abhorrence of all proceedings tending to excite diſcord, at a time when unanimity is ſo eſſentially neceſſary; or to ſanction meaſures of turbulence, when the good order of the country is the imperious duty of every Briton to maintain. Every deviation from that line of conduct muſt ſtimulate our enemies to riſe in their demands, and muſt place the proſpect of reconciliation at a greater diſtance.

'In the name of peace, then, we ſubſcribe: and we invite our brethren of the livery to join us in giving our ſovereign that faithful ſupport which we owe to him; and to our fellow ſubjects throughout the united kingdoms, that example which will beſt tend to ſecure our national happineſs, and to preſerve to ourſelves, and to our poſterity, the advantages of our free conſtitution.' [The above declaration was ſpeedily ſigned by above 2000 perſons.]

Tueſday laſt, his moſt ſerene highneſs the hereditary 13th.

prince

prince of Wirtemberg came to the apartments prepared for the reception of his moſt ſerene highneſs at St. James's.

14th. A dreadful fire broke out yeſterday morning, at three o'clock, at a tobacconiſt's ſhop in the High-ſtreet, in the Borough, oppoſite the Marſhalſea priſon, which raged with great fury for ſome hours, and was at length, by the exertions of the firemen, got under with the loſs of the Black Bull public-houſe, a pork-ſhop, a paſtry-cook's ſhop, and a mercer's; beſides doing conſiderable miſchief to two rows of houſes, one in Maypole-alley, the other in Redcroſs-alley, both immediately adjacent. Very happily no lives were loſt.

The coronation of the emperor Paul I. was performed at Moſcow on the 16th ultimo. His imperial majeſty was to leave that city on the 18th inſtant, to make a journey to Aſtracan. The empreſs will return to Peterſburgh, where the emperor will alſo return on the day of St. Peter and Paul. After the ceremony was completed, his majeſty with his own hand threw money among the people. 45,000 pieces of ſilver money, each of the value of twenty-five copecs, were coined for this occaſion.

18th. This day took place the celebration of the nuptials, between the prince of Wirtemberg and princeſs royal.—For a full account, ſee the Appendix to the Chronicle.

19th. A coroner's inqueſt was held on the body of William Hutchinſon, at Oulton, in the pariſh of Norbury, Staffordſhire. It appeared that, on Wedneſday night laſt, the unfortunate man, with James Jenks, his wife, and five boys and girls, (who worked in a brick-yard at Oulton), retired to reſt in a hut ſcarcely big enough to contain them; and, in conſequence of not taking proper care of the fire, early on Thurſday morning their miſerable dwelling was in flames. Hutchinſon was literally burnt to a cinder; one of the girls was ſo much burnt, that ſhe is ſince dead; and Jenks is not expected to recover. The others eſcaped without ſuſtaining any material injury.

Newcaſtle.—This evening, a moſt tremendous ſtorm of thunder and lightning came on, which, by various accounts, ſeems to have extended over all the northern parts of the country, and to have been the moſt terrific ever witneſſed in the memory of man. In many places the lightning darted in every direction, and the peals of thunder ſucceeded with ſuch force and rapidity, that the ſlates on the roofs of houſes were for ſeveral minutes agitated by a tremulous motion. The corruſcations were not confined to one or two, but conſiſted of three, four, or five inſtantaneous flaſhes, and kept up a tremendous roll of thunder for more than twenty minutes; the fall of rain during that period could only be compared to the burſting of a water-ſpout.—At Hull, the lightning ſhivered the mizen-top-maſt of the ſhip Latona, lying in the roads, and at the ſame inſtant ſtruck the ſecond mate; his hair was ſinged, his ſhirt neck was burnt, and he was lightly ſcorched in different parts, but is ſince recovered. In the neighbourhood we are informed that ſome cattle were killed.—It is remarkable, that in the midland counties the lightning was equally vivid, but unaccompanied by thunder or rain.

The city of Briſtol, and its vicinity,

vicinity, experienced a moſt awful and tremendous ſtorm of thunder, lightning and rain. Two tenements near the fiſh-pond, and a houſe at Almondſbury, were greatly damaged; the occupiers received no injury.

27th. Margaret Catchpole, a young woman in boy's clothes, was fully committed to Newgate for trial, for ſtealing a horſe at Ipſwich in Suffolk, the property of Mr. Cobbold. It appeared that ſhe had ſtolen the horſe at twelve at night, on Tueſday laſt, at Ipſwich, and was apprehended on Thurſday morning in London, offering the horſe for ſale for 50 guineas. She had rode the horſe from Ipſwich, 70 miles, the preceding day, in boy's clothes.

The duke of Wirtemberg has a library at Stutgard of 100,000 volumes. His ſerene highneſs is a great collector of ancient books, or, as a French writer terms it, *a la grand fureur des livres anciens.* He has often travelled in purſuit of them, and gives liberal prices. His collection of bibles is *unique*; they amount to nine thouſand, all different editions, and of all languages; and it is ſuppoſed that three thouſand more are yet wanting to render it complete. This library contains more than two thouſand volumes printed before the year 1500, and a complete collection of the memoirs of all ſovereign families and towns.

30th. The gallant general Koſciuſko arrived in the river Thames, on board a Swediſh veſſel, attended by many Poliſh officers, who are going with him to America. He is incurably wounded in the head, has three bayonet wounds in his back, and part of his thigh carried away by a cannon-ſhot; and with the excruciating torments thoſe wounds occaſion, as he cannot move himſelf, he amuſes his hours with drawing landſcapes. He ſpeaks with the moſt lively gratitude of the preſent emperor of Ruſſia; but he makes great complaint, that his wounds were long neglected after he was made priſoner.

Died lately, near Exeter, in an advanced age, James Pitman, eſq. a man ſo penurious as almoſt to deny himſelf and family the common neceſſaries of life, although he died poſſeſſed of property to the amount of nearly £. 200,000! accumulated, for the moſt part, by avarice and the oppreſſion of his relations, tenants, &c. For many years paſt he lived in a ſmall cottage, acting under the impreſſion that, "ſaving is getting," and let to rent the family manſion-houſe, becauſe he choſe to forego the comforts which wealth produces, and to ſhut out hoſpitality from his family at large. A few years ago he was made one of the juſtices of the peace for the county, but ſoon perceiving the ſmallneſs of the perquiſites, &c. accruing from the office, his mercenary ambition led him to commit numberleſs paltry depredations on the purſes of the poor individuals who ſolicited from him an equal diſtribution of the laws; at length, however, he was ignominiouſly ejected from the liſt of juſtices.

This debaſement of his public character did not check his uſual avaricious career; he even went ſo far as to treat his children, who had independent fortunes, which muſt devolve on him at their deaths, with ſuch inhumanity, that they abſolutely

ſolutely ſunk under the weight of his uſage, and died, ultimately, in early youth. On his death-bed he would not permit the uſual attendance on ſickness to be near him; nor would he ſuffer even a farthing ruſh-light to ſhed its dim rays round his walls. To ſum up his character, it may be affirmed, that in him each natural feeling was ſacrificed to gold; and that, as he lived deteſted by ſociety, he died amid the ſilent rejoicing of all who knew him.

At ſix o'clock in the morning, at Cowbit, near Spalding, Lincoln, aged 85, Mr. David Whitſed, farmer and grazier; and about ſix in the evening, aged 74, Mrs. Whitſed, his wife. They had been married upwards of 50 years, were a remarkably happy couple, and had often expreſſed a deſire of not ſurviving each other, and wiſhed to be buried at the ſame time, and in the ſame grave.

At Sheldwich Lees, in her 104th year, Alice Pilcher, widow; by two huſbands, ſhe had had nine children, whoſe children and grand children have increaſed to upwards of 140 in number. She retained the uſe of her faculties ſurpriſingly, and was able to read without ſpectacles till within two years before her death.

At Wickham, Mrs. Bates, aged 95.—Near Preſcot, W. P. Cotham, eſq. aged 97.—At Boltonle Moors, Mr. Coe, aged 97.—At Cartmel, John Carter, aged 94.

At Rothwell workhouſe, in Leeds pariſh, Mary Grave, aged 96. She could read, knit, and ſew, without ſpectacles, and retained the uſe of all her faculties till within half an hour of her deceaſe.

At Bilſon, Faith Gibson, aged 96.

JUNE.

This morning, at eight o'clock, their ſerene highneſſes the prince and princeſs of Wirtemberg left England for Germany; the prince and princeſs, in the king's travelling chaiſe; general Garth, the counteſs of Aylesbury, and lady Charlotte Bruce, in one of the queen's coaches; and in another carriage the attendants; eſcorted by a party of light dragoons. The company breakfasted at the apartments in St. James's palace, and ſet off from the garden gate. None of the royal family were preſent, as they had taken leave the preceding night at twelve o'clock. The princeſs on ſetting off endeavoured to appear cheerful, but the faltering accents with which ſhe bade her attendants and the ſurrounding multitude farewell, beſpoke the agitation of her mind. 2d.

This morning were executed at the front of Newgate, Clinch and Mackley, for the robbery and murder of Mr. Fryer, in Iſlington fields.—An extremely diſagreeable circumſtance that occurred, ſhortened the period that is uſually allowed to men in their unhappy ſituations. The floor of the ſcaffold, from ſome previous miſmanagement, gave way, and precipitated into the area of the apparatus Meſſieurs Villette and Gaffy, (the latter a Catholic prieſt who attended Clinch), and the two executioners. Mr. ſheriff Staines had himſelf a very narrow eſcape. 5th.

Mr. Gaffy, being a luſty man, was ſeverely hurt: he was obliged to be bled, and was more than four hours in the keeper's houſe, before he was able to be ſent home in a ſedan

ſedan chair. Mr. Villette eſcaped with a ſlight bruiſe.—The two malefactors ſwung off with their diſtorted features expoſed to the view of the diſtreſſed ſpectators. By the activity of Mr. Ramſden, the priſon ſurgeon, however, the cap was drawn over their faces afterwards. Their bodies were removed to a proper place for the purpoſe of diſſection and expoſure.

7th. About two o'clock in the morning, a fire was diſcovered in a large corn-mill, erected on the banks of the Leeds and Liverpool canal, at Wigan. It was then at ſuch a height, that no check could be given; and the mill, with the corn, meal, flour, utenſils, and the books, were entirely conſumed. It is ſuppoſed the misfortune was cauſed by its being overworked, and the ſpindles too much heated. A great number of poor farmers are ſufferers, who had corn in the mill to a large amount. The damage is between 3 and 4,000l. of which 1,300l. is uninſured.

The duke of Wirtemberg's portion of 80,000l. which he received with our princeſs royal, was inveſted laſt week in the 3 per cents, where it now ſtands as ſtock, value 165,000l. The truſtees, in whoſe hands the dowry of the princeſs of Wirtemberg is veſted, are the lord chancellor, Mr. Pitt, ſir John Coxe Hippeſley, and Mr. Coutts.

Jaſper Danford, of Bramfield, while riding the ſhafts of a broad-wheeled waggon, his back reclined to the horſes, was preſſed ſo violently againſt the head of a maple-tree, which grew on a bank and projected over the road, as to occaſion his immediate death.

All the green part of the fells, on the ridge of mountains which extend from the northern part of Yorkſhire to Brampton, in Cumberland, are covered with ſwarms of inſects, of a dark brown colour, which, in ſize and ſhape, reſemble caterpillars. They cover the herbage ſo profuſely, that the cattle cannot poſſibly graze without ſwallowing great numbers of them.

Downing-ſtreet, June 9, 1797.—A meſſenger arrived yeſterday at lord Grenville's office, from ſir Charles Whitworth, K.B. his majeſty's envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary at the court of Peterſburgh, with his imperial majeſty's ratification of the treaty of commerce concluded between his majeſty and the emperor of Ruſſia. The ratifications were exchanged at Moſcow, on the 17th ult.

At Sunderland, W. Maddiſon, a mariner, being intoxicated, was warned by the by-ſtanders, not to take a leap off the quay into a keel, which he was meditating—when he replied, with a volley of oaths, that "he would go to hell in a flying leap," and inſtantly jumping off, his breaſt ſtruck with ſuch violence againſt the gunwale, as to occaſion his immediate death.

12th. This evening capt. Hearne, of the Prince of Wales packet, arrived at the Admiralty, with an account of the ſafe arrival at Cruxhaven, on Monday night, at nine o'clock, of their ſerene highneſſes the prince and princeſs of Wirtemberg, in good health and ſpirits.

A monument in Weſtminſter-abbey, executed at the coſt of Albany Wallis, eſq. was this day opened to public view. Garrick is repreſented at full length, in an animated

poſition, throwing aſide a curtain, which diſcovers the medallion of the great poet whom he has illuſtrated; while Tragedy and Comedy, adorned with their reſpective emblems, and half ſeated on a pedeſtal, ſeem to approve the tribute. The inſcription, by Mr. Pratt, is as follows:

To the memory of David Garrick, who died in the year 1779, *at the age of* 63.

To paint fair Nature, by divine command,
Her magic pencil in his glowing hand,
A Shakſpeare roſe—then, to expand his fame
Wide o'er this breathing world, a Garrick came.
Though funk in death the forms the Poet drew,
The Actor's genius bade them breathe anew.
Though, like the Bard himſelf, in night they lay,
Immortal Garrick call'd them back to day.
And till Eternity, with pow'r ſublime,
Shall mark the mortal hour of hoary Time,
Shakſpeare and Garrick like twin ſtars ſhall ſhine,
And earth irradiate with a beam divine.

This monument, the tribute of a friend, was erected, 1797.

This day, a very conſiderable part of the eaſtern end of the Kennet and Avon canal was opened, by order of the chairman and committee of management. From the ſubſtantial execution of the ſeveral parts of the work, it appears to be now capable of accommodating the trade of that populous neighbourhood. Eleven miles of coal canal will be completed, according to calculation, in about eight months time, at the expence of 32,000l. and the remaining ſix miles in eighteen months time, at the additional expence of 17,450l. It is expected that, by that period, the Kennet and Avon canal will be finiſhed, from Devizes to its junction with the Somerſet canal, which will then alſo form a junction with the Wilts and Berks canal.

A ſort of public library has been recently opened at Bamborough caſtle, by the direction of the truſtees for managing the eſtates of the late lord Crewe. The library is chiefly a donation from the late rev. J. Sharp, grandſon of the archbiſhop of York of that name, and contains the moſt valuable parts of the library of that prelate (being a comprehenſive collection of books in all branches of literature, particularly theology, eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, Engliſh hiſtory, the beſt editions of claſſics, political pamphlets, &c.) with the addition of ſome other collections. It appears, that the charitable inſtitutions, which now flouriſh at Bamborough caſtle, have received much of their progreſſive improvement from the Dr. J. Sharp, firſt mentioned, who not only raiſed the great tower from a ſtate of ruins, and converted it into a commodious manſion for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, but provided that it might never want ſufficient funds for future reparation. From 1758 to his death, he expended conſiderable ſums, for the benefit of theſe charities, with little aſſiſtance from the truſtees. The library is open to the public one day in every week.

The mutiny at the Nore terminated, and Parker, the principal of the mutineers, and his co-delegates, were taken into cuſtody. 14th.

This day, about noon, came on ſhore on St. Miniver's Sands, Cornwall, within the entrance of Padſtow harbour, a large whale, meaſuring nearly 70 feet in length. The country people, as ſoon as the 18th.

tide

tide ſerved, fell to with their axes, &c. and, as the ploughs could get alongſide, ſoon cut and carried off every part, except what was buried in the ſand. It ſeems the fiſh was living when it came aſhore, as ſeveral people ſaw it that morning off at ſea, with its tail upward, and which appeared to them like the trunk of a tree.

21st. During a tremendous ſtorm in the pariſh of Wadhurſt, a ball of fire paſſed ſo near to the houſe of Mr. George Pecham, that it ſcorched his face, whilſt looking out of one of his windows. The fluid ſubſtance fell on a ſmall ſhed near the houſe, but did no material damage.

22d. A whirlwind, accompanied by much rain, happened in the neighbourhood of Chicheſter. Its courſe was two miles, and its breadth about 100 yards. It did ſome damage, by ſplitting, at its commencement, a large tree, in a very curious manner; and towards its termination, in rooting up two or three trees, and unroofing hovels, &c. &c.—In the afternoon, at the end of a very heavy ſhower, a whirlwind of less force was noticed in the pariſh of Stopham.

23d. The wife of Richard Parker the mutineer, yeſterday preſented a petition to the earl of Morton, to be delivered to the queen, in favour of her unfortunate huſband: ſhe expreſſed an earneſt deſire to the attendants in the guard chamber, that ſhe might have an anſwer from her majeſty. Her deportment was becoming her unhappy ſituation. She appeared to be about forty years of age.

The king has iſſued his warrant, to empower Mr. Bolton, of Soho, to execute a conſiderable coinage of penny and twopenny pieces.

Plymouth. — Yeſterday morning the court martial 24th. commenced on the marines who have been ſo long in confinement in the cells at the citadel here, on account of the mutiny at the marine barracks in Stonehouſe, about a month ago. The court was held in one of the rooms of the new hoſpital, in the garriſon. Lee, the principal of the mutineers, was the firſt arraigned, and a great many witneſſes againſt him were examined; by whoſe depoſitions it appears, that a plan of the moſt diabolical and deſtructive nature was formed by Lee and his aſſociates, and would have been productive of inconceivable miſchief, had their deſigns not been early diſcovered: it appears that as many as Lee won over to his purpoſe, aſſembled on the hill at Stonehouſe on the Sunday when the plot was intimated to the commander of the marines' corps, and there took an oath of ſecrecy in the following manner: a book was placed on the graſs, which the perſon about to ſwear was to take up, and after he had taken the oath, to replace it on the ſame ſpot; and the like ceremony was performed by all that were then aſſembled: after the whole were ſworn, the nature of the plot was diſcloſed to them by Lee; the leading features of which were, to fire the magazine at the barracks, Hegham Point, &c. to liberate the French priſoners, and to do every thing in their power to overturn the eſtabliſhed government of the country, and to murder every perſon that might attempt the leaſt oppoſition to their deſign. Lee alſo told

them, that they were to be aided by the 58th regiment, and the crews of two ships then in a state of mutiny: this seems to have been the outline of the plot.—Lee's trial ended, Coffy was immediately brought to the bar.

25th. This afternoon, during a violent thunder-storm, a ball of fire entered the dwelling-house of Mr. Callis, of Mears-Abbey, near Wellingborough, Northamptonshire, set fire to the clothes of a young lady who was there on a visit, and burnt her in so shocking a manner, that her life is despaired of. The house was also set on fire, but was happily extinguished without much damage.

26th. This day the court martial assembled on the trial of the marines, when Coffy was again brought up, and the further evidence against him examined; the nature of which was much to the same purport as that adduced on the trial of Lee. After Coffy was done with, M'Gorman was put on his trial. And after the evidence was examined, the court adjourned.

28th. This day, Mr. Oliver, of Haxey, in the isle of Axholme, and Mr. Huntington, officers of Doncaster excise, having taken shelter under a tree in Mr. Simon How's garth, during a very heavy shower of rain, accompanied with thunder and lightning, Mr. Oliver was instantly killed, his coat sleeve and shirt were torn from one arm, his shoes quite demolished, and a pair of steel buckles which he had on, melted. Mr. Huntington was materially shocked, but after a short time, recovered his senses. He was unable to walk; his hand and side appeared to have been much affected, and his watch-glass was broken to pieces.

Near Bridlington a mill was considerably shattered, and two persons killed; a young man, son of the miller, and Mr. Fenwick, who had taken refuge there from the storm. Mr. Peacock, a Wesleyan preacher, who was also in the mill, was much hurt.

30th. Parker, the mutineer, was executed on board the Sandwich, at Blackstakes.

20th. DIED.—In Charlotte-street, Bloomsbury, George Keate, esq. F.R.S.A.S. He was articled as a clerk to the late Mr. Palmer, steward to the duke of Bedford; whence he removed to the Inner Temple, but never practised the law. He published, "An Account of the Government, History, and Laws of Geneva," 1761, 8vo; "The Temple Student, an Epistle to a Friend," 1765, 4to; "Ferney, an Epistle to M. de Voltaire," 1768, 4to; "The Monument in Arcadia, a dramatic Poem, in two acts," 1773, 4to; "Sketches from Nature, taken and coloured in a Journey to Margate," in two volumes, 1773, in 12mo. In 1781 he published his poetical works, in two vols. 12mo. with a dedication to Dr. Heberden, and an excellent likeness of himself, by Pott and Sherwin. Perhaps the "Account of the Pelew Islands," which he drew up and published, 1788, in 4to. is a more lasting monument to his fame than all the preceding ones. He likewise contributed to the Archæologia, VI. 125. "Observations on the Roman Earthenware found in the Sea on the Kentish Coast."

23d. At his house, in Dover-street, Piccadilly, aged 65,

Richard Warren, M. D. phyſician to his majeſty and the prince of Wales. He died of ſpaſms in his ſtomach, very unexpectedly, at a moment when ſir George Baker and Dr. Pitcairn were moſt ſanguine in their hopes of his recovery, and when the anſwers to enquiring friends were moſt favourable. His complaint had been a violent eryſipelas, or St. Anthony's fire in his head. The public in general, as well as a numerous family, will ſuſtain an irreparable loſs in the death of this able and acute phyſician, who had been many years at the head of the beſt practice in the metropolis.—He was the ſon of a dignified clergyman at Cambridge, and brought up to the church; and was engaged as tutor to the only ſon of the late Dr. Peter Shaw, an eminent phyſician. The young Shaw ſhewing no turn for inſtruction, or regard for learning, his father taught the profeſſion to his ſon's preceptor, and gave him alſo his only daughter, and his fortune; and he immediately ſucceeded to his buſineſs. He is ſaid to have received in the courſe of one day, fees to the amount of ninety-nine guineas; and to have died worth 150,000 l.; and that he made 8000 l. a year ever ſince the regency. The following, we underſtand, are the principal, among the bequeſts of his will: To his widow, during her life, his houſes in Dover-ſtreet and Hertfordſhire, with all their fixtures and furniture, and his landed eſtate of 3,000 l. a year; to his two daughters 10,000 l. each; to his eldeſt ſon 10,000 l. payable immediately, with the reverſion of the houſes and eſtate after his mother's death; and to each of his other ſeven ſons 6000 l. aſſigning as a reaſon for leaving them no more, that he had given each of them a profeſſion, and advanced them, in his lifetime, as far, in their reſpective profeſſions, as he could. His widow is his reſiduary legatee. As phyſician in ordinary to the king and the prince of Wales, he is ſucceeded by Dr. Turton, who, as phyſician extraordinary to the king, is ſucceeded by Dr. Reynolds.

Near Broughton, in Furneſs, aged 97, Mr. R. Dickinſon, a reſpectable yeoman.—At Broughton, in Furneſs, aged 80, Mrs. Benſon; ſhe left more than eighty children, grand-children, and great-grand-children.—At Kulingtown, aged 103, Mr. Giſenan; he had married five wives, the laſt of whom, aged near 53, brought him a ſon about eighteen months ago.

In Dean-ſtreet, major Shipman, aged 98.—At Cheſter, Mrs. Raine, aged 104.—At Leiceſter, Mr. Barry, aged 91.—At Malpas, Mr. Richardſon, aged 109.—At Birmingham, Mrs. Hayes, aged 99.—Alſo, J. Knowles, aged 109.—Near Bampton, Mr. Yeatman, aged 97.—At Potter Heighman, Mrs. Hipper, aged 97.—At Ringland, Mrs. Ames, aged 102.—At Saliſbury, Ann Fuller, aged 103.—At Weymouth, Mrs. Croſſman, aged 106.

JULY.

This morning, at twelve o'clock, captain Eaton put an end to his exiſtence, at the Admiralty, in the following manner. He arrived in London in a poſt-chaiſe from Plymouth, in company with two other gentlemen. He 3d.

ordered the poſtillion to drive to the New Exchange Coffee-houſe, in the Strand, where he took leave of his companions, and was ſhewn into a room. Inſtead, however, of going to bed, he ſaid he would take a walk, and accordingly went out. In about an hour he returned dripping wet (as it rained), and expreſſed a great wiſh for a hair-dreſſer, ſaying, he was obliged to attend the Admiralty directly on particular buſineſs. At ſeven the hair-dreſſer came, to whom he appeared to be in a violent hurry, and expreſſed great impatience at being ſo long delayed from going to the Admiralty. The hair-dreſſer, after he left him, told the people of the houſe, that from the agitation he was in, he muſt be either out of his mind, or would ſoon be ſo.

Notwithſtanding the great anxiety he ſhewed for a hair-dreſſer before he came, when his hair was dreſſed he remained two hours alone in his room. He then rung for the waiter, and deſired him to bring breakfaſt, of which he partook, and went out, but ſoon returned in conſiderable agitation, and, going into his room, tore two letters in the waſh-hand-baſon, and repeated the ſame eagerneſs to attend the Admiralty. He then ordered a hackney coach, and in paſſing the coffee-room to get into it, deſired the landlady to keep his room for him. The coach proceeded according to his directions to the Admiralty; he there got out, and having diſcharged it, went in, and enquired for the board. He was told it was not then ſitting, and deſired to wait a little, and accordingly joined a friend of his, captain Houghton, and walked into the lieutenants waiting room, near the hall. This was about half paſt eleven; when of a ſudden, no particular converſation having taken place, he drew his dirk, and (after an ineffectual ſtruggle or two on the part of captain Houghton to prevent him) he ſtabbed himſelf nearly up to the hilt, in the belly, and immediately after gave himſelf two ſlighter wounds on the breaſt. He then ſtaggered, and fell, exclaiming "Lord Spencer, juſtice!" Captain Houghton directly called for aſſiſtance, and ſeveral gentlemen, among whom was lord Hugh Seymour, came into the room.

In about ten minutes he recovered himſelf a little; on this he called for captain Houghton, ſaying he would ſpeak to no one but him. Captain Houghton then approached, and he muttered ſomething about *traitors* and *treaſon*, which being at firſt conceived to relate to himſelf, captain Houghton ſaid, "My dear ſir, is it yourſelf you mean? lord Seymour is here, and declares that the lords of the Admiralty are perfectly ſatisfied with your conduct." He then exclaimed, "No, no! it is not me, I have always been true to my king and country; there are traitors on board the Marlborough; —— is a traitor; the country is ruined." This was all that could be diſtinctly heard; he ſoon after became faint, and expired in an hour and twenty minutes.

He was a young man, about 32 years of age, and appointed from an hoſpital ſhip to command the Marlborough, on captain Nichols being ſent aſhore, during the late mutiny at Spithead. Though acting as captain of the Marlborough, he was only a maſter and commander; his commiſſion as poſt captain is now at the Admiralty,

but he did not live to receive it. This circumſtance explains the reaſon of his being ſuperſeded in the command of the Marlborough by captain Elliſon.

He was married about ſix months ago, and left his unfortunate lady at Plymouth, when he ſet out for London.

4th. The body of Parker, the mutineer, which was taken out of the new naval burying ground at Sheerneſs, was brought to the Hoop and Horſe-ſhoe public-houſe, Queen-ſtreet, Little Tower-hill, on Saturday evening. So large a concourſe of perſons aſſembled before the houſe next day, that a party of conſtables were ſtationed there, in order to keep the mob from breaking into the houſe; and the corpſe in the afternoon was removed to the workhouſe in Nightingale-lane, by order of the pariſh officers. Mrs. Parker was taken before the ſitting magiſtrates in Lambert-ſtreet, and examined touching the object of her taking up the body. Her anſwer was, "for the purpoſe of a more decent interment."—It was buried this morning early, in the vault of Whitechapel church.

The following is a comparative ſtatement of the porter brewed by the twelve firſt London brewers, for the years 1796 and 1797, ending on the 5th of July each year:—

1796.	Barrels.
Whitbread	202,000
Thrale	137,810
Shum	110,700
Hanbury	109,170
Felix Calvert	97,550
Goodwyn	97,580
Meux	103,790
John Calvert	68,000
Clowes	55,770
Elliot	58,250
Cox and Co.	42,110
Stevenſon	45,800

1797.	
Whitbread	192,740
Thrale	141,590
Shum	119,820
Hanbury	117,180
Felix Calvert	101,760
Goodwyn	94,750
Meux	93,400
John Calvert	70,090
Clowes	58,680
Elliot	55,800
Cox and Co.	46,100
Stevenſon	45,810

6th. This morning, at ten o'clock, preparation was made for the execution of the ſentence on Lee, Coffy, Branham, and M'Ginnis; and in conſequence, the regiments quartered near Plymouth were drawn out and marched to Hoe, to be eye-witneſſes of the execution, as alſo to prevent any diſturbance. M'Ginnis was conducted to the Hoe by a party of marines, and was immediately tied to the halberts, where he received 500 laſhes, being one half of the number he is ſentenced to receive; he was put into a ſedan, taken off the Hoe, and eſcorted to one of the barracks about half after one o'clock; Lee, Coffy, and Branham, were brought from their cells, and conducted through the ſally-port gate which leads to the Hoe. Lee was ſupported by the Rev. Dr. Hawker, vicar of Charles Church, in this town, and the Rev. Mr. Williams, of the Royal Hoſpital; Coffy and Branham were each ſupported by a Romiſh prieſt. As ſoon as they reached the place of execution, each joined in prayers with the miniſters who attended them, until half paſt two o'clock, when each of them had the cap drawn over his eyes, and knelt

knelt down on his coffin; the miniſters then ſhook hands with them and retired; and the commanding officer inſtantly, on all being ready, directed the execution of the fatal ſentence. Coffy and Branham fell at the firſt fire; but it did not appear that one ſhot, out of 16 that were fired, ſtruck Lee, as he remained on his knees on the coffin, until a marine diſcharged his muſquet through the front of his head; he then fell, and another muſquet being fired through the ſide of his head, he expired. The bodies were then put one in each coffin, and all the troops that were aſſembled marched in a circle round them. Lee and Branham's firmneſs did not forſake them; but Coffy was very much agitated, from the time the ſentence was read until his execution.

8th. The following unfortunate circumſtance took place this afternoon at the Ayleſbury Arms, about two miles from Marlborough. A party of ſoldiers, attending three deſerters, ſtopped at the above houſe, when one of the latter grew refractory, and would proceed no further; the corporal ordered him to be pinioned, and at the ſame time preſenting his piece to his breaſt, it accidentally went off, when the ball paſſed through the deſerter, and into the body of the man who was tying his arms, and killed them both on the ſpot.

Some time ago, a Mr. Powyſs, of Moreham, near Preſton, offered by public advertiſement, a reward of fifty pounds a year for life, to any man who would undertake to live for ſeven years under ground, without ſeeing a human face; and to let his toe and finger nails grow during the whole of his confinement, together with his beard. Commodious apartments were provided under ground, with a cold bath, a chamber-organ, as many books as the occupier ſhould deſire, and proviſions were to be ſerved from Mr. P's. table; on ringing a bell the recluſe was alſo to be provided with every convenience deſired. It appears that an occupier offered himſelf for this ſingular reſidence, who is now in the fourth year of his probation, a labouring man, who has a large family, all of whom are maintained by Mr. P.

9th. About ſeven o'clock in the evening, Robert Thoroton, eſq. chief clerk in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, put an end to his exiſtence with a piſtol, at his apartments in North Earl-ſtreet. No motive can be conjectured for this raſh and melancholy cataſtrophe. The coroner's jury ſat on his remains, and brought in their verdict lunacy.—Mr. Thoroton was a near relative to the late duke of Rutland.

Lately, in working a ſlate-quarry, near Bernard caſtle, a toad of great magnitude, and apparently very old, was diſcovered in a large ſtone (ſolid, except in the particular ſpot occupied by his incarceration,) which from its ſize, ſituation, &c. muſt have lain there, undiſturbed, a conſiderable time. The toad died immediately on his liberation; but whether this happened from his ſudden expoſure to the air, or from ſome wound he received when the ſtone was broken, did not appear.

There is now growing, in the garden of a gentlemen, in the Cliff, near Lewes, a ſpecies of *fungus*, known about the Downs by the name of puff-ball, of the unuſual circum-

circumference of five feet eight inches; it was obſerved to grow, in twelve hours time, more than ſix inches, and is ſtill in a very thriving ſtate. Theſe vegetables in general meaſure in circumference from four to about ſix inches.

16th. A moſt melancholy accident happened this night, about eleven o'clock.—As the three Mr. Taylors, two of whom are clerks in the office for foreign affairs, the other aid-de-camp to the duke of York, were coming to town from Richmond, in a ſmall wherry with a ſail, which they had built for amuſement, the boat overſet near Kew, by ſtriking againſt a barge, and all three tumbled overboard. Mr. B. Taylor got on ſhore unhurt; Mr. Herbert Taylor was brought on ſhore with little ſigns of life, but ſince recovered by the means recommended by the Humane Society; Mr. William Taylor was drowned, and his body is not yet found.

The latter had lately returned with Mr. Hammond from Vienna, to whom he acted as ſecretary, and was much eſteemed by all who had the pleaſure of knowing him. The night was extremely dark and tempeſtuous.

We experienced in London a thunder ſtorm, accompanied by immenſe torrents of rain, more awful and tremendous than any thing of the kind ever before remembered by the oldeſt inhabitant of the metropolis. From about twelve at night till four in the morning the eaſtern ſky preſented the moſt terrific appearance, the fiery agitation of the firmament ſeeming momentarily to threaten the earth with univerſal conflagration. Of the dreadful flaſhes of lightning and the awful peals of thunder that prevailed, no adequate deſcription can poſſibly be given; the mere recollection of them is painful, and the conſequences cannot be contemplated without emotions of horror. The ſtorm paſſed over the Continent previous to viſiting this country. It was felt at Lille on Saturday afternoon, and continued till three o'clock on Sunday morning, without intermiſſion.

A man who lived in Brick-lane, Old-ſtreet, was killed by the lightning. Three houſes in Great Portland-ſtreet, and ſeveral others in various quarters, ſuffered materially.

A ſnuff-mill at Croydon was ſaved from total deſtruction, only by the timely aſſiſtance of the engines.

A barn belonging to Mr. Adderſon, of Petersfield, was burnt to the ground. A rick-yard, about a mile and a half from Petersfield took fire, and was burning at three in the morning, when the mail-coach paſſed.

Farmer Burrel, of Hilſea, had two cows ſtruck dead, and farmer Green, of Hilſea-green, had one cow killed. A cow at Burg, near Goſport, was alſo ſtruck with a flaſh of lightning, and is ſince dead. The ſheer-hulk drifted from her moorings at Spithead, but has received no material damage.

The accounts from Cowes and Ryde, in the Iſle of Wight, mention the thunder ſtorm to have been equally terrific there, without having done any injury.

At Yately, in Hants, the old poor houſe was tremendouſly ſtruck by the lightning; the roof was entirely torn off and demoliſhed, the window frames driven in and ſhivered to pieces, two doors knocked down and rent to ſplinters, and part of the brick-work on one ſide of the houſe forcibly burſt into the yard. Four women ſitting round a table, with

with a child in the arms of one of them, were ſtruck down, and remained inſenſible for near an hour; and a young woman, ſtanding in the ſame room at a ſmall diſtance, had her cap forced off, and her hair much ſinged; but providentially neither of them received any material injury. The bed of a poor man, inhabitant of the ſame premiſes, who that evening was fortunately detained by the tempeſt at Blackwater, was forcibly thrown through the chaſm in the wall into the yard, and the bedſtead broke to atoms.

A large oak tree, nearly two feet in diameter, at Church Walton, Wilts, was ſtruck by the lightning, and literally ſhivered to pieces.—A cow belonging to farmer Attwood, at Babington, in that county, was killed.

An extraordinary incident took place at Mr. Rowley's, an eminent farmer of Prior's Lee. A ball of fire fell upon a large ſtack of two-year-old hay, and paſſed quite through it, making a large perforation into the ground. The hay took fire; but being very ſolid, the flames did not ſpread with that rapidity which might have been expected from an article of ſo combuſtible a nature; and a man who was then paſſing through the ſtack yard, and ſaw the thunder-bolt ſtrike the ſtack, inſtantly giving the alarm, the fire was preſently extinguiſhed. The damage done was ſo trifling, that it was not computed to amount to five ſhillings. Mr. Rowley, very prudently, had the ſtack as ſoon as poſſible cut through and laid open. By the ſame thunder-ſtorm, however, he had the misfortune to loſe one of his beſt horſes, found dead in the field.—The whole horizon was at the ſame time ſo overcharged with the electric fluid, that a gentleman near Colebrook Dale, who very attentively obſerved the progreſs of the ſtorm, beheld a great number of very large and vivid ſparks almoſt inceſſantly emitted by the colliſion of the clouds.

At Oxford, ſuch was the violence of this ſtorm, that the mail and other coaches were detained for a conſiderable time, the utmoſt exertions of the drivers not being able to overcome the terror of the horſes; and many of them, when they did ſet out, were led for ſeveral miles before they could proceed on.

At Lewes, with little wind and a cloudleſs ſky, the thermometer before 2 o'clock was 80 deg. of Fahrenheit's ſcale; the barometer, upon a conſiderable eminence, was 29 deg. 44 min. The ſun ſet with great ſplendour, though ſome broken clouds were ſeen in the weſtern horizon. Soon after ſun-ſet, the inhabitants of the weſtern parts of this country obſerved an extenſive cloud approaching from the ſouth-weſt, with little wind; but the flaſhes of lightning were very frequent, and the peals of thunder extremely loud, with rain falling in heavy ſhowers. The firſt ſtorm had ſpent its force about twelve o'clock, and before one an extenſive cloud, with a briſk gale, had again overſpread the horizon; the flaſhes of lightning ſucceeded each other ſo inceſſantly, that the interval ſeldom exceeded 12 or 13 ſeconds of time; the brilliancy of the lightning was ſo great, that objects ten or twelve miles diſtant might be ſeen very diſtinctly. The obſcurity of the intervening ſpaces, and the rain pouring down in ſuch a continued ſtream, could only

only be exceeded by a tropical tornado. At one time the flashes of lightning were inceſſant for 10 or 12 minutes, during which the thunder in awful peals rolled round the horizon in every direction. On Monday, by noon, the levels were completely inundated, as they generally are after 24 or 36 hours rain in the winter ſeaſon. The damage we chiefly hear of, is half-made hay being carried away in great quantities by the ſtream. The oldeſt inhabitants do not remember a ſtorm of ſuch violence, or ſo much rain to have fallen in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time as three hours. The ſtorm was felt with equal ſeverity in this town and neighbourhood, where it commenced with the twilight, and did not totally ſubſide till four the next morning. It was moſt violent between 12 and 1, when a cloud, very highly charged, exploded immediately over the town, and produced thunder more awful and alarming, than any we had ever before heard. We are, however, happy in having the opportunity to add, that no material damage has been done by it. Cats are the only animals to which, as far as we have heard, it proved fatal. Four were killed in the warehouſe of Mr. Rickman, merchant, where two or three others were ſtruck blind, and had their hair ſinged.

The lightning that fell on the houſe of Mr. Richardſon, of Stamford Bridge, Yorkſhire, broke an hearth-ſtone to pieces, ſet fire to a bed, and damaged the walls of the building. Two adjoining houſes received a moſt violent ſhock; the lightning entered betwixt them, and made its progreſs through moſt of the rooms in both; it tore down two fire-places, broke a hearth-ſtone, and ſet fire to ſome boſs-mattreſſes in one of them. It forced out two windows, paſſed through a door, ran along a bell-wire, and threw in various directions ſplinters of wood. Though it had paſſed cloſe to the bed in one of the lodging rooms, in which were ſleeping a ſervant maid and two children, yet it happily did them not the leaſt harm. We have heard of its having killed, that morning, cows and horſes in various parts of the Eaſt Riding.

Between five and ſix o'clock, a tremendous ſtorm came on at Tinmouth and Whitley, which was felt all along the north coaſt. The lightning entered the ſtable door occupied by the eaſt and weſt Lothian cavalry, encamped on Whitley Sinks, and inſtantaneouſly killed two horſes; three others were much burnt, two of which are ſince dead. The remainder of the horſes were turned out of the ſtable as ſoon as poſſible, and ran off in all directions, being dreadfully terrified by the ſtorm. Upwards of 60 of them reached Newcaſtle between ſeven and eight o'clock, when they were ſecured, and next day conducted back to the camp, by the men who had followed, but were unable to ſtop them. Part of the ſtable and forage were conſumed, but fortunately none of the men received the leaſt injury, though ſeveral were very near the ſpot at the time. The ſtorm, we learn, has been equally ſevere in many other places, but we have not yet heard of any particular damage done, or any lives loſt.

Early this morning, during the prevalence of the thunder-ſtorm, a fire broke out in the houſe of lord St. Helen's, in Great Ruſſel-ſtreet, Bloomſbury, which entirely conſumed it, and conſiderably

17th.

conſiderably damaged that of ſir George Young, adjoining. It broke out, not in the bed-chamber, but in a room adjoining, where his lordſhip was writing, with his back partly turned towards the window, the curtains of which ſuddenly burſt out into a flame, which ſpread itſelf in a few minutes into every part of the room. From the poſition of the candles on the writing-table, and the ruſtling noiſe and ſmell of ſulphur, which accompanied the breaking out of the flames, it ſeems highly probable that the accident was occaſioned by lightning.

20th. In conſequence of the cathedral of Worceſter undergoing a complete repair, the remains of king John, interred in 1216, were lately diſcovered on opening the tomb of the choir, for the purpoſe of removing it to a more convenient place. Theſe remains were found in an open ſtone coffin, under the tomb, but from their appearance, have, it is thought, been removed from ſome other part of the cathedral. The body was wrapped in a crimſon damaſk robe, the colour of which had nearly periſhed by time; the cuff was viſible on the left arm, which had probably held his ſword, a fragment of which lay on his left thigh, and parts of the leather ſcabbard down to the thigh of the left leg. The robe had been tied acroſs the ancles, part of the knot remaining on that of the left leg. The right leg ſeemed to have been contracted, not lying ſo ſtraight as the left; part of the ſhin bone of the right leg, and that of the right arm, were ſeen below the elbow; the upper jaw, with teeth, lying near the right elbow, and the bone of the left arm out of its place, and lying ſlantwiſe on the breaſt. A quantity of a kind of white paſte was placed in two or three lumps on and below the belly, which had probably been poured into the body, on the heart and bowels being taken out; on breaking a piece of this paſte, it was mixed with the ſkeletons of maggots or flies, of which great numbers lay on and about the body. On the right cheek of the ſkull was a ſharp point, about half-an-inch long, and ſome grey hairs appeared under part of the cap, which had fitted the head very tight, and ſeemed to have been buckled under the chin, part of the ſtraps remaining. The robe had the appearance, in ſome parts, of having been embroidered, particularly on the right knee. The coffin was laid upon the ſame level as the floor of the choir, the inſide being even with the ſurface of the pavement. There was no other top to the coffin than two elm boards, which were perfectly ſound. It is clearly aſcertained that the body certainly was depoſited here, and not in the moſt eaſtern part of the church, as was ſuppoſed; and the ſingular circumſtance of there being no record of the place of interment on the archives of the cathedral, is now obviated.

The quantity of ſtrong beer brewed in this country has, within theſe few years, very conſiderably increaſed, notwithſtanding the war, as will be ſeen by the following ſtatement:

	Barrels.
In 1797 - - - - -	1,711,543
In 1791, a year of peace,	1,364,240
	347,303

25th. The following very melancholy affair happened at Yarmouth:—A party of young men (apprentices)

(apprentices) ſeven in number, having agreed to go on the water, accordingly left Yarmouth for Braydon, when, unfortunately, before they had ſailed a mile, the boat upſet, and ſix of the party were drowned.

29th. This night, about nine o'clock, the town of Liverpool and its neighbourhood experienced a tremendous ſtorm of thunder, lightning, hail, rain, and wind, which laſted about two hours. We are happy to ſay, that we have not heard of any perſon being killed by the electric fluid, but in other inſtances its effects have been truly awful; ſeveral limbs of trees, ſome of them 16 inches in circumference, were ſevered from the ſtock and carried a conſiderable diſtance; others were thrown into the adjoining lane; great part of the rooks at Plumb's Hall, and ſeveral ſmall birds, in Edge-lane, were found next morning dead; a garden wall at Edge-hill thrown down, and the hot-houſes of Richard Walker, eſq. May-place, and Edward Falknor, eſq. Fairfield, are nearly deſtroyed; in the former, it is ſuppoſed there are not leſs than 500 panes of glaſs broken. Great damage is done to the front of Mr. Wilſon's houſe in Edge-lane, where the ſtorm was particularly ſevere; a field of remarkably fine wheat, adjoining and belonging to the occupier of Edge-lane Hall, laid quite down; ſome of the hail-ſtones, after lying until next day at noon, meaſured two inches in circumference, and appeared a ſolid maſs of ice; the roof of a thatched barn, at the pump houſe, in Waver-tree-lane, was entirely beaten off and deſtroyed, as well as a quantity of turnips, in a field belonging to Mr. Wakefield, in Smetham-lane.

At Chumleigh, the ſtorm commenced on the 30th, about one in the morning, where the church was the only building that received an injury. It ſtruck off the ſouth-eaſt pinnacle of the tower, part of which falling on the roof of the church, forced its way through, and did conſiderable damage. The force of the lightning was ſo great, that one ſtone, upwards of 200 lb. was ſtruck to the north-eaſt, being carried quite over the tower, without touching it. The damage is eſtimated at 200 l. The ſtorm was alſo particularly ſevere at Cliſthydon; it began in the eaſt; but, a little before five o'clock, there was for ſome minutes an appearance of fire, of about a yard diameter, amongſt the black clouds in the weſt. About ten minutes before ſix, and nearly in that direction, one of the laſt flaſhes of lightning ſtruck the chimney of a farm-houſe in that pariſh, the top of which it beat off, and perforated the back of the lower part, which conſiſted of cob, for a conſiderable length, leaving ſome marks at the bottom. The houſe was probably filled with the electric fluid; for, in another room, the leg of a milk-ſtand was ſhivered to pieces; but a braſs milk-pan, which ſtood directly over it, was not hurt, nor the cream of it diſturbed, though the fluid muſt have paſſed through it, to a nail which faſtened the leg to the ſtand; providentially the people in the houſe ſuffered no injury by the exploſion, which they deſcribe as ſomething totally unlike what they had ever before heard. From ſeveral other places we learn that the ſtorm was extremely ſevere, the lightning remarkably vivid, and the peals of thunder wonderfully loud and awful.

Between

Between three and four o'clock, the electric fire entered a barn between the Old Swan and Roby turnpike, in Lancaſhire, and killed a dog that was playing with ſome children. The children eſcaped out of the barn unhurt; immediately after which another flaſh ſtruck the building, and ſet it on fire.

At Burley, near Otley, the ſtorm was attended with a moſt boiſterous wind, which tore up by the roots ſeveral trees, unroofed ſeveral houſes, and did other conſiderable miſchief; and on Tueſday laſt there was in this neighbourhood a violent ſtorm of thunder and lightning, which ſhivered a tree in col. Lloyd's park, at Horſforth. The lightning alſo entered the cottage of a poor man at Rigton, near Harewood, in which were two children; one of whom, a girl, was thrown down and burnt in a terrible manner, her ſhoes being driven off with great violence againſt the wall of the cottage, notwithſtanding which her legs were not burnt, but the worſted upon a ſpinning-wheel near her was burnt to aſhes.

At Marſden, near Huddersfield, a man was killed by the lightning, when at work in a dye-houſe; and ſeveral trees in various parts of the Weſt Riding, and other places, were ſhivered to pieces.

The lightning ſtruck a tree in Boſton-lane, Brentford, and marked its courſe from top to bottom, by tearing off the bark a few inches wide, and making in ſome places a groove, as if cut by an inſtrument.

At Brighton, about half after nine, began the greateſt ſtorm ever remembered. The firmament was ſtreaked very thick with black clouds at a quarter before five; and ſoon after came on ſuch a violent and tempeſtuous ſhock of thunder, lightning and hail, as alarmed the whole town, and roufed them from their beds. The hailſtones were three inches circular, and deſcended in ſuch rapid torrents as to break every ſky-light in the place, and ſeveral windows. The cucumber frames in Hicks's gardens, with his hot houſes, were entirely ſmaſhed, and the damages therein are eſtimated at above 40l.

This day, notwithſtanding the notices iſſued by the magiſtrates of the various police offices, and in deſpite of the appearance of large military detachments, a very numerous meeting of the London Correſponding Society took place in the field adjoining to the Veterinary College, in Pancras. To accommodate the vaſt aſſemblage of people who had collected, three tribunes were erected in different quarters of the field, round the principal of which the police magiſtrates, with a large body of conſtables, took their ſtand. Sir William Addington informed the perſons in the tribune, that the meeting had been illegally convoked, and declared his intention of reading the riot act, to which he was aſſured no oppoſition ſhould be given. 31ſt.

Mr. Galloway, having read the advertiſement of the London Correſponding Society, and the notice from Bow-ſtreet, called upon the magiſtrates to point out in what circumſtances the meeting was illegal, and what proviſions of the late acts had not been duly complied with; promiſing, that if the illegality ſhould be ſubſtantiated, the ſociety would immediately and peaceably retire. No anſwer having been returned to this requeſt, he propoſed Mr. Tuckey as chairman for the day,

day, who, after returning thanks for the diſtinction conferred upon him, proceeded to read the petition and remonſtrance to the king. Scarcely, however, had he entered upon its contents, when he was interrupted; ſir William Addington inſiſting that the riot act had been read. A gentleman on the tribune declared he had not heard it, and in this declaration he was joined by the whole of the ſurrounding multitude. Sir W. Addington perſiſted to aver the fact. "Then, my fellow citizens," ſaid the gentleman, "we are bound to diſperſe in peace within one hour. I conjure you to depart, and believe that it will be ſhortly ſeen, whether Bow-ſtreet magiſtrates are to be the interpreters of the laws of England." Upon this many perſons retired from the ground, and ſir William Addington commanded the conſtables to take into cuſtody the above mentioned gentleman, and Mr. Tuckey, the chairman. The military were ordered to enter the field, and after galloping about it for an hour, and taking up two or three perſons more, the meeting was diſſolved.

The perſons taken into cuſtody were, Robert Ferguſon, Thomas Tuckey, Richard Barrow, Richard Hodgſon, Alexander Galloway, Benjamin Pemberton, Binns, and John Wibbie.

They were brought to Bow-ſtreet office in the evening, before ſir W. Addington and Richard Ford, eſq. and were admitted to bail, themſelves in 100l. each, and two ſureties in 50l. each. When they left the office they were drawn to their homes by the populace. Mr. Ferguſon received a hurt in the eye, by the conſtable who took him into cuſtody having ſtruck him with his ſtaff. All the diviſions of the police officers were ordered out, and aſſembled early in the morning at the Crown and Anchor in Somers Town, and Adam and Eve in Pancras.

The London and Weſtminſter aſſociations aſſembled in the Foundling field, and the Weſt London militia, after exerciſing in White Conduit fields, were planted in the Veterinary College.

DIED.—At his ſeat at Beaconſfield, aged 68, the right hon. Edmund Burke, M.P. The following ſketch of his character was written by his friend Dr. French Laurence. 9th.

"His end was ſuited to the ſimple greatneſs of mind which he diſplayed through life: every way unaffected, without levity, without oſtentation, full of natural grace and dignity. He appeared neither to wiſh nor to dread, but patiently and placidly to await, the appointed hour of his diſſolution. He had been liſtening to ſome eſſays of Addiſon's, in which he ever took delight: he had recommended himſelf, in many affectionate meſſages, to the remembrance of thoſe abſent friends whom he had never ceaſed to love; he had converſed ſome time, with his accuſtomed force of thought and expreſſion, on the awful ſituation of his country, for the welfare of which his heart was intereſted to the laſt beat; he had given, with ſteady compoſure, ſome private directions in contemplation of his approaching death; when, as his attendants were conveying him to his bed, he ſunk down, and after a ſhort ſtruggle, paſſed quietly and without a groan to eternal reſt in that mercy which he had juſt declared he had long ſought with unfeigned hu-

miliation, and to which he looked with unfeigned hope.

"Of his talents and acquirements, in general, it is unneceſſary to ſpeak. They were long the glory of his country, and the admiration of Europe: they might have been (had it ſo conſiſted with the inſcrutable counſels of divine providence) the ſalvation of both. If not the moſt accompliſhed orator, yet the moſt eloquent man of his age; perhaps ſecond to none in any age; he had ſtill more wiſdom than eloquence. He diligently collected it from the wiſe of all times: but what he had ſo obtained, he enriched from the vaſt treaſury of his own obſervation; and his intellect, active, vigorous, comprehenſive, trained in the diſcipline of true philoſophy, to whatever ſubject he applied it, penetrated at once through the ſurface into the eſſential forms of things.

"With a fancy ſingularly vivid, he, leaſt of all men in his time, indulged in ſplendid theories. With more ample materials of every kind than any of his contemporaries, he was the leaſt confident in his own ſkill to innovate. A ſtateſman of the moſt enlarged views, in all his policy he was ſtrictly practical, and in his practice he always regarded with holy reverence the inſtitutions and manners derived from our anceſtors. It ſeemed as if he had been endowed with ſuch tranſcendent powers, and informed with ſuch extenſive knowledge, only to bear the more ſtriking teſtimony, in theſe days of raſh preſumption, how much the greateſt mind is ſingly inferior to the accumulated efforts of innumerable minds in the long flow of centuries.

"His private converſation had the ſame tincture with his public eloquence. He ſometimes adorned and dignified it with philoſophy, but he never loſt the charm of natural eaſe. There was no ſubject ſo trivial, which he did not tranſiently illuminate with the brilliancy of his imagination. In writing, in ſpeaking, in the ſenate, or round the table, it was eaſy to trace the operations of the ſame genius.

"To the proteſtant religion, as by law eſtabliſhed, he was attached from ſincere conviction; nor was his a barren belief, without influence on his moral conduct. He was rigid in the ſyſtem of duties by which he regulated his own actions; liberal in conſtruing thoſe of all other men; warm, but placable; reſenting more offences committed againſt thoſe who were dear to him, than againſt himſelf; vehement and indignant only where he thought public juſtice inſulted; compaſſionate to private diſtreſs; lenient even to ſuffering guilt. As a friend, he was perhaps too partial to thoſe whom he eſteemed; overrating every little merit, overlooking all their defects; indefatigable in ſerving them; ſtraining in their favour whatever influence he poſſeſſed; and, for their ſakes, more than his own, regretting that during ſo long a political life he had ſo ſeldom bore any ſhare in power, which he conſidered only as an inſtrument of more diffuſive good. In his domeſtic relations he was worthy (and more than worthy he could not be) of the eminent felicity which for many years he enjoyed; an huſband of exemplary tenderneſs and fidelity; a father fond to exceſs; the moſt affectionate of brothers; the kindeſt maſter; and, on his part, he has been often heard to declare, that in the moſt anxious

moments of his public life, every care vaniſhed when he entered his own roof.

"One who long and intimately knew him, to divert his own ſorrow, has paid this very inadequate tribute to his memory. Nothing which relates to ſuch a man, can be unintereſting or uninſtructive to the public, to whom he truly belonged. Few, indeed, whom the divine goodneſs has largely gifted, are capable of profiting by the imitation of his genius and learning; but all mankind may grow better by the ſtudy of his virtues."

11th. In his 98th year, the veteran father of the ſtage, Charles Macklin. He had long been in a ſtate of natural decay; but, although incapable of quitting his bed for ſeveral weeks previous to his diſſolution, his ſpirits did not forſake him till within a few minutes of his final exit from the ſtage of life. He was born in the north of Ireland. The real name of the family was M'Laughlin, which, to render more pleaſing to an Engliſh ear, was familiarized to Macklin. So late as the 10th of January, 1790, he appeared in the character of Shylock, ſome parts of which he executed with ſuperior force; but his memory failing him in others, he then finally quitted the ſtage, and retired to enjoy an annuity purchaſed for him by the publication of ſome of his dramatic writings; which, together with another annuity of 20l. from lord Loughborough, whom he inſtructed in the pronunciation of the Engliſh language, when that great law character firſt became a candidate for diſtinction at the Engliſh bar, afforded him, if not an affluent, at leaſt a comfortable ſubſiſtence, in the latter years of his very long life.

At his ſeat at Plaiſtow, Kent, Peter Iſaac Thellusſon, 21ſt. eſq. of Brodſworth, in the county of York, M. P. for Malmeſbury, Wilts. The fortune of which he diſpoſed, amounts to between 6 and 700,000l. The legacies to his wife and children are not quite 100,000l. His large eſtates in Yorkſhire, and the reſidue of his fortune, he leaves to truſtees to accumulate, and be laid out in the purchaſe of eſtates in England, until all the male children of his ſons' ſons and grandſons be dead. The term of accumulation cannot probably be leſs than from 80 to 120 years. If it ſhould terminate at the firſt period, the property would amount to about 35 millions; if at the latter, to 140 millions. If at this remote period he ſhould have no lineal deſcendants, the whole eſtates are to be ſold, and the money applied to the ſinking fund, under the direction of parliament.—For an abſtract of his will, ſee Appendix to the Chronicle.

At Newcaſtle, Mrs. Wilſon, aged 98.—At Poulton in the Fylde, Mrs. J. Stephenſon, aged 117.—At Duikinfield, Mrs. Kelſall, aged 87, mother to 13 children, grandmother to 87, great grandmother to 86, and great great grandmother to three.—Near Ormſkirk, Francis Watkinſon, aged 96.—At Warboys, Mr Wood, aged 94.—At Chedgreave, Mr. Criſp, aged 95.

AUGUST.

A violent ſtorm of thunder and lightning, accompanied with tremendous hail (ſome of the 1ſt.

ſtones of which were two inches and a quarter in diameter, and which meaſured in general from three to five inches in circumference) fell at Dunham Maſſey, in the county of Cheſter, the ſeat of the earl of Stamford; the damage done in the different hothouſes, vineries, and frames, was ſo great, that the number of panes of glaſs broken (excluſive of thoſe in hand and bell glaſſes) amounted to ſeven thouſand one hundred and ſixty-nine! Several ſky-lights, and ſome windows in the manſion houſe, were much hurt. An oak, in the park, ſuffered greatly from the lightning.

At Hill-hook, near Birmingham, a miller's boy rode into the ſtable of Theodore Price, eſq. who has a farm in that neighbourhood, to eſcape the fury of the ſtorm. There was at the ſame time a ſervant of Mr. Price, dreſſing a horſe in the ſtable. A tremendous craſh of thunder came on immediately, and the lightning entered the building at the ſame inſtant, ſhattered the gable end, deſcended upon the head of the miller's boy, and through the horſe he rode, and killed them both in a moment. Dr. Price's ſervant was alſo ſtruck, and the other horſe was found lying upon him. By great attention, however, the ſervant is likely to recover, and the horſe is very well. Upon examination of the poor lad, his hair appears to be ſinged, the veins of his body appeared in their ramified form, black blood and ichor ran out of his ears, and an aperture remains in the inſide of his thigh, with the ſurrounding ſkin black, correſponding in ſituation to a hole in his leathern breeches, to which the external ſkin plainly adheres. It is probable, that the electric fluid paſſed in this direction, through the body of the boy into that of the horſe.

A poor man, watching turf on Darſingham Moor, Norfolk, was ſtruck dead by the lightning, whilſt ſtanding between his two ſons, who neither of them received any other hurt than a ſevere ſhock.

A bullock was alſo ſtruck dead at Fakenham, where many windows were broken by the violence of the ſtorm.

At Dumfries, the atmoſphere appeared to be in one continued blaze for about an hour and a half. It was accompanied with a great deal of rain, by which the river Nith was ſwelled to an unuſual height, and large quantities of hay were ſwept from the holms and carried away.

A violent whirlwind aroſe upon part of Balfall Common, taking with it a great quantity of dung out of a field, that had been laid there for manuring the ground, and in its progreſs darkening the air, till it fell in Kenilworth chace, which is a conſiderable diſtance from the former place. In its direction, houſes and barns were ſtripped of their roofs, and ſtrong lofty trees and hedges were almoſt bent double by this alarming tornado.

About ſix p. m. a prodigious ſtorm of rain and hail fell at Dobcross in Saddleworth, attended with thunder and lightning. At the ſame time, a young man and his uncle were working in a ſmall dye-houſe near the above place. The uncle was ſtanding near the door, when he received a ſhock from the lightning, which knocked him down. He immediately got up, and turning to his nephew, ſaw him ſinking down; he ran to his aſſiſtance, but, to his great ſurpriſe, found him quite dead.

The young man's hat was torn to

pieces, and the hair burnt off his head; the inside of his clothes were singed, and some of the buttons burnt off his breeches, and the inside of his stockings singed as if done by a hot iron.

In many places the storm has exhibited all the violence of a tornado. At Manchester it has unroofed houses, torn up trees, and carried off hay ricks. A man at plough had great difficulty in resisting the attraction of a whirlwind, though he held by his horses.

2d. Some miners, from the tunnel of the Huddersfield canal, went for amusement, with a great number of people, to blow up a very large rock in Greenfield, in Saddleworth, known by the name of Ravenstone. After many fruitless attempts, they effected their purpose in the evening, when they tore that venerable relic of antiquity from its ancient basis. It fell with a most dreadful crash, and, dividing, took different directions. We are sorry to add, that one man was killed on the spot, and others so much wounded, that they are not expected to recover. The rock had long been admired for its towering grandeur, and had nearly a mile to roll down a very steep eminence.

At the last general quarter sessions for Hampshire, Richard Hall, and Francis Pope, overseers of the parish of Fordingbridge, were sentenced, the former to pay a fine of 100 l. and to be imprisoned in Bridewell seven days; and the latter to pay a fine of 50 l. for neglect of duty, and barbarity, in suffering a pauper (with her father and mother, vagrants) to lie under a hedge, between Ringwood and Fordingbridge, exposed to the rigour of a most inclement season, from December 21st to January 3d last, during which time she was delivered of a female child, without relief.

Married, lately, at Clutton, in Somersetshire, Mr. A. Naish, aged 74, to Miss Cook, aged 24. They had cohabited together before, long enough to have had two children, who were brought to the baptismal font, and christened, at the time when the nuptial ceremony took place.

5th. Last night, about eleven, the inhabitants of the western district of Argyleshire, to the extent of upwards of sixty miles, were alarmed by the shock of an earthquake, so violent in several houses as to overturn many weighty articles of household furniture. Its duration was about a minute.

14th. This morning, a young woman, very genteelly dressed, was discovered, with her throat cut, in the great west alcove, Kensington gardens. From circumstances, it appeared that she had stopped in the gardens all night; and, by a letter found in her pocket, it seems a rash passion entertained for the husband of an acquaintance, was the cause of the unhappy suicide.

Swanage.—On Tuesday morning, about half-past ten, the tide having flowed about an hour, the inhabitants of this place were surprised by an instantaneous fall of the water, which went off, leaving boats stone dry which were in the act of shipping goods: in the space of ten minutes it returned with equal velocity to its usual height; it continued to ebb and flow in this kind of way five or six times during the flood tide; the weather at this time perfectly serene, and the day very hot,

16th. *Jedburgh.*—A multitude of stout young men, to the number of near 2,000, assembled, each armed with a bludgeon, from different parts of the country.—After having heard read, and agreed to certain resolutions, peremptorily to oppose being drawn as militiamen, they proceeded to the house of the person in whose possession were the lists of those to be balloted, and carried them off in triumph. They afterwards paraded the streets, preceded by a drum, but offered no violence. Other meetings of a similar kind have taken place, and we understand, to a still greater extent in some neighbouring towns. The duke of Roxburgh, in his way home from Jedburgh, was surrounded in his carriage, but no personal violence was offered to him, by the same party. He was taken ill, it is said, in consequence of the terror it occasioned him.

15th. A daring mutiny on board the St. George man of war, of 96 guns, capt. Peard, one of lord St. Vincent's fleet, was lately quelled by the spirit and activity of her commander and his first lieutenant, whose conduct on the occasion, while it exhibits a glorious example to the officers of our navy, entitles them to the thanks and gratitude of their country. Three men, who had been sentenced to suffer death for mutinous behaviour in some other ship, were sent on board the St. George, to be executed. The crew, on the arrival of the prisoners, drew up a remonstrance in their favour, and begged of capt. Peard to intercede in their behalf with the admiral of the fleet. The captain replied, that he should lay their prayer before lord St. Vincent; and, in pursuance of his promise, he lost no time in submitting the remonstrance to the admiral. The noble earl's answer was, that he considered the sentence of the mutineers as founded upon solid justice and imperious necessity, and consequently he could not think of retracting the sanction which he had given to the judgment of the court martial, by whom they had been convicted. Upon this determination being made known to the people of the St. George, the strongest symptoms of dissatisfaction were manifested by them. Observing their conduct, the captain took the precaution of watching their proceedings with the utmost strictness; and very soon discovered, by means of an honest tar, that they had entered into a resolution of seizing the ship, deposing the officers, and liberating their condemned companions. The evening previous to the day appointed for carrying into effect the sentence of the court-martial, was the time fixed upon to put their plan in force. Captain Peard seeing the crew assemble in the waste, immediately approached, and addressed them to the following effect:—"I am perfectly aware of your intentions, and shall oppose them at the risk of my life. You have determined to resist the authority of your officers; I am resolved to do my duty, and to enforce a strict obedience to my orders. I am sensible that you are, for the most part, the victims of delusion; I know the ringleaders, and do not hesitate to avow my intentions of bringing them to justice. I command you to disperse, and to return to your duty." Finding this address did not produce the desired effect, the captain instantly rushed in amid the crowd, accompanied only by his first lieutenant,

tenant, bravely ſeized two of the people, whom he knew to be the promoters of the conſpiracy, dragged them out by main force, and put them into irons, without experiencing the ſlighteſt reſiſtance from the crew; and ſuch was the gallant ſpirit and determined courage diſplayed by him on the occaſion, that order was immediately reſtored, by the remainder of the men retiring to their reſpective ſtations. The three convicts were next morning hanged at the yard arm, agreeable to their ſentence, in the preſence of the repentant crew, whoſe conduct from that time was marked with a becoming ſubmiſſion and ſubordination. The two mutinous ſeamen remained in cuſtody till Friday and Saturday July 7th and 8th, when, after a moſt impartial hearing, they were condemned and executed the next morning, Sunday the 9th.

The firſt lieutenant has ſince been promoted to the rank of maſter and commander, as a juſt tribute to his acknowledged merit.

18th. At his apartments in Cork-ſtreet, St. James's, lord Mountmorres (aged 51) put an end to his exiſtence by ſhooting the contents of a loaded piſtol completely through his head.

On Thurſday, the day preceding, his lordſhip, finding his intellects ſomewhat affected, wrote a letter to Dr. Willis, requeſting his attendance next morning.

On the ſame day, his lordſhip dined by invitation with an intimate friend. After dinner, he aroſe from the table, and took leave of the company, informing them that he was preparing for a journey, which he was about to undertake. His friend expreſſed much aſtoniſhment at the abruptneſs of this declaration.

His lordſhip then drank a glaſs of wine, obſerving, "I ſhall never drink another with you—I am going to leave this country to-morrow morning." "Are you going to Ireland, my lord?"—"It is poſſible I may viſit that country." His lordſhip then returned home. On his arrival, he left directions for the few bills which he owed to be diſcharged, and ordered a poſt-chaiſe to be in readineſs for him by 10 o'clock next morning. Obſerving ſome of Mr. Ridgway's children at the door, he called them in, gave them a ſhilling each, and deſired them to tell their father that he was going to a country from which he ſhould never return. He then proceeded to make the neceſſary preparations for his journey, and did not go to bed during the night.

At ſix o'clock on Friday morning, he rang the bell for his female ſervant. On her entering the room, ſhe perceived everything in confuſion, and felt ſo much alarm at the unuſual appearance of his lordſhip, that ſhe left the room before he had time to ſpeak to her. He, however, rang a ſecond time, and ordered her to prepare his breakfaſt immediately, which ſhe did. At eight o'clock, his lordſhip ordered the ſervant to clear the breakfaſt table;—at ten, ſhe heard ſomething fall in the dining-room, but durſt not go up to ſee what it was. Soon after, the hair-dreſſer came to dreſs his lordſhip; and, at the requeſt of the ſervant, he went up ſtairs, and knocked at the door, which he found locked, and could not obtain admiſſion. As much alarm now prevailed, means were taken to force an entrance, and on the door being opened, his lordſhip was diſcovered lying dead upon the floor.

It appeared that he had put the piſtol into his mouth, which accounts for its not being heard by the ſervant.

Dr. Willis had now arrived, but too late. Although his lordſhip was not without his peculiarities, his moral and private character was irreproachable. He was a harmleſs inoffenſive man, gentle in his manners, and upright in his principles. His political knowledge was great, and his primary ambition was to diſſeminate the fruits of his inveſtigations, for the benefit of mankind.

18th. Burgeſs's library and inſurance fire-office, at Ramsgate, was early this morning burnt to the ground. The flames were exceedingly violent, and, but for the military ſtationed there, that beautiful village would probably have been deſtroyed. The cauſe of this calamity ſhould ſerve as a general caution. Early in the week, a chimney in the houſe took fire; the flames were eaſily ſuppreſſed, and the fire, it was ſuppoſed, extinguiſhed; but, after a lapſe of three days, it again broke forth with a degree of violence not to be reſiſted.

A violent ſtorm of thunder and lightning, accompanied with hail, took place this morning, between the hours of two and ſix. It raged at intervals with uncommon violence, and has cauſed ſome ſerious damage.

In the church-yard of Aldermanbury, a tree was ſtruck by the lightning, and inſtantly withered to the root; the other trees around it ſtood untouched.

At Putney, the north wall of Mr. S. Warner's garden was ſtruck down. The lightning was attracted by the iron ſpikes which conducted the miſchievous element to two other parts, which were alſo levelled with the ground. The lightning at laſt buried itſelf in the gravel walk, where it made a cavity of ſeveral yards in circumference.

At Plymouth it commenced lightning at nine on Thurſday night, and continued with increaſing violence until next morning, and did not ſubſide until three o'clock. The whole horizon, for three hours appeared in one continued blaze, owing to the rapid ſucceſſion of the flaſhes of lightning, accompanied by the moſt tremendous peals of thunder that were perhaps ever heard. The hail-ſtones, which fell in torrents, were as large as ſparrows eggs; a ſize, perhaps, common in ſome parts of the kingdom, but very extraordinary here. At twelve o'clock the ſea roſe in a moſt aſtoniſhing manner, to the extent of twelve feet in the ſpace of ten minutes, and poured into Sutton Pool, where about 40 or 50 veſſels were lying aground, moored head and ſtern, which floated them off; and the reflux of the ſea carried near twenty fiſhing ſmacks, ſloops, and barges, with a great number of boats, upwards of a mile into the Sound, at the rate of ten or twelve knots; ſoon after which another bore came on, and brought ſeveral of them back into the Pool, others into Catwater, and ſome were drifted near the rocks under the Eaſt Hoe. The brig Mary, of 250 tons burthen, captain Martin, from Glaſgow, laden with coals, was driven under the arch at Stone-houſe bridge, and her main-maſt and bowſprit carried away, her bows ſtove in, and other conſiderable damage. Fortunately at the time this phenomenon took place,

place, it was a dead calm, though the wind had blown ſtrong at Eaſt the whole of the preceding day, and part of the night; which had it continued, would inevitably have forced on the rocks every veſſel which broke adrift. The damage done at this place, however, has not been very great; but it is feared that very melancholy accounts will be received from along the coaſt. It is generally ſuppoſed, that the ſudden riſe of the ſea was occaſioned by an earthquake in no very remote quarter, as ſimilar effects appeared here when the memorable earthquake happened at Liſbon.

At Weymouth, the flaſhes were ſo vivid, that the ſoldiers in the camp were fearful of their tents taking fire. A ſentinel of the South Glouceſter, who ſtood guard at the ſtand of drums in the centre of the camp, was thrown down by them, and had his collar-bone broken. A great deal of damage has been done to the ſhrubberies, gardens, and corn-fields; but, what is moſt extraordinary, a large ridge of ſand on the beach, which prevented the paſſage of the bathing-machines, was entirely carried away into the ſea, to the no ſmall joy of the bathers.

At Bath, Aug. 18.—This morning, about two o'clock, began one of the moſt awful and tremendous ſtorms of thunder and lightning, accompanied by torrents of rain, that was perhaps ever witneſſed; it continued till long after day-light; the flaſhes of lightning were ſo rapid in ſucceſſion, and ſo vivid, that the atmoſphere appeared one blaze.

At Saddleworth, in Lancaſhire, a man, a woman, and a boy, were grinding ſtone into ſand in a ſmall hut; the lightning entered the roof of the building at one corner, where a horſe was ſtanding; the horſe (ſuppoſed to be owing to the iron chain he had about him) received no injury, but the lightning proceeded in an oblique direction, and ſtruck the man dead. The woman was ſo much hurt, that her life is deſpaired of. The boy was raiſed from his ſeat, and carried into a large tub that ſtood near him, where he found himſelf covered with ſand, and the woman's cloak and hat, but he was not in the leaſt hurt.

20th. This morning, about five o'clock, twenty police officers came to Norwood, in three hackney-coaches, threw down all the gipſy tents, and expoſed about thirty men, women, and children, in the primitive ſtate of man. They carried them to priſon, to be dealt with according to the Vagrant Act.

22d. A dreadful ſtorm, attended with a whirlwind, happened near Peter-Raner, in South Pruſſia; whole woods were torn up, and trees carried into the air, like ſheaves of corn; ſeveral villages were entirely deſtroyed, with a number of cattle; many people were alſo much hurt.

23d. The following melancholy accident happened at Barking Creek's Mouth, near Woolwich: Thirteen perſons, returning from on board a veſſel, ſtopped to take a child from on board; the tide running ſtrong, carried the boat a little way from the ſhip, when ſome of the party endeavouring to reach the child, unfortunately dropped it in the water. Every one inſtantly attempting to ſave it, ran to the

ſide

ſide of the boat, when it inſtantly upſet, and ſix of the unfortunate perſons periſhed, among whom was the infant.

24th. About noon, this day, a dreadful fire broke out at Honiton, in Devonſhire, which raged with great fury for four hours, and was with difficulty extinguiſhed in the evening, after deſtroying near forty houſes, among which was the bank; but we are not at preſent informed of any other particulars. This is the third calamitous viſitation of this nature, with which the above unfortunate town has been afflicted in the courſe of a few years. As the flames ſpread with great rapidity, owing to the houſes being generally covered with thatch, the moſt valuable of the furniture, and various articles of trade, were conſumed. Several of the dwellings were, however, mere cottages. The loſs altogether is eſtimated at between fifteen and 20,000 l.; and ſeveral families are reduced to extreme diſtreſs. Had the fire broken out in the night, or the wind been unfavourable, nearly the whole town muſt have been deſtroyed.

28th. *Leiceſter.*—George Davenport, convicted at our laſt aſſizes of a highway robbery, was this day executed. He was thirty-nine years of age; eighteen of which he had, according to his own confeſſion, been a highway robber. He has deſerted from different regiments forty times, and had frequently eſcaped from gaol. He has made ſome important diſcoveries. He went from the priſon to the place of execution in a poſt-chaiſe, accompanied by his brother, and dreſſed in his ſhroud, &c, and was afterwards buried with his family at Great Wigſton.

29th. A terrible riot took place at Tranent.—For the particulars of which ſee the Appendix to the Chronicle.

Bath, Aug. 30.—At the yearly conference of the methodiſt preachers and delegates from the principal ſocieties in the kingdom, lately held at Leeds, they came to a reſolution, that if any of the members of their ſocieties ſhould maintain and propagate opinions inimical to the civil government and eſtabliſhed religion of the country, they ſhould no longer be conſidered as having fellowſhip or connection with them, but, that all ſuch ſhould be deſired quietly to withdraw themſelves from the ſocieties: which, if they refuſed to do, and continued to act contrary to the ſpirit of this reſolution, that then they ſhould be forthwith expelled; it being unanimouſly determined that the ſocieties ſhould not become a nurſery of ſedition, or acknowledge the diſturbers of the public weal.

Aug. 31.—A ſhocking accident happened this month at the Grotto of Arveiron: As a Geneveſe gentleman, his ſon, and nephew, were admiring that beautiful vault, the ſon on paſſing under it, fired a piſtol, which cauſed the vault to crack, and it immediately ſunk in every part. The unfortunate youth was buried under its ruins; and the unhappy father, who ſtood a little diſtance from him, was ſoon reached by the bulky pieces of ice, which broke one of his thighs, and otherwiſe very much bruiſed him; but his nephew had time to eſcape.

About the latter end of Auguſt, Scutari, the fineſt and largeſt ſuburb of

of Conſtantinople, was almoſt entirely deſtroyed by a violent conflagration, which conſumed upwards of 3000 buildings.

A fire at Nyburg, in the Daniſh Iſle of Funen, during a great ſtorm of wind there lately, conſumed 141 houſes, a third part of the place.

6th. DIED.—James Petit Andrews, eſq. F. A. S. one of the magiſtrates of the police office in Queen's-ſquare, Weſtminſter, and brother to ſir Joſeph Andrews, bart.—Mr. Andrews was author of ſeveral publications; amongſt others, 1. "Anecdotes, ancient and modern, with obſervations, 1789," 8vo., and a ſupplement to it, 1790, 8vo.; 2. "A Hiſtory of Great Britain, connected with the Chronology of Europe, 1795," 2 vols. 4to., containing anecdotes of the times, lives of the learned, with ſpecimens of their works, on the plan of preſident Henault; 3. Continuation of Henry's "Hiſtory of Great Britain," in one vol. 4to., and 2 vols. 8vo., 1796; 4. "Account of Saxon coins found in Kintbury churchyard, Berks," (Archæol. VII. 430); 5. "The Account of Shaw," in Mr. More's Berkſhire Collections, page 75. He was alſo the tranſlator of "The Savages of Europe," a popular French novel.

29th. At his houſe in Derby, aged ſixty-three, Joſeph Wright, eſq. long held in high eſtimation throughout Europe, as a chaſte and elegant painter. He was a pupil of Hudſon. Mr. Wright's early hiſtorical pictures may be conſidered as the firſt valuable productions of the Engliſh ſchool. His attention was afterwards directed, for ſome years, to portrait-painting; but his genius was not to be circumſcribed within ſuch narrow limits; and, therefore, at a mature age, he viſited Italy, to ſtudy the precious remains of art which that country poſſeſſed. His fine drawings, after Michael Angelo, and the enthuſiaſm with which he always ſpoke of the ſublime original, evinced the eſtimation in which he held them; and, from their extreme accuracy, they may be conſidered as faithful delineations of the treaſures of the Capella Seſtina, and ſuch as have never yet been exhibited to the public. During his abode in Italy, he had an opportunity of ſeeing a very memorable eruption of Veſuvius, which rekindled his inclination for painting extraordinary effects of light: and his different pictures of this ſublime event ſtand decidedly *chef d'œuvres* in that line of painting.

Near Lancaſter, Mr. Geldart, aged 90.—At Aſh, Mrs. Hollam, aged 87, having left ſix children, thirty-two grand-children, and fifty great grand-children, all ſurviving.—At Cumley, Mrs. Ducket, aged 106.

SEPTEMBER.

1ſt. This evening, as Mr. Oſborne, of Kenſington, was returning home from London, on croſſing the way againſt the palace-gate, Kenſington, he was knocked down and run over by a ſwift horſe without a rider, whoſe off hind foot ſtruck the buckle out of his left ſhoe, and raſed the ſkin of his inſtep, without one drop of blood being ſhed, only a ſevere contuſion on the right arm and elbow, on which he fell.

At the aſſizes, at Stafford, Mr. Thomas Wilmot Oliver, charged with having wilfully murdered Mr. Wood,

Wood, by ſhooting him, on Friday, the 27th January laſt, being found guilty, was ſentenced to ſuffer death, and his body to be delivered to the ſurgeons for diſſection.

A plea of hereditary inſanity was attempted to be eſtabliſhed by his counſel, but it was invalidated. A more affecting combination of circumſtances, than thoſe which attended this unfortunate affair, ſeldom occur.

5th. This morning, about ten o'clock, a fire broke out in the workſhops of Mr. Tanner, carpenter, in the village of Tiverton, Somerſetſhire, which entirely deſtroyed the ſame, together with a large quantity of ſeaſoned deal and oak planks, to the almoſt total ruin of an induſtrious man and his family, the loſs being eſtimated at 500l. the whole of which was uninſured. The fire was occaſioned by a live coal falling from the adjoining blackſmith's forge, through an accidental hole in the wall, on ſome ſhavings in the workſhops.

8th. As the workmen, who were building a county bridge near Collumpton, were cutting off the centers on which the arch was turned, the whole building ſuddenly fell in, killed two men on the ſpot, and wounded ſeveral others.

This day was executed a writ of enquiry to aſſeſs damages in a caſe of crim. con. Boddington verſus Boddington.—For particulars ſee the Appendix to the Chronicle.

A few days ſince the firſt brick of the new bridge erected over the river Avon, by public ſubſcription, in the centre of the village of Pewſey, in the county of Wilts, was laid, through the indefatigable exertions of the Rev. Joſeph Townſend, rector of that pariſh: the water where-

of having for many years proved ſo fatal to cattle in the winter ſeaſon, as well as almoſt a total obſtruction to travellers, occaſioned ſo important an undertaking.

9th. A very melancholy and diſtreſſing calamity occurred at Mr. Meux's brewhouſe, in Liquor-pond-ſtreet. A porter vat having been emptied on Thurſday, and kept open above the uſual time of ſix-and-thirty hours before it was cleanſed, one of the men was let down acroſs a ſtick faſtened to ropes, to perform that ſervice; he unfortunately, letting go his hold, fell to the bottom, and the vapour not being evaporated, cauſed inſtant ſuffocation; his companion, ſeeing his ſituation, and having procured a joint ladder, went down into the veſſel, where, on reaching the bottom, he fell lifeleſs. Mr. Squires, acting clerk, imagining he could bring the unfortunate perſons up, perſiſted alſo in going down, though intreated to deſiſt, and accordingly being ſupplied with ropes, he put one round the neck and waiſt of one of the men; but being deſired by the perſons above to ſhift it under his arms, while performing this humane office, the effluvia overpowered him, and he dropped down dead. The bodies of all three, after ſome time, were drawn up by hooks. His royal highneſs the duke of York, who happened to be at Mr. Leader's, coachmaker, at the time of the accident, went immediately to the brewhouſe, and ordered every medical aſſiſtance to be procured. Several gentlemen of the faculty attended, and uſed the means of reſuſcitation for near three hours, but without effect. The coroner's jury ſat at eight o'clock in the evening, and brought in their verdict Acci-

dental

dental Death. Mr. Squires was only twenty-five years of age. They were all of them married, and one has left four children.

11th. At the niſi prius bar at Briſtol, a cauſe of great importance to the mercantile world, came on to be tried before ſir Naſh Groſe, and a ſpecial jury.—The circumſtances of the caſe are ſhortly theſe: M'Taggart and co. tobacco merchants, of London, ſtruck a bargain with the Hunters and co. merchants, at Briſtol, to ſell them a quantity of unmanufactured tobacco (to the amount of 1,300 l.) for a bill at three months, payable in London. The goods were ſhipped off the latter part of February; about the beginning of March of the ſame year, the houſe of the Hunters became inſolvent, which was previous to the time when M'Taggart's bill on them became due. They, therefore, no ſooner heard of the failure, than one of the partners haſtened from town, and overtook the goods at Portſmouth; which he inſtantly ſeized, and would not ſuffer to proceed. Now this was an action of trover brought by the aſſignees of the Hunters, to recover the value of the tobacco ſo ſeized by the defendants; and upon this ground, that the veſſel in which it was ſhipped by the conſigners, was a chartered ſhip of the conſignees, and that, therefore, it was an actual delivery to them. The leading counſel for the defendants made a very eloquent and ingenious ſpeech to the jury: in which he inſiſted ſtrongly on the circumſtance, that his clients, while ſettling the mode of conveyance with the Hunters, had never once aſked the queſtion, whether the ſhip was chartered or general; from whence he inferred proof of no eſſential difference exiſting between them. Some other points were ably urged; and he concluded, by reminding the jury of the great importance of the cauſe to the commerce of this country, and of the pernicious conſequences which would reſult to credit, the very life-blood of the ſtate, if they ſhould give a verdict for the plaintiffs. Before the leading counſel on the other ſide addreſſed the jury in reply, the judge ſaid, it was his duty to declare, that he had never known a ſtronger or a clearer point of law: that a chartered veſſel was indubitably the particular warehouſe of thoſe who chartered her, and that of conſequence no perſon could legally ſtop or detain any goods ſhipped on board ſuch veſſel, without permiſſion of the owners. Upon this a verdict was inſtantly given for the plaintiffs, to the full value of the tobacco.

Burford.—Yeſterday this town and its neighbourhood 13th. was viſited by one of the moſt violent ſtorms ever remembered. It came on about nine P. M. the wind being in a ſouth-weſterly direction, and blowing very roughly. At ten the rain deſcended in torrents, mixed with hailſtones of an uncommonly large ſize, and accompanied with very tremendous thunder and lightning. In about two hours the thunder and lightning went off, the rain ſtill continuing to pour down in a degree not remembered in this place by the oldeſt inhabitant. We have not heard of any damage from the lightning; but in conſequence of the heavy rain, the Windruſh, a ſmall river near this place, was ſo much ſwelled in the courſe of the night, as to carry away the bridge between this town and Fullbrooke.

As ſome workmen were 16th. digging in a field belonging

to

to Mr. Allen, brewer, at Croydon, one of them ſtruck his ſpade againſt an old ſword, four feet and a half in length, of great weight, and very ruſty. On digging a few feet deeper, two complete ſuits of armour were found, near 7 feet long, and another ſword in the ſame ſtate with the former. There were lying near the ſame ſpot ſeveral ſkulls, and other bones of the human body. From the faſhion of the arms, and other circumſtances, the cognoſcenti imagine that they are the remains of ſome of the men who fell in a deſperate action which was fought near Croydon, about the year 1203, in the reign of king John, between the two barons, Hubert de Montmorenci, and John Winnoff of Wincheſter.

16th. This morning, about half paſt three, as Cook's ſtage-coach, was travelling from London to Saliſbury, approaching within half a mile of Overton, the coachman by the light of his lamps, perceived the body of a man lying in the road, and on alighting diſcovered it to be Jerry, the driver of Ruſſel's waggon, under the wheels of which he had by ſome means fallen, as one ſide of his head was cruſhed to pieces, and preſented a moſt ſhocking ſpectacle. With the aſſiſtance of the paſſengers, the coachman removed the body to the road-ſide, till he could ſend a proper perſon to take care of it; and when the coach arrived at Overton, he found the waggon at the inn-door, having gone without further accident down the ſteep hill at the entrance of that town, though the wheels were unlocked, and the horſes without a driver. A boy was aſleep in the waggon the whole time, and knew nothing of the accident.

From the Jamaica Gazette, we have the following particulars of the dreadful earthquake which happened laſt February at Quito, in South America. This dreadful calamity began at Quito, at half paſt ſeven A. M. and laſted, from the beſt calculation, upwards of three minutes. The elegant college of St. Fernando is in ruins. The large edifice of Santa Domingo is conſiderably damaged; the grand tower was broken into many pieces, and a number of the cells entirely deſtroyed. The ſtudents ſchool is in ruins. The high church of Del Carmen, one of the moſt elegant fabrics in the place, is totally demoliſhed. The Tower of La Merced is nearly in the ſame ſtate; it has been ordered to be pulled down. The church de la Conception has ſuffered conſiderable damage. Indeed all the beſt buildings of the place are deſtroyed. None of the low buildings have received any damage. At Tacunga the earthquake began ſome time paſt ſeven o'clock A.M. and the agitation of the earth continued till two o'clock P.M. leaving the villages entirely in ruins, not a building being left ſtanding, except an arch in the great ſquare, and a part of a neighbouring houſe. The people who have periſhed are innumerable. The churches of St. Auguſtin, St. Domingo, and La Merced, were crowded with people hearing maſs, not one of whom were ſaved. The whole place opened into gullies, out of which large quantities of water iſſued. Don Franciſco Camecho was ſwallowed up, and no account has been received of Don Antonio Texado, who was with him. The village of St. Philip, which is near the village of Tacunga, is ſwallowed up; in this place there was a ſchool, in which were upwards of

of forty children, who have ſuffered the ſame fate.

There are different reports reſpecting the village of Ambato; it is ſaid likewiſe to be in ruins. The famous eſtate of the marquis de Miraflores, on which was a cloth manufactory, all his horſes, and an elegant church, are entirely deſtroyed, and many lives loſt. Calera, an eſtate adjoining the marquis's, is ſwallowed up, and ſcarcely the veſtige of a houſe to be ſeen. Alaques, Saguiali, Pugili, Fachuchi, and other conſiderable villages, and eſtates, are entirely ruined. Machache, Alſace, Amaguana, Alva, and other villages in the neighbourhood of Tacunga, have ſuffered great damage. Not a church is left ſtanding in either of theſe places. The Mountains of Calopaci opened in ſeveral parts, and iſſued great quantities of water; a ſmall hill near the city threw up vaſt heaps of ſtones. This earthquake is ſaid to be much ſeverer than that which happened in the year of 1755.

Another account, dated Quito, February 20, ſays,—Hiſtory does not furniſh ſo complete a deſtruction as what happened in the provinces of Tacunga, Ambato, Biabamba, a part of Chimbo, and a part of Quito. Not a building now remains; all has been levelled with the ground. The volcano of Macas, opening in the middle, diſplayed a grand eruption, producing an agitation which ſhook the mountains with ſuch force as actually to overturn them, ſome emitting rocks and whirlwinds of duſt, ſome torrents of lava, and others rivers of water. Ygualaga (a mountain to the left of the river Bamba,) in burſting, ſent forth an immenſe flood of lava, ſurcharged with flakes of fire, which in its courſe, ſwept off Capalpi, St. André's, Guaono, Embyies, Guanardo, and ſeveral other places. The mountain of Moya, was, as it were, ſunk in the water, and ſwallowed up with it Pelile, and the famous land of Ildefonſo, on which upward of 1000 perſons periſhed. The mountain Cuero tumbled on the village of the ſame name, not leaving a ſingle witneſs of the frightful diſaſter. That of Yataguy was thrown upon Maſdro, and in the midſt of it opened a gulf, which abſorbed all the houſes, temples and inhabitants, with the exception of two individuals.

This place ſeems transformed into a lake of bituminous matter exhaling a ſulphureous ſmell, and covered with flakes of fire. Immenſe ruins appear on all ſides, which all the gold and ſilver of America would be inſufficient to repair. The number of people killed cannot be aſcertained, but it muſt have been very conſiderable. The provinces of Biabamba, Ambato, and Tacunga, are thoſe which ſuffered moſt. In the latter province many have periſhed with hunger, and others from thirſt, owing to the foulneſs of the water.

18th. One of thoſe rare and ſingular phenomena, called a water-ſpout, was ſeen from Shrewſbury, and the other places in that neighbourhood, on the 6th inſtant, between the hours of two and three in the afternoon. It appeared impending from a large black cloud, which moved in a north-eaſterly direction. Its figure was ſpiral, which gradually contracted till it was abſorbed by the paſſing cloud, and totally diſappeared. It was obſerved by ſeveral perſons for near twenty minutes, and exhibited a moſt beautiful appearance to the ſpectators. Fortunately nothing intervened to

ſtop

ſtop its progreſs; if it had, the conſequences of its breaking would in all probability have been calamitous. In the year 1718, one of theſe ſpouts broke on Emmot-moor, in Lancaſhire, and the country was immediately overflowed: a brook, in a few minutes roſe ſix feet perpendicular height, and the ground whereon the ſpout fell, which was full 60 feet over, was torn up to the very rock, which was no leſs than ſeven feet deep, and a deep gulf was made above half a mile, the earth being raiſed on either ſide in vaſt heaps.

21ſt. The thunder and lightning were remarkably tremendous and awful during part of this day, at Pendle Foreſt, Yorkſhire. A man of the name of Richard Boardwell, of Newchurch, in that diſtrict, has been killed, and another perſon very deſperately wounded.

Shrewſbury, Sept. 23. The following very extraordinary circumſtance happened on Thurſday night, the 14th inſtant, at Lawley coal-work, belonging to the Coal-Brook-Dale company:—As one man and two boys were employed in a coal pit about forty yards deep, to drive a head, or way; being nearer ſome old works than they expected, the water ſuddenly and unfortunately broke in upon them, which in a few minutes filled all the work, and roſe nine yards up the pit-ſhaft; one of the boys being near the bottom of the pit at the time, fortunately laid hold of the rope, and alarmed the people at the top, who immediately drew him up; the other two remaining behind, were of courſe ſuppoſed to be drowned. During the ſpace of twenty-four hours, a number of horſes were employed in drawing water out of the pit, in order to reſtore the ſuppoſed dead bodies to their diſconſolate friends. In the mean time, the agent of the work ordered a gin to be erected over an old pit, about ſixty yards from that in which the accident happened, and going down this pit, the workmen came to a head, or way, along which they proceeded, until they came to another pit, which they likewiſe deſcended, and, after working ſome time, they made way into the place where this unfortunate man and boy were at work when the water came firſt upon them, and, to their great amazement, found them both alive; they had crept from the water up into a chaſm ſufficiently high above the water to keep them from being drowned, where they remained for the above ſpace of time, expecting nothing but death to relieve them from their miſerable ſituation. They were extricated on Saturday evening following, about four o'clock, as may be ſuppoſed, very weak from their want of food; but they are now in a fair way of recovery.

23d. In conſequence of an information received by Fugion and Rivett, two of the Bow-ſtreet officers, that a manufactory for forged bank notes was carried on at a houſe in Wells-ſtreet, Oxford-ſtreet, and in which a foreigner was the principal; they went thither on Saturday afternoon, accompanied by the engraver of the bank. The perſon, on being interrogated, ſaid, he was an engraver; but denied any knowledge or concern in making bank notes. The officers, however, learning that he occupied a garret in the houſe, proceeded to ſearch it, when they diſcovered a copper-plate preſs, and ſome inſtruments, which the bank engraver declared could

could only be uſed for the purpoſe of forging bank notes. This induced them to purſue their ſearch, and on laying hold of an old trunk, the foreigner fell on his knees, and begged for mercy. The contents of the trunk proved to be two copper plates for forging one and two pound notes.—He was committed to the houſe of correction, Coldbath fields. On the keeper viſiting his cell yeſterday morning, the foreigner was found dead, with his brains daſhed out, and the iron bedſtead lying on him. His name was Joſeph Gallet, a French emigrant, and a very ingenious artiſt.

A few days ago, two large porpoiſes came up the river as high as London bridge, where they were ſeen ſporting about for ſome time; and yeſterday one of the ſame ſpecies made its appearance nearly in the ſame quarter, and kept ſporting about during the heavy rain. It has been generally underſtood that ſuch appearances indicate a hard and ſevere winter.

25th. Yeſterday afternoon a heavy fall of rain began at Windſor, which detained the London viſitors all night. At two o'clock this morning, the ſtorm increaſed, attended with thunder and lightning. The torrents of water which came from the foreſt, made the roads impaſſable. The Hope public-houſe, at Frogmore, was ſo ſurrounded with the flood, that the family could not open the door to get out, but were compelled to live in the upper rooms.

St. Albans ſuffered much this morning from the floods in the Abbey-church, owing to a ſtoppage of a drain at the north door; the water roſe ſo high as almoſt to bear down the perſon who opened the door to let it through the church, where it ſo thoroughly penetrated and looſened the ground, as to remove many of the grave-ſtones from their places; and, by undermining ſome of the flat ſtones more at one end than at the other, changed their horizontal to nearly an upright poſition.

At Buckingham the water roſe ſeveral feet higher than has been ever remembered; the roads were impaſſable for carriages during the whole day; and a man was drowned, through the rapidity of the ſtream, in attempting to ſwim acroſs a narrow ſtreet, called Well-ſtreet.

Great part of the town of Stoney Stratford was overflowed more than four feet high; the water got in at the windows and doors, and, in many inſtances, carried off houſehold furniture.

At Newport Pagnel, was one of the moſt tremendous floods ever known in the memory of the oldeſt man living. Rick-yards, that ſtood at ſuch a diſtance from the river as human foreſight could not have ſuppoſed the floods could ever reach, were, in a few hours, all under water. The damage done to corn, both in ricks and barns, is immenſe; and the number of hogs, ſheep and poultry, drowned in and about this neighbourhood, is almoſt incredible. The firſt perſon that was drowned, was a ſervant of Mr. George Griggs, of Olney, who perſiſted in returning home from Newport on horſeback, though much adviſed to the contrary. He had taken up a perſon behind him, whoſe life was ſaved by his holding the horſe's tail till the animal drew him ſafe on ſhore. His body has been found. The body of a travelling woman, named

Roughton, from the neighbourhood of Kettering, has been alſo found. Another perſon, on horſeback, was obſerved to be ſwept from the road, horſe and all, by a number of ſpectators on the bridge, who could not afford the leaſt relief. The lower apartments of all the houſes near the river were completely inundated; and many families were obliged to receive their ſupplies through their chamber windows by means of boats. For 14 hours no perſon could paſs either to or from Newport Pagnel.

In Bedfordſhire, the roads about Chickſand, Campion, Hillingford, &c. were laid ſo deeply under water, that, for three days, the paſſages from one village to another, and from them all to Shefford, were impracticable for carriages.

Much damage was ſuſtained at St. Ives, by the farmers; their hay-ſtacks and live ſtock being at the mercy of the water. A drover, contrary to the advice of his landlord, perſiſted in leaving his flock of ſheep (about 500) in a cloſe near the river, and ſuffered for his temerity, nearly 200 being drowned. A Cambridge poſtchaiſe was waſhed off the road, and the poſt-boy with difficulty ſaved his life.

In the neighbourhood of Coventry, the floods were extremely great, particularly at Chesford bridge, near Kenilworth, where one of the horſes employed in conveying a load of timber belonging to Mr. Steel, was drowned. It appears that the waggoner ſet off on the 26th, to return to the ſtatute at the latter place; and, being unable to obſerve the rapid and dangerous ſtate of the waters, the horſes and carriage were forced down the ſtream, and with much difficulty, the other part of the team, and the poor man's life were preſerved, as they continued ſome hours in the moſt perilous ſtate, without any one being able to give the leaſt aſſiſtance.

At Shipley and Weſt Grinſted, in Suſſex, the water roſe to a greater height than the oldeſt inhabitants ever before remembered. At Shipley ſeveral cottagers were obliged to quit their dwellings, and fly to higher grounds till the water ſubſided; and ſo ſudden was its appearance, that one man had barely time to ſave his children from drowning.

At Brighton, the floods proved conſiderably alarming; the land-waters and the ſea threatened to overwhelm ſome parts of the neighbourhood.

At Glouceſter, the very heavy rain occaſioned the greateſt land flood ever remembered. An opening having been made in the bank of the Glouceſter and Berkeley canal, for the purpoſe of laying down a new culvert, the water forced its way in, and filled the part of the canal and baſin near this place, almoſt to the level that is hereafter intended. The accident, however, fortunately occaſioned very little inconvenience or injury.

The Portſmouth mail coach was overturned near Liphook, by the waters being ſo deep as to float the coach. Luckily no perſon was injured, further than by being made wet.

All over Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, great numbers of bridges have been broken down, and immenſe damage has been done.

During ſome of the heavy rains, according to an obſervation made by Mr. Fenwick, of Dibton, Durham, it appeared that the enormous quantity of 20,328,000 gallons of water,

water, ale meaſure, had fallen on a ſquare mile of the earth's ſurface, in the ſpace of five hours, which is nearly double the quantity that has fallen within any 12 hours during the laſt twelve months, although the ſame have been much ſubject to rain! The quantity, however, which fell on a ſquare mile at Dalry, near Edinburgh, according to a rain-gauge kept there, was, in the ſame ſpace of time, 32,725,959 ale gallons, which is one third more!

26th. Several of the mail coaches did not arrive at the poſt-office in time this morning for the delivery of letters, owing to the heavy rains, which had deluged different parts of the country.

Mr. Brookes and Mr. Magiſtra, king's meſſengers, were drowned, as they were landing from the Diana packet, at Calais, in their way to Liſle.

30th. Early this morning, an old houſe in Greengate-ſtreet, behind Whitechapel church, fell down. There were 15 perſons in the building; but a weaver, who was at work in an upper room, hearing a loud craſh, gave notice of the danger to the other inmates; and they were all fortunate enough to eſcape, about two minutes before the whole fabric ſuddenly fell.

DIED.—8th, at Cambridge, after a long illneſs, in his 63d year, the Rev. Richard Farmer, D. D. F. R. and A. SS. maſter of Emanuel college, principal librarian of the public library in that univerſity; one of the canons-reſidentiary of St. Paul, London; chancellor of the dioceſe of Litchfield and Coventry, and prebendary of Worceſter. He was born at Leiceſter in 1735. He ſerved the office of vice-chancellor in the years 1775 and 1787; and was much reſpected for his liberality to the poor, and the various plans ſuggeſted by him for the improvement of the town of Cambridge. He was well known in the literary world for his "Eſſay on the Learning of Shakeſpeare, addreſſed to Joſeph Cradock, eſq. 1766," which has been four times printed, viz. 1766, 1767, 1789, and 1793.

10th. In childbed, Mrs. Godwin, wife of Mr. William Godwin, of Somers town; a woman of uncommon talents and conſiderable knowledge; well known throughout Europe by her literary works, under her original name of Wollſtonecraft, and particularly by her "Vindication of the Rights of Women, 1792," 8vo. Her firſt publication was, "Thoughts on the Education of Daughters, with Reflections on Female Conduct in the more important Duties of Life, 1787," 12mo. 2. "The Rights of Man, 1791," 8vo, againſt Mr. Burke on the French Revolution: of the riſe and progreſs of which ſhe gave an "Hiſtorical and Moral View" in 1794, only one volume being publiſhed. 3. "Elements of Morality, for the Uſe of Children: tranſlated from the German of Sultzman, 1791," 3 vols. 12mo. 4. "A Vindication of the Rights of Woman, with Strictures on Moral and Political Subjects, 1792," 8vo. 5. "Letters written during a ſhort Reſidence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, 1796," 8vo.

Near Liverpool, Rebecca Shipley, aged 97; and, on the following day, her huſband, James Shipley, aged 90; they had been married 62 years.—At Calderbridge, aged 96, Mr. J. Steele; his widow is in her 94th year, and they have been

married 70 years.—At Croft, Mr. Charnock, aged 99.—At Edenham, Mrs. Colcraft, aged 92.—At Claybrook, Mrs. Warner, aged 100.—At Stretton Strawleſs, Mrs. Marſham, aged 90.

At a cottage near Ribton Hill, Cumberland, aged 86, the wife of Joſeph Backhouſe. Her deceaſe happened during the night; and the huſband, almoſt 90 years of age, did not apprize the neighbourhood of the circumſtance, "thinking," as he himſelf expreſſed it, "that, as ſhe had been a good wife to him for threeſcore years of her life, he could do no leſs than accompany her one night after her death."

In Cavendiſh-ſquare, J. R. Mackay, eſq. aged 90.

OCTOBER.

1ſt. About four weeks ago, the hon. Miſs King, who lived with her mother, lady Kingsborough, eloped from Windſor. There were many circumſtances attending the elopement, which led to a ſuſpicion of the perſon who had ſeduced her from her duty. Col. Fitzgerald, who is married to a very beautiful lady, and is ſecond couſin to Miſs King, had been very attentive to her for ſome time, and, it appears, had previouſly found means to lead her aſtray. She was very young, being now only 16 years of age, and her habits of life had been ſuch as to leave her more uninformed of the vicious habits of the world than happens to moſt young people, even of that early age. Col. Fitzgerald was at length taxed by her friends, as being acceſſary to her elopement; but he was at firſt extremely indignant, and threatened to fight any perſon who ſhould accuſe him. The afflicted parent, by the advice of friends, had at length recourſe to the newſpapers, and after having repeatedly advertiſed in vain, for her daughter, was induced to offer a reward of 100 guineas for her diſcovery. It was in conſequence of the reward offered, that a young woman, daughter of the miſtreſs of the houſe where the young lady was concealed, in Clayton-ſtreet, Kennington, diſcovered Miſs King, and her ſeducer.

As ſoon as lord Kingsborough, who was in Ireland, heard of the flight of his daughter, he came to England with his ſon, col. King; and the firſt ſtep was to find out col. Fitzgerald, which was not done without ſome difficulty; as they were determined to call him to a perſonal and ſevere account. Lord Kingsborough wrote to his friend major Wood, at Aſhford, requeſting his immediate attendance in town. As ſoon as he arrived, a meeting was appointed, and the duel took place this morning, of which the following account is given by col. King's ſecond.

Fladong's Hotel, Oxford-ſtreet, Oct. 1.

"My dear friend,

"I ſhall, without preface, enter at once upon the affair, which I mentioned to you was to take place this morning, and 'nothing extenuate, nor ſet down aught in malice.' Agreeable to an arranged plan, I accompanied col. King to a ſpot near the magazine in the park. Col. Fitzgerald we met at Groſvenor-gate, unaccompanied by a friend, which, by the way, he told me yeſterday he feared he ſhould not be able to provide, in conſequence of the odium which was thrown on his character;

character; at the same time observing, 'that he was so sensible of my honour, that he was perfectly satisfied to meet col. King unattended by a friend.' I decidedly refused any interference on his part, informing him, 'that, had not nearer relations of the —— been on the spot, he would have seen me as a principal. He replied, 'he would try to procure a friend;' and withdrew. I addressed him this morning, by, "where is your friend, sir?" Answer (as well as I can recollect) 'I have not been able to procure one: I rest assured that you will act fairly.' I then desired him to apply to his surgeon, which he immediately did, who refused to appear as a second, but said he would be within view. Col. K. was equally desirous to go on with the business; I consented. However, I prevailed upon the surgeon, who accompanied doctor Browne, to be present as a witness, that all was fairly conducted. It was no common business. I placed them at 10 short paces distance from each other; that distance I thought too far, but I indulged a hope that col. F. sensible of the vileness of his conduct, would, after the first fire, have thrown himself upon col. K.'s humanity. His conduct was quite the reverse; in short, they exchanged six shots each without effect. He was cool and determined; the other, also determined, and, to appearance, obstinately bent on blood. After the fourth shot, he said something to me about giving him advice as a friend. I told him I was no friend of his, but that I was a friend to humanity; that if, after what had passed, he possessed firmness enough to acknowledge to col. K. that he was the vilest of human beings, and bear, without reply, any language from col. K. however harsh,' the present business then, perhaps, might come to a period. He consented to acknowledge that he had acted wrong, but no farther; that was not enough. He now attempted to address col. K. who prevented him,' by saying, 'that he was a d—d villain,' and that he would not listen to any thing he had to offer.' They proceeded. Col. F.'s powder and balls were now expended; he desired to have one of col. K.'s pistols. To this I would not consent, though pressed to do so by my friend. Here ended this morning's business; we must meet again; it cannot end here. I have only to add, that nothing could exceed the firmness and propriety of col. K.'s conduct, through every stage of this business.

"I am, my dear friend,

Very truly, yours,

ROBERT WOOD."

P. S. On leaving the ground, col. F. agreed to meet col. K. at the same time to-morrow.

Both colonels, the same day, were put under arrest.

2d. This evening, between eight and nine o'clock, a fire broke out at the sugar-house belonging to Messrs. Cooke and Co. in Osborne-street, near Whitechapel-church, which, with a large quantity of raw sugars, were entirely consumed. By the exertions of the fire-men, and a plentiful supply of water, the dwelling house and adjoining buildings were preserved. The damage is estimated at about 15,000l. The fire is supposed to have been occasioned by the stove being over heated.

3d. The bank of England called in the stamped dollars.

4th. One James Brown, maſon, in Calder, Lancaſhire, who fourteen years ago loſt his ſpeech in a fever, being lately ſeized with a return of that diſorder, his nurſe was equally aſtoniſhed and alarmed to hear him ſuddenly call for ſome drink.

The fever, it is ſtated, has not quite left him, but he retains the uſe of his ſpeech.

6th. As ſome maſons were digging in the caſtle of Stirling, in a garden adjacent to the magazine, they ſtruck upon a human ſkeleton, about eight yards diſtance from the windows whence the earl of Douglas was thrown over, after he was ſtabbed by king James the ſecond. There is little doubt that it is his remains, as it is certain he was buried in that garden, and but a little diſtance from that cloſet window. The bones were entire, and, from the place where the ſkull was lying to the end of the ſhank bone meaſured about ſix feet. They were carefully gathered up, put into a box, and depoſited nearly where they were found.

6th. Mr. Bruiſter, of Dean-ſtreet, Soho, ſhot himſelf through the head with a piſtol. Previouſly to committing this raſh act, he called for a glaſs of wine and water. He ſurvived the fatal ſhot but a few minutes; and he had a ſecond piſtol graſped in his hand to complete his death, in caſe the firſt had failed. Mr. Foot, and other gentlemen of the faculty, were called in, but their aſſiſtance was uſeleſs. No cauſe has yet been aſſigned for this ſhocking tranſaction. Mr. Bruiſter was a bachelor, and led a very ſolitary life. He was a man of excellent character, and much eſteemed among his friends, but of a gloomy diſpoſition. He was very infirm, and had juſt recovered from a ſevere illneſs. The property he has left is immenſe.

7th. As ſome workmen were digging in the garden of Mr. Henry Clement, at Weſt Acre, in Norfolk, they found a ſtone coffin, containing a human ſkeleton of unuſual ſize, ſix feet four inches in length. No farther relique has yet been diſcovered that might tend to an elucidation. It is probable, however, that it might have been a Clunian monk, a convent of which religious ſect was diſſolved by Henry VIII. at this place, about 1537. Not far from where the coffin was diſcovered, are ſtill the remains of a chapel, dedicated to Thomas a' Becket.

Edinburgh, Oct. 7.—In July laſt, ſome workmen, employed by a gentleman in the cathedral of Fortroſe, in Scotland, diſcovered a ſtone coffin; a correſpondent has favoured us with the following particulars. The inſide of the coffin was plaſtered and remarkably well painted white, ornamented with red croſſes all round the ſides. In the right hand of the body there was a kind of mace or ſceptre of gilded wood (ſeemingly oak) neatly carved into ſmall gothic arches on the top. On the breaſt lay a circular piece of wood, curiouſly carved and gilt; and acroſs the breaſt and ſhoulders a crimſon ſaſh was doubled in the form of a croſs. Thoſe who firſt got acceſs to it, having no taſte for curioſities, and thinking that ſuch a rich looking perſonage might have ſome caſh about him, handled him ſo roughly as to make him crumble to duſt, and broke his mace and circle. However, the rev. Mr. Wood, of Roſemarkie, ſaved part of each ornament,

nament, viz. the head of the mace and part of the ſtalk, about half the circle and a piece of the faſh, which is very ſtrong. By Mr. Wood's enquiries it would appear that this body muſt have been 300 years in the ground. Fortroſe was the ſeat of a biſhop, and the body very like either that of a biſhop, or ſome inferior member of the Romiſh church.

A man named Hammond, had for ſome time paid his addreſſes to a young woman at Sibton, named Mary Powell, but on the eve of marriage, the match was broken off by ſome trivial quarrel. The fair one, in reſentment, received the addreſſes of another admirer, and countenanced a report, that they were to be called in church, by proclamation of the banns on the following Sunday. Hammond at this intelligence put a period to his exiſtence, by nearly ſevering his head from his body; and the inconſiderate maid, on hearing of his tragical end, hung herſelf up in the kitchen. The coroner's inqueſt on each brought in their verdict lunacy.

The duke of Norfolk's improvements at Arundel Caſtle (on which he has expended 200,000l.) are in the Saxon ſtyle. This magnificent pile of buildings is 200 feet each way; and the front, or ground-floor, is entirely of ſtone, the ſecond of mahogany, the third of oak, and the fourth of deal. The repairs and improvements of this antient gothic ſtructure are magnificent and expenſive; but the public do not know the circumſtances that have made them ſo. The ground-rents of that part of the Norfolk eſtate on which ſtand Norfolk and Arundel-ſtreets, in the Strand, were anciently appropriated to the repairing and improving of Arundel Caſtle, and to be uſed for no other purpoſe. The Norfolk family have long wiſhed to ſet aſide this abſurd diſpoſition; and thoſe rents had not been drawn for upwards of twenty years, when the preſent duke called for them. They had accumulated to a very large amount; but the parties refuſed to pay them, unleſs it were to defray the expenſe of repairing and improving Arundel Caſtle. The duke, finding it impoſſible to obtain them for any other purpoſe, gave orders for ſuch alterations in the building as would amount to the ſum due; and it is now fitting up in the moſt coſtly and magnificent ſtyle. The floors are all to be of mahogany, and gilding and all ſorts of expenſive decorations, are to be added.

9th. A general mutiny broke out on board the Britiſh fleet at the Cape of Good Hope, which terminated on the 12th, in conſequence of a communication that the demands of the ſeamen at Spithead had been complied with.

The American newspapers, down to the 11th, bring intelligence of the horrid ravages lately made by the yellow fever in Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Providence, &c. The returns daily made of the burials, amounted in Philadelphia, in the month ending with September, to 590 adults, and upwards of 300 children. In Baltimore the numbers were much ſmaller; but many had fallen victims to the diſorder, both there and in Rhode Iſland. Mr. Bedford, the governor of the Delaware, is dead of the fever. We are happy, however, to ſtate, that the approach of cold weather had conſiderably abated the ravages of the diſorder; the returns of the burials decreaſing daily.

A great fire lately happened at

Albany, which consumed 86 dwelling-houses, about 20 store-houses, and a considerable number of other houses; the loss is estimated at 250,000 dollars.

Barbadoes.—A dangerous gang, to the number of 12, have committed great depredations upon the public, knocking down and wounding every person they met with; but, by the activity and diligence of the magistrates, these villains were apprehended and committed to gaol. They had entered into an association it appears, in writing, to stand by, assist, rescue, and die by each other, and at the same time took an oath to that effect, and with a shoemaker's awl each of them let three drops of blood into a bowl of grog, in which were mixed gunpowder and brimstone, and then every one drank part thereof, giving himself the name and appellation of True Blue.

In Jamaica the bread-fruit begins to be very common, from the great success in planting. In the Windward Islands the plants hitherto thrive but indifferently.

St. Kitt's.—We have had a long series of earthquakes of late. They began on the 5th of February last, and since that day, the longest interval we have had has not been a week, and sometimes we have had upwards of a hundred in the 24 hours. Some of them have been felt at Antigua, Martinique, and other islands, while by far the greatest part of them have been confined to this island; and, what is very remarkable, many shocks which were severely felt in other parts of the colony, were not perceived by the people who lived near the bottom of Mount Misery. The greatest number of shocks appeared to run in a direction from east to west, accompanied with a rumbling noise under ground like thunder at some distance, and an undulatory motion of the earth, which seems to begin at the east side of the house. The sensation communicated is just as if the house was dragged with immense violence and velocity over rough stoney ground, while glasses, bottles, &c. are clashing together. There are others, which differ from those described, by having no horizontal direction, but only a violent motion directly upwards, as if a mine were sprung up under your feet. They consist of a succession of sudden explosions, each having a distinct report like that of a cannon.

15th. *Taunton.*—A dreadful accident happened here yesterday afternoon about five o'clock; two men were sent to the stables of Mr. Radford, at the Nag's Head, to trim a horse; the candle being imprudently placed near the straw, it caught fire, and instantly the whole range of stabling was in a blaze. Sixteen horses were burnt to death. The fire communicated to Mr. Heath's premises, and destroyed two fat pigs; his colour shop next caught, and ten sides of window glass were melted and destroyed, together with a quantity of linseed oil, and turpentine; and the whole of his stock and warehouses was levelled to the ground. Mr. Hare ventured his life, and saved his youngest son, who had a very narrow escape; he was alone in the kitchen near the stabling, and was nearly suffocated.

16th. There was a general illumination in the metropolis and its vicinity, in celebration of Lord Duncan's victory. The mansion-house

ſion-houſe, admiralty, theatres, and other public buildings, were ſplendidly illuminated. Few events have given riſe to more general and ardent demonſtrations of joy.

18th. The livery of London aſſembled in common hall, to proceed to the choice of a fit perſon to fill the lord mayor's chair for the enſuing year.

The court of aldermen went to the huſtings at one o'clock, and after the uſual ceremonies were paſſed through, the recorder came forward. He informed the hall, that in conſequence of ſir Benjamin Hammet's having declined to ſerve the office, to which the livery of London had elected him; and of his having paid into the chamber of the city the ſum of 1,000l. as a fine, it became neceſſary to chooſe ſome other fit and proper perſon to the ſame office in his ſtead. Alderman Anderſon being ſenior on the liſt, was accordingly choſen.

20th. This day, about ſeven o'clock, Lord Duncan, in his way from Margate (where he had landed) to Walmer Caſtle (where Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas were waiting to receive him), was met near the bridge, at his entrance into Sandwich, by a great number of the loyal inhabitants, who, amidſt the firing of cannon, and other demonſtrations of joy, took the horſes out of the carriage, and drew the gallant admiral through the town, preceded by the band of muſic belonging to three companies of Sandwich volunteers. Upon his lordſhip's thanking, as he repeatedly did, the perſons about him, for their grateful attention to him, a lady, who was near the carriage, ſaid to him, "Your lordſhip ſhould not thank *us*; it is our duty to thank *you*."

This day the court of aldermen and common council voted thanks to admiral Duncan and his officers, with the freedom of the city, and a ſword of 200 guineas value to him; and the freedom, with a ſword of 100 guineas value, to vice admiral Onſlow.

A veſſel arrived from St. Domingo, with a melancholy and horrid account of the mutiny on the 22d of September, on board the Hermione frigate, when captain Piggot, and all his officers, except the ſurgeon and one maſter's mate, were murdered, as well as moſt of the marines; in all more than 40 perſons.

They carried the frigate to Languana, and delivered her up to the Spaniſh governor, on a capitulation to be paid their arrears of pay, to be received as Spaniſh ſubjects, and not to be returned at the end of the war.

The mutiny was headed by captain Piggot's own coxſwain, who had been in different ſhips four or five years with him. He cut off the captain's head while aſleep.

31ſt. This morning, juſt at day-break, the king ſet off from Windſor lodge, in his poſt-chaiſe and four, with the uſual eſcort of light-horſe, to Greenwich; where his majeſty alighted at the governor's houſe, and was joined by his ſuite, the lords of the admiralty, commiſſioners of the navy, and other officers. A regiment of London militia were on duty at Greenwich, as well as a party of light-horſe. The college men were all drawn out to receive his majeſty, and lined the ſtairs, &c. on his embarkation. Lord and lady Hood and daughter were the hoſts on this occaſion. After breakfaſt, his majeſty went in his barge from the grand ſtairs of the

the hoſpital on board the Royal Charlotte yacht, captain Trollope; the lords of the admiralty and commiſſioners of the navy alſo going on board the Princeſs Auguſta, and William and Mary yachts, all of which got under weigh at the time of the tide, and ſtood down the river. As ſoon as his majeſty came down to the ſtairs to get into the barge, the ſignal was given, and a royal ſalute was fired by all the veſſels in the Reach, beginning at Deptford, and running down to Woolwich; on his embarking in the yacht, the ſalute was repeated; the Tower guns alſo fired at the ſame time, in conſequence of a ſignal. His majeſty's yacht was fitted up in a very ſuperb ſtyle; in the fore cabin was a chair and rich canopy of crimſon velvet, with gold fringe, for the king to ſit in; the floor was covered with carpeting; and the chairs for the noblemen who attended him were mahogany, with morocco leather ſeats. In the after-cabin was the ſtate bed for his majeſty to ſleep in, with ſofas covered with crimſon damaſk in the apartments adjoining, for the gentlemen in waiting. The ſtate-room was alſo elegantly fitted up for the reception of his majeſty's attendants. On his majeſty's going on board, he was received by the lords of the admiralty, and the royal ſtandard was hoiſted at the main, the lord high admiral's flag at the fore, and the union jack at the mizen top gallant maſt head of the Royal Charlotte; and the Auguſta yacht (appropriated for the lords of the admiralty) hoiſted the lord high admiral's flag. The wind blowing ſtrong againſt them at ENE. they found it neceſſary to warp the Royal Charlotte down the river a conſiderable diſtance, ere they could venture to caſt her looſe. The proceſſion was thus arranged:

A king's cutter.

An armed brig. The Royal Charlotte. An armed brig.

The Princeſs Auguſta.

The Mary.

A king's cutter.

The captains commanding were, captain Trollope, of the Royal Charlotte; Princeſs Auguſta, captain Rion; Mary, captain Phillips.

His majeſty did not reach Blackwall, owing to the contrary winds, till half-paſt twelve; when he was again ſaluted by a number of cannon; and the wind being two points to the northward of eaſt, the royal yacht lay down the Reach, without making a ſingle tack, and was off Woolwich about half-paſt one, where ſimilar honours were paid, and a very general and long continued cannonade took place. His majeſty was not able to get farther with the firſt tide than the galleons below Woolwich; where he waited with a perſeverance worthy the object of his voyage. The lords of the Admiralty and gentlemen in waiting dined and ſupped with his majeſty in the ſtate room; and at ten the king retired to his cabin, earl Spencer and the other Lords going on board the Auguſta to ſleep. The crowd on the river was immenſe; but as might be expected, fell off in proportion to the diſtance.

It being the next morning found utterly impracticable to get farther than the Hope; after lying there till evening, a council was held; and on account of the important buſineſs which required his majeſty's preſence in town, it was reſolved to return to London without accompliſhing

pliſhing the object of the royal excurſion. In the evening, another ſignal was given to weigh; and the veſſels anchored oppoſite to Graveſend at eight o'clock this night, the review being put off till a more favourable opportunity.

At ten on the enſuing morning (Nov. 1), his majeſty and the lords of the admiralty landed at Greenwich. After breakfaſting with lord Hood, the king returned to town at one o'clock. Immediately before his leaving the Queen Charlotte, his majeſty created captain Trollope, who commanded the Ruſſell in the late glorious action, and who had the honour of attending his majeſty upon this occaſion, as captain of his yacht, a knight banneret.

When captain Trollope was firſt introduced to the king on board the Royal Charlotte yacht, his majeſty thanked him in the moſt gracious manner, in his own name, and that of the kingdom, for his conduct; and when the roughneſs of the weather made it unſafe to proceed (the king being thrown out of bed by the violence of the waves), his majeſty ſaid to captain Trollope, "Do not conſider my perſon, but conſider, if I cannot get to the Nore, the diſappointment of thoſe brave fellows, whom I long to thank, as I have you, for defending me, protecting my people, and preſerving my country."

When the king ſignified his intention of knighting captain Trollope, he modeſtly wiſhed to decline the honour; but being at length introduced by lord Spencer, and an intimate friend to his majeſty, the king, after performing the ceremony, bowed in the moſt courteous manner, while pronouncing the words, "Riſe, ſir Henry Trollope; I wiſh you health and long life." At the ſame time lieut. Clevely (whoſe pictures of the morn and eve of the 1ſt of June have been ſo much admired) was taking ſome ſketches on board; when lord Hugh Seymour Conway told him he muſt carry his drawings to the king. Lord Spencer introducing him by the name of Cleverly, "No, no," ſaid the king, "that is not it, my lord; though it is ſomething like, it is Clevely—I am very glad, ſir, to ſee you among us; and ſhall have great pleaſure in viewing your excellent drawings. Elizabeth has ſhewn us ſome of them before."

A part of his majeſty's gracious and benign intentions have been carried into execution, by his free pardon having been proclaimed to 180 of the mutineers confined on board the Eagle priſon ſhip, at Chatham. This pardon was proclaimed to the unhappy and misguided men by captain Halkett of the navy, who was appointed by his lordſhip for the pleaſing and intereſting ſervice. The men behaved in a very becoming and manly manner, appearing fully ſenſible of their miſconduct, and highly grateful for this mark of the royal clemency.

Died.—At Glaſgow, Mr. Sym, aged 91.—At Margate, Mrs. Tanks, aged 96.—At Hackney, Mrs. Naſh, aged 97.—At Hull, Mrs. Heſeltine, aged 98.

Lately, in Dawſon-ſtreet, Dublin, Mrs. Margaret Kelly; and a few hours afterwards, in St. Andrew-ſtreet, Mrs. French, widow of col. French. The hiſtory of theſe two ladies, who thus terminated their mortal courſe on the ſame day, is ſomewhat remarkable:—Two officers

ers of the 22d regiment, ſtationed at Minorca about 1755, married two nuns of St. Clair, from the convent of Cittadella, in that iſland: theſe two nuns were the ladies we now record. They lived in the moſt intimate friendſhip, and paſſed through a long life with the eſteem and admiration of all who knew them. The firſt, for ſeveral years deprived of the partner of her affections, ſuſtained many calamities with unſhaken philoſophy. Mrs. French followed the fortunes, and ſhared the fatigues of her huſband, in many a weary campaign. She was preſent at the taking of the Havannah, in 1762.

NOVEMBER.

1ſt. A melancholy accident happened lately at Heaton Norris, near Stockport, occaſioned by the explofion of two ſmall caſks of gunpowder, which were ſent from Battle, in Suſſex, by the light coach, for Mr. Fogg, grocer, of Mancheſter.

As Mr. Smith, of the Horſe-ſhoe, in Heaton Norris, where the coach ſtops, was aſſiſting the coachman to take ſome parcels out of the baſket, a ſpark from the candle fell upon ſome looſe gunpowder, which immediately communicated to the caſks, the whole blew up with a violent explofion. Mr. Smith, the coachman, and a boy that held the light, were ſeverely wounded.

The firſt is ſince dead; the life of the boy is deſpaired of, and the coachman, who has loſt one of his eyes, continues in a very dangerous ſtate. Not a ſingle window was left whole for above thirty yards on each ſide of the ſtreet.

2d. A fire broke out about eight o'clock this evening, at Mr. Benniſon's umbrella manufactory, adjoining Windmill-ſtreet, Finſbury-ſquare, which it entirely conſumed. It communicated to a ſmall houſe in an adjoining court, in which there are only four houſes, but by the exertions of the fire-men was prevented from ſpreading, though not without the deſtruction of a great part of the furniture of the poor inhabitants.

3d. A fire at the Horn's Tavern, in Palace-yard, deſtroyed moſt of the houſe and part of ſeveral tenements adjoining, before the flames were extinguiſhed. No lives were loſt.

The preſent empreſs of Ruſſia has purchaſed the palace of prince Dolgorucki, at St. Peterſburgh, and converted it into a college for teaching the art of midwifery. Twenty poor women of good character are to be inſtructed and continually ſupported by her Majeſty's private purſe, and occaſionally diſtributed over the provinces.

An atheiſtical ſociety has lately been formed in Paris, as their own papers ſtate, called *Les Hommes ſans Dieu*, "the men without a God." Their ſole homage is paid to virtue. They renounce all obedience to prieſts and magiſtrates: they are to be men of blameleſs lives, and not leſs than fifty years of age. If a civil war ſhould break out, they are to admoniſh the combatants, armed only with the book of virtue. If perſecuted, they are to retire to their church-yards, and there, wrapped in their cloaks, to meet their fate!

A court of aldermen was yeſterday held at Guildhall, when the lord mayor laid before the court

an

an order of the court of lieutenancy, directing the commanding officers of the London militia not to turn out any guards in cafes of riots, tumults, or fire, unlefs at the expreſs deſire of ſome magiſtrate, and being headed by him; which order was made in conſequence of the lord mayor's repreſentation of ſome irregularity on the late rejoicing night. The court voted his lordſhip thanks for his conſtitutional conduct.

8th. This morning Richard Barber, for forgery, and John Bryant, for a rape, were executed before Newgate. They behaved in a manner becoming their unhappy ſituation. Soon after the above malefactors were cut down, an extraordinary ſcene took place. Between nine and ten o'clock a hackney-coach drew up to the priſon door, in order to convey away the body of Bryant; which being brought out, a violent altercation began between two parties among the crowd, each headed by a woman, as to which was beſt entitled to the poſſeſſion of the corpſe. Upon the body being brought into the ſtreet, the two contending parties ſeized hold of it, ſome dragging it by the legs, and others by the head and arms, but all contributed to prevent its fall to the ground. After an obſtinate conteſt for near half an hour, the body was carried into Giltſpur-ſtreet, where being put into a coach, it was driven off. The populace then diſperſed.

Thomas Miller was brought up to receive the judgment of the court of King's-bench, which was paſſed upon him by judge Aſhhurſt, after a ſevere reprimand, to the following effect: 'You are found guilty of an unlawful and injurious offence, in having kept a gaming-houſe, in which you permitted an unlawful game, called hazard, to be frequently played. The court having taken into conſideration the enormity of your offence, and the whole of your conduct, do paſs the following ſentence: that you pay a fine of 500l.; that you be impriſoned in the houſe of correction in Cold-bath-fields for the ſpace of one year; that you find ſureties for your good behaviour for ſeven years, yourſelf in 500l., and two others in 250l. each; and not to be diſcharged from your confinement till ſuch ſureties be found. I have alſo been informed that you ſuffered playing with loaded dice; but as that conſtituted no part of the indictment, neither can it contribute towards your puniſhment, though it increaſes your guilt.

Lord Kenyon. If that crime had been laid to your charge, and proved, your puniſhment would not have ſtopped where it has.

12th. A melancholy accident happened in the French priſon at Stapleton, near Briſtol. The priſoners being very riotous and diſorderly, one of the centinels, apprehending that ſome of them were attempting to break out, fired his piece, and unfortunately ſhot one of his companions through the body; in conſequence of which he died in a very few minutes.

18th. Yeſterday, a court of proprietors was held at the bank; when Mr. Raikes, the chairman, acquainted the proprietors, that he and the deputy governor had an interview on the preceding day with Mr. Pitt, and had alſo depoſited with the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons a ſtatement of the affairs of the bank, which

which he ſhould alſo lay before the proprietors. The reſult of this ſtatement was as follows:—

The bank had in caſh, bullion, and other ſecurities—ſeventeen millions ſterling and a fraction.

Due to the bank from government, four millions and a fraction.

The debts of the bank were—eleven millions of outſtanding notes—beſides ſix millions of other demands on it.

The nett balance in favour of the bank, independent of the government ſtock which it held, was—three millions, eight hundred and thirty-nine thouſand pounds ſterling.

Mr. Raikes then informed the court, that the miniſter had propoſed to extend the further limitation of time when the bank ſhould reſume its payments in ſpecie; that it was not neceſſary for him to judge of the urgency of political motives, which might render ſuch a ſtep adviſeable; but he had the pleaſure to inform the court, that the bank was in ſuch a ſtate of affluence, as to be ready to pay all the demands on it in ſpecie, whenever called upon.

The conſent of the proprietors was then aſked for advancing the amount of the land and malt-tax to government, amounting to two millions, ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, which was unanimouſly agreed to.

28th. This day admiral ſir Horatio Nelſon attended at the chamberlain's office in Guildhall, with the lord mayor and Mr. alderman Wilkes, to receive the gold box of one hundred guineas value, voted to him for his bravery and conduct in the Britiſh ſervice. After the admiral had received the box, and the freedom of the city beautifully written and illuminated, the cuſtomary oath of every freeman was adminiſtered; to which Mr. chamberlain Wilkes added:

"Rear admiral ſir Horatio Nelſon, I give you joy; and with true ſatisfaction I return you thanks in the name of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council aſſembled, who have unanimouſly voted you the freedom of the capital, for your diſtinguiſhed valour and conduct in the favourite ſervice of the navy, and particularly againſt a very ſuperior force of the enemy off Cape St. Vincent, on the 14th of February laſt.

"Many of our naval commanders have merited highly of their country by their exertions; but in your caſe there is a rare heroic modeſty, which cannot be ſufficiently admired. You have given the warmeſt applauſe to your brother officers, and the ſeamen under your command; but your own merit you have not mentioned even in the ſlighteſt manner; and the relation of the ſevere and cruel wound you ſuffered in the ſervice of your country, is tranſmitted to poſterity by your noble commander in chief.

"May you long live to enjoy the grateful benedictions of the country which you honour and protect."

Sir Horatio Nelſon's anſwer.

"Sir,—Nothing could be more gratifying to me (as it muſt be to every ſea officer) than receiving the high honour this day conferred upon me, of becoming a freeman of the great city of London. And I beg you to believe, and to aſſure my fellow citizens, that my hand and head ſhall ever be exerted, with all my heart, in defence of my king, the laws, and the juſt liberties of my country;

country; in which are included every thing that can be beneficial to the capital of the empire. I beg leave to return you, ſir, my ſincere thanks for the very flattering expreſſions you have honoured me with, on this occaſion."

The ſea exhibited an awfully grand appearance on the Norfolk coaſt, the billows running mountains high. At Yarmouth, the pump-houſe belonging to the bath-rooms was overwhelmed by the ſurf, and almoſt levelled to the ground. Next morning, at day break, a veſſel, ſloop-rigged, was diſcovered on the Croſs Sand, off Yarmouth; at nine o'clock ſhe overſet, and all on board periſhed.

29th. The ſnow was nearly general in this county, from the eaſt; it is deep on moſt of the roads from Norfolk and Leiceſterſhire, quite acroſs the kingdom to Cheſter and Lancaſter; in ſome places upwards of two feet deep: a rare circumſtance ſo early in the ſeaſon. The Mancheſter mail was ſtuck faſt in a valley near Leek, but, by being put on horſeback, and by taking a circuitous route, it reached Aſhbourn, after a loſs of ſeven hours, from which place to London, the guards ſo exerted themſelves, by riding with the bags on horſeback, and, in other places, in the middle of the night, by taking poſt-chaiſes, that much of the time was recovered, and they arrived at the General Poſt Office ſo as to ſave the morning delivery.

30th. Laſt night, the pariſh church of St. Alban, Wood-ſtreet, was broken open, and robbed of the money collected for the poor.

Died. 2d. At Norwich, in his fifty-ſeventh year, the Rev. William Enfield, LL.D. paſtor of the congregation of proteſtant diſſenters meeting in the chapel there, originally erected for Dr. Taylor, and formerly lecturer in the belles lettres at the academy at Warrington. To the public he was well known by his many ingenious and uſeful writings, which entitled him to a reſpectable rank in the literary world.

20th. In Duke's-court, St. Martin's-lane, Mr. Roger Payne, a celebrated bookbinder. This ingenious artiſt introduced a ſtyle of binding which united elegance with durability, in a manner which no other perſon has been able to imitate. He may juſtly be ranked among artiſts of the greateſt merit. The ornaments he employed were ſelected with a claſſical taſte; and in many inſtances appropriated to the ſubject of the work, or to the age and time of the author. Each book of his binding was accompanied with a written deſcription of the ornaments, drawn up in a moſt preciſe and curious ſtyle. His *chef-d'œuvre* is his Æſchylus, in the poſſeſſion of earl Spencer; the ornaments and decorations of this book are uncommonly ſplendid, and truly claſſical. The binding coſt the noble proprietor 15 guineas. Thoſe who are not accuſtomed to ſee book-binding executed in any other than the common manner, can form no idea of the merits of the deceaſed, who lived without a rival, and there is reaſon to fear has died without a ſucceſſor.

At Hametſham, Mr. Bootle, aged 90. He retained his ſeveral faculties till the laſt, walked very upright, and with youthful nimbleneſs. The following remarkable inſtance of longevity in one family, is ſeldom known: his great grandfather died at

at the age of 83; his grandfather 88; his mother 86; his father 85; and one uncle 92. They all lived and died in the parish of Hamet-tham in Kent.

At Stockwell, C. Woodinge, esq. aged 94.—At Newton St. Loe, Mrs. E. Harrington, aged 91.—At Holywell, Lincoln, S. Reynardson, esq. aged 93.—At Glasgow, J. Bowman, esq. aged 96.—At Ringley, J. F. Whitster, aged 85; he was father, grandfather, and great grandfather to 144 children.—At Sileby, Mrs. Parkinson, aged 93.—At Michelham, Mr. Child, aged 91.—At Carig, Ireland, John Ahern, aged 111, and James Stewart, aged 102.—At Tullike, near Tarbett, on the same bed, and nearly at the same moment, Michael and Jeremiah Molineux, brothers, the former aged 99, the latter turned of 96.—Near Newcastle, Mrs. Summabel, aged 99½.—At West Tarring, Mr. J. Russel, aged 96.

DECEMBER.

1st. Mr. Fox presented to the king, at the levee, a petition, from near 5,000 freeholders of the county of Down, in Ireland, complaining of the hardships which that county at present labours under, and praying for a redress of grievances.

2d. Gold seven shilling pieces were ordered to be received as the current coin of the kingdom.

At the late Colchester assizes, an indictment was preferred against a person for an assault: it appeared in evidence, that the plaintiff had attempted to hang himself, and that the defendant, finding him in that situation, had cut him down, pulled his nose, and struck him several smart blows on the back, for the purpose of resuscitating suspended animation: a verdict was found for the defendant.

The late thick fogs have not only been prevalent among us, but in various other places. We have a private account of a most surprising one felt in Paris. The whole city appeared, as it were, enveloped in a cloud of fœtid emanations, and acid sulphureous matters, which affected both the smell and the sight, and scarcely left in the atmosphere vital air enough for a painful respiration; insomuch that chymists are now employed in analysing these *phænomena*. At four o'clock, the mist was so powerful as to intercept all the rays of light beyond a few paces; and soon afterwards became so thick, as almost to extinguish the torches which people were obliged to carry in the streets. It was eleven o'clock at night before the cold had power enough to condense the vapid air, or precipitate the foggy particles with which it was impregnated. Many accidents happened by the overturning of carriages, &c. Some passengers fell into the water. The thieves were particularly active amidst the general confusion.

Sir Henry St. John Mildmay, bart. returning from a hard chace with his noted vicious horse, Telegraph, which he purchased of lord Villers for 600 guineas, ventured to pat him, when the furious animal instantly seized his right hand, and held it in his mouth for upwards of a minute, notwithstanding the exertions of two grooms to disengage it. Sir Henry was compelled to undergo an immediate amputation.

1 11th. This

11th. This morning Maria Thereſa Phipoe, for the murder of Mary Cox, was executed before the debtors door, Newgate, purſuant to her ſentence. She behaved with proper decorum; and was attended by a Roman Catholic prieſt. She left a guinea for the moſt deſerving debtor in the gaol, and gave the ſame ſum to the executioner. After hanging an hour in the view of a great number of ſpectators, one-third of whom were females, the body was cut down, and delivered to the ſurgeons for diſſection. —For her trial, ſee the Appendix to the Chronicle.

This day alſo came on, at Weſtminſter Hall, a trial between Anthony Paſquin and Mr. Gifford; for which ſee the Appendix to the Chronicle.

12th. That part of the waterworks at Shadwell, in which Meſſrs. Bolton's ſteam-engine was erected in 1774, over the well, was in one hour and a half burnt to the ground. This engine's power of raiſing water was at the rate of 903 gallons in a minute, which is 52,110 gallons in an hour, and 730,520 gallons, or 2,853 tons 152 gallons, in a day of 14 hours, the uſual time of working it. It ſupplied a diſtrict of near 8,000 houſes, beſides public buildings, extending to the Tower, to Limehouſe bridge, and from Whitechapel to the Thames.

Letters from Portſmouth mention the death of captain Parker, of the Intrepid, as particularly ſingular, as well as truly unfortunate. He was ſitting in his cabin, when, upon a ſudden heel of the ſhip, and his chair giving way, he fell againſt the ſaſh window of one of the portholes, which he went through into the ſea. It blew ſo ſtrong, that before any aſſiſtance could be given by backing the ſails, he unhappily diſappeared.

Dublin, 18th. Yeſterday intelligence was received in town of the death of col. Fitzgerald, who was lately guilty of a moſt ſhameful and diſhonourable act in the family of the preſent earl of Kingſton, by ſeducing a daughter of that much eſteemed nobleman, to whom he was allied, and in whoſe family he had been a conſtant viſitor. He met his death in the following manner:

After the diſcovery of this unfortunate criminal intercourſe, which occurred in England, and in conſequence of which a duel had taken place between the brother of the young lady (who is now lord Kingsborough) and the deceaſed, col. Fitzgerald, ſhe was removed to the country reſidence of her noble father, now the earl of Kingſton, at Mitchelſtown, near Kilworth in this kingdom. The deceaſed, feeling no remorſe for what he had done, in diſhonouring, by the moſt artful ſtratagems, an illuſtrious family, had the audacity and hardihood to follow the young lady to Ireland; it is ſuppoſed with a view to wreſt her by violence from her parents, and took lodgings at an inn in Kilworth. The colonel had been there ſome days before his arrival at Kilworth was made known, or the object of his expedition was diſcovered. He was obſerved to walk out in the night, and conceal himſelf in the day; and the ſervants at length noticed him lurking about Mitchelſtown houſe, at unſeaſonable hours. The intelligence having reached lord Kingſborough, who had had the duel with the colonel, and reſolved to defeat his antagoniſt's project, he left his

father's houſe, and went to Kilworth, where, having inquired if that gentleman was in the houſe, and being informed he was, he went to the apartment in which he was told that the colonel lodged. Lord Kingſborough rapped at the door, requiring admittance: the other knowing his voice, replied, that he was locked in, and could not open the door; but, if he had any thing to ſay to him, he would receive it in writing under the door. This enraged the young nobleman, and he forced open the door, and running to a caſe of piſtols in the room, took one, and deſired the colonel to take the other and defend himſelf; he was reſolved to have ſatisfaction for the ſcheme the deceaſed had formed againſt his ſiſter, and which he came to this place to put in execution. On both ſeizing the piſtols, they grappled with each other, and were ſtruggling, when the earl of Kingſton, who had been apprized of his ſon's departure in purſuit of the colonel, and quickly followed the young lord, entered the room, and finding them in the conteſt, and that his ſon muſt loſe his life from the ſituation the deceaſed had him in, the earl fired upon the colonel, not, we believe, with an intent to kill him, though his aggravation was great; but the ſhot took effect, and the colonel loſt his life, but not lamented by any one who has heard of his very diſhonourable conduct in this affair.

When Miſs King was taken by her father from England on account of her diſgrace, it was diſcovered, on her arrival in Dublin, that the ſervant maid who accompanied her, favoured the views of the ſeducer. On her conſequent diſmiſſal from the ſervice, ſhe returned to England, and was the bearer of a private letter to col. Fitzgerald, the contents of which were, it was ſaid, ſufficient to induce the colonel, even at the riſk of his life, to make an effort to regain the young lady; but his finances not enabling him to undertake the journey, he borrowed a ſum of money of an amiable woman, who ought ever to have been moſt dear to him, under the pretence of making a viſit to Dorſetſhire. Thus accommodated, he ſet out for the ſiſter kingdom, and arrived at the village of Kilworth, near Mitchelſtown, the reſidence of the noble family, the place where the young lady was kept, and whoſe conduct was then watched with particular vigilance.

This day the Grand National Thankſgiving took place; for an account of which ſee the Appendix to the Chronicle. 19th.

During the laſt ſeaſon the following ſhips paſſed the Sound, viz. 2,405 Engliſh, 2,017 Danes, 2,389 Swedes, 2,103 Pruſſians, 172 Papenburghers, 47 Hamburghers, 107 Oldenburghers, 139 Bremeners, 191 Roſtockers, 37 Lubeckers, 2 Courlanders, 81 Americans, and 31 Portugueſe.

Amount of armed ſhips belonging to France, Spain, and Holland, taken, burnt, or deſtroyed by the Engliſh, ſince the commencement of the war:

	Veſſels.	Guns.
Of 74 guns and upwards -	39	3,088
Two deckers under 74 - - -	10	630
Frigatesof 32 guns and upwards	46	1,798
Frigates under 32 guns - - -	18	388
Sloops, corvettes, &c. - -	587	2,808

Died, 12th, at his houſe in Norfolk-ſtreet, Strand, Richard Brockleſby, eſq. M. D. fellow of the College of Phyſicians and of the Royal Society, and one of the oldeſt phyſicians

phyſicians on the ſtaff of the army. He was highly eſteemed and reſpected as a learned and able phyſician, and as a truly benevolent and honeſt man. Dr. Brockleſby ſtudied and took the degree of M. D. at Leyden, where he probably formed that friendſhip with the late Mr. Wilkes, which continued to their lives end; and he attended him in conſequence of his duel with Mr. Martin, 1763. Preparatory to his degree, he read, and afterwards printed, at Leyden, 1745, 4to, "*Diſſertatio inauguralis, de Salivâ ſanâ et morboſâ.*" His next publication was, "*An Eſſay concerning the Mortality of Horned Cattle, London,* 1746." He was alſo the author of ſeveral papers in the Philoſophical Tranſactions. The doctor had one ſon, who was a private pupil to Mr. Wakefield, after he quitted the academy at Hackney.

26th. In Groſvenor-ſquare, in his 71ſt year, John Wilkes, eſq. F. R. S. alderman of the ward of Farringdon Without, and chamberlain of London. He was, in early life, colonel of the Buckinghamſhire militia; M. P. for Ayleſbury, and afterwards for the county of Middleſex; elected alderman 1769; ſheriff 1771; lord mayor 1774; and chamberlain 1779.

At Garreg, Flint, Mr. Griffiths, aged 92.—At Poughgill, Mrs. Mary Chilcott, aged 101.—At Studley, Mr. D. Claybrook, aged 100. He retained his faculties to the laſt, and walked every Sunday two miles to church, till within a few weeks of his death; and, about a year ſince, chimed three of the church bells without any aſſiſtance; ringing being his favourite exerciſe.—At Newark, Mr. Clay, aged 92.—In Ireland, S. Creagh, eſq. aged 91.

BIRTHS *in the Year* 1797.

Jan. 1. Viſcounteſs Deerhurſt, a ſon.
10. Counteſs of Aylesford, twins, a ſon and daughter.
14. Viſcounteſs Clifden, a ſon.
15. Lady of Paul Benfield, eſq. M. P. a ſon.
16. Viſcounteſs Galway, a ſon.
24. Lady of C. Shaw Lefevre, eſq. M. P. a ſon.
25. Lady Donne, a ſon.
26. Lady of R. Down, eſq. banker, a ſon, her 19th child.

Feb. 1. Rt. hon. lady Horatio Seymour, a ſon.
6. Counteſs of Guildford, a daughter.
8. Counteſs of Belfaſt, a ſon.
9. Lady of George Henry Roſe, eſq. M. P. a ſon.
11. Counteſs Temple, a ſon.
12. Lady Rodney, a ſon.
26. Lady of William Currie, eſq. M. P. a ſon.

Mar. 5. Lady of alderman Coombe, M. P. a ſon.
10. Lady of ſir Thomas Henry Liddel, bart. a ſon.
12. Lady of ſir James Bland Burges, bart. a daughter.
23. Counteſs of Mount Edgecumbe, a ſon.
27. Lady of ſir Richard Carr Glynn, knight, alderman, and M. P. a ſon.
28. Counteſs of Albemarle, a daughter.

Apr. 1. Hon. Mrs. Petre, a ſon.
3. Lady of Dr. Stewart, biſhop of St. David's, a daughter.

Apr. 8. Lady of ſir Alexander Grant, a ſon.
Lady of the hon. John Simpſon, a daughter.
11. Lady of ſir Richard Gamon, bart. M. P. a daughter.
16. Lady Carrington, a daughter.
Lady of ſir C. Watſon, a daughter.
Lady Charlotte Campbell, a daughter.
21. Lady of ſir George Wombwell, bart. a ſon.
May 13. Counteſs of Northeſk, a daughter.
15. Lady Mulgrave, a ſon and heir.
17. The wife of prince Maximilian of Saxony, brother to the elector, a ſon and heir.
19. At Liſbon, the princeſs of Brazil, a princeſs.
29. Lady Heathcote, a ſon.
June 1. Lady of ſir Robert Baker, a daughter.
8. Lady Charles Townſhend, a ſon.
18. Mrs. Dundas, lady of the lord advocate of Scotland, a ſon.
20. Lady Napier, a ſon.
26. Counteſs of Caſſilis, a daughter.
July 7. Lady of the hon. William Carr, a ſon.
8. Lady Bruce, a daughter.
16. Lady Margaret Maclean, a ſon.
21. Counteſs Hardwicke, a ſon.
30. Counteſs of Plymouth, a daughter.
31. Hon. Mrs. Stanley, a daughter.
Aug. 1. Lady Suttie, a ſon.
6. Lady of ſir John Chardin Muſgrave, bart. a ſon.
Aug. 15. Lady of Edmund Wigley, eſq. M. P. a daughter.
20. Lady of ſir J. Sinclair, bart. a ſon.
21. Lady of ſir Tho. Whichcote, bart. a ſon.
22. Lady Elizabeth Talbot, a daughter.
26. Lady Sherrard, a ſon.
28. Lady of ſir Geo. Glynn, bart. a daughter.
Sept. 4. Lady of ſir Tho. Parkyns, bart. a ſon.
6. Lady Charlotte Lennox, a ſon.
Lady Belgrave, a ſon.
7. Marchioneſs of Tweedale, a daughter.
13. Lady of ſir Geo. Pigot, bart. a daughter.
17. Lady Elizabeth Spencer, a daughter.
18. Ducheſs of Mancheſter, a daughter.
Oct. 9. Lady Elizabeth Finch Hatton, a daughter.
13. Lady of Thomas Anſon, eſq. M. P. a ſon.
15. Counteſs of Aboyne, a daughter.
17. Lady Mary Fludyer, a ſon.
21. Lady Mary Stopford, a ſon.
23. Lady of ſir James Graham, bart. a ſon.
24. Counteſs of Caithneſs, a ſon.
Counteſs of Sutherland, a daughter.
Nov. 5. Lady Lucy Bridgeman, a ſon.
14. Lady of the hon. captain William Seymour, a daughter.
Lady Helen Hall, a ſon.
Dec. 2. Lady Le Deſpenſer, a ſon.
15. Lady of ſir John Kennaway, bart. a ſon.

MAR-

MARRIAGES *in the Year* 1797.

Jan. 2. David Walker, Esq. nephew to the late general Leslie, to miss Ryan, sister to lady Hales.

Feb. 2. The earl of Westmeath, to lady Elizabeth Moore, eldest daughter to the earl of Drogheda.

6. Lord viscount Montague, to miss Frances Manby, second daughter of the late Thomas Manby, esq. of Bead's Hall, Essex.

13. The hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel, to the princess Augusta of Prussia, daughter of the king of Prussia.

16. Hon. Mr. Dundas, son of lord Dundas, to lady Caroline Beauclerk, daughter of the duke of St. Albans.

18. Sir John Kennaway, of Escot, Devonshire, bart. to miss Charlotte Amyatt, daughter of James Amyatt, esq. M. P. for Southampton.

28. Captain Halliday, son of lady Jane Halliday, to miss Eliza Stratford.

Mar. 4. Sir John Menzies, bart. to lady Charlotte Murray, daughter of the duke of Athol.

14. Col. Clinton, eldest son of the late sir H. Clinton, K. B. to the hon. Louisa Holroyd, youngest daughter of lord Sheffield.

—. Robert Bernard Sparrow, esq. to the hon. Miss Acheson, eldest daughter of lord viscount Gosford.

April 6. Colonel Grosvenor, M. P. nephew of earl Grosvenor, to miss Heathcote, sister to sir Gilbert Heathcote, bart.

14. Capel Hanbury, esq. of Pontpool-house, Monmouthshire, to lady Mackworth, of Gnoll Castle, Glamorganshire.

16. Rev. Edward Nares, youngest son of the late hon. justice Nares, to lady Georgina Charlotte Spencer, third daughter of the duke of Marlborough.

17. Lord viscount Brome, son of marquis Cornwallis, to lady Louisa Gordon, daughter of the duke of Gordon.

19. Lord viscount Garlies, eldest son of the earl of Galloway, to lady Jane Paget, second daughter of the earl of Uxbridge.

24. Lord Dunsany, to miss Smith, sister of Drummond Smith, esq.

May 1. Earl of Derby, to miss Farren.

2. Henry St. John, esq. youngest son of the late hon. and Rev. Andrew St. John, to miss Catharine Wigley.

—. Lieut.-colonel Scudamore, M. P. to miss Walwyn, daughter of James Walwyn, esq. M. P.

4. Hon. capt. Talbot, only brother of the earl of Shrewsbury, to miss Harriet Bedingfield, daughter of the rev. Bacon Bedingfield, of Ditchingham Hall, Norfolk.

13. John Wyldbore Smith, esq.

esq. only son of sir John Smith, bart. of Sydlinghouse, Dorset, to miss Elizabeth Anne Marriot.

18. His serene highness Frederic Charles William, hereditary prince of Wirtemberg, to her royal highness Charlotte Augusta Matilda, princess royal of England.

19. Rev. Richard Holwell, to lady Charlotte Hay, daughter of the late earl of Errol.

23. Rev. William Clay, to lady Burrel, relict of sir William Burrel, bart.

25. John Mosely, esq. to miss Payne Galloway, only daughter of S. P. Galloway, esq. and niece to lord Lavington.

30. William Wilberforce, esq. M. P. to miss Spooner, eldest daughter of Isaac Spooner, esq. of Emdonhouse, Warwick.

—. Sir Charles Edwards, to miss Howard.

—. Lord George Thynne, brother to the marquis of Bath, to miss Harriet Courtenay, sister to lord viscount Courtenay.

June 9. Rev. William Garner, eldest son of George Garner, esq. of Wickham, Hants, to miss North, eldest daughter of the bishop of Winchester.

23. Wenceslaus, count of Surgstall, count of the Holy Roman Empire, to miss Cranstoun, daughter of the late hon. George Cranstoun.

26. Lieut.-colonel Childers, to the hon. miss Eardley, daughter of lord Eardley.

—. Hon. capt. Carleton, eldest son of lord Dorchester, to miss Priscilla Belford, niece to sir Adam Williamson, K. B.

July 6. Lord Holland, to lady Vassal, only daughter of the late Richard Vassal, esq.

11. Hon. Francis Matthew, eldest son of lord viscount Landaff, to miss C. La Touche, daughter of John La Touche, esq.

26. John Quincy Adams, esq. ambassador from the United States of America to the court of Berlin, and son to John Adams, esq. president of the American States, to miss Louisa Johnson, daughter of Joshua Johnson, esq. London.

Aug. 1. Sir Thomas Pilkington, bart. to miss Tuffnell, eldest daughter of William Tuffnell, esq. of Langleys.

8. Lord Trimlestown, to miss Alicia Eustace, daughter of major-general Eustace.

17. Marquis of Carmarthen, to lady Charlotte Townshend, only daughter of marquis Townshend.

Sept. 11. Sir W. Vavasour, of Haslewood, York, bart. to miss Jane Langdale, daughter and heiress of William Langdale, esq. of Langthorpe.

16. David William, earl of Mansfield, to miss Frederic Markham, fourth daughter

daughter of the archbiſhop of York.

27. Mr. Benyon, ſon of the late governor Benyon, to miſs Sykes, daughter of ſir Francis Sykes, bart.

Oct. 12. Robert Cary Elwes, eſq. of Roxby-upon-Humber, to the hon. Caroline Pelham, ſecond daughter of lord Yarborough.

18. The hon. col. Robert Fulke Greville, younger brother of the earl of Warwick, to Louiſa counteſs dowager of Mansfield.

Nov. 27. Alexander Trotter, eſq. of Dreghorn, paymaſter of the navy, to miſs Lilias Stuart, daughter of the late ſir John Stuart, bart.

Dec. 5. The hon. Thomas Morton, eldeſt ſon of lord Ducie, to lady Frances Herbert, only daughter of the earl of Carnarvon.

—. Hon. Thomas Powys, eldeſt ſon of lord Lifford, to miſs Atherton, eldeſt daughter and heireſs of the late Robert Vernon Atherton, eſq. of Atherton Hall, Lancaſhire.

23. Lord Grey, ſon of the earl of Stamford, to the hon. miſs Charteris, daughter of lord Elcho.

PROMOTIONS *in the Year* 1797.

Jan. 18. Counteſs dowager of Elgin—governeſs to the princeſs Charlotte.

28. Right hon. William Pitt, Richard earl of Mornington, John Thomas Townſhend, and John Smith, eſqrs. and the right hon. Sylveſter Douglas—commiſſioners for executing the office of treaſurer of his majeſty's exchequer.

—. James Talbot, eſq.—ſecretary of legation to the Swiſs Cantons.

30. John Macnamara Hayes, M. D.—a baronet.

Feb. 14. Right reverend Henry Reginald Courtenay, biſhop of Briſtol—tranſlated to the ſee of Exeter.

John Forbes, eſq.—captain-general and governor in chief of the Bahama Iſlands.

15. Right honourable Lloyd lord Kenyon, lord chief juſtice of the court of king's bench—lord lieutenant of the county of Flint.

20. Alexander Græme, eſq. Geo. Keppel, eſq. and Samuel Reeve, eſq. rear admirals of the white, to be rear admirals of the red.—Andrew Mitchell, eſq. Charles Chamberlayne, eſq. Peter Rainier, eſq. ſir Hugh Cloberry Chriſtian, K. B. William Truſcott, eſq. and lord Hugh Seymour, rear admirals of the blue, to be rear admirals of the white.—Captains William Swiney, Charles Edmund Nugent, William Fooks, Charles Powell Hamilton, Edmund Dodd, Horatio Nelſon, Thomas Lenox Frederick, ſir Geo. Home, bart. and ſir Charles Cotton, bart. to be rear admirals of the blue.

Sir Andrew Snape Douglas, knt.—colonel in his majeſty's marine forces.

24. Paul Pechell, eſq. of Paggleſham, Eſſex—a baronet.

March 1. Thomas Langford Brooke, of Mere, eſq. appointed ſheriff of the county of Cheſter.

John Raymond Barker, of Fairford, esq. appointed sheriff of the county of Gloucester.

3. Robert Calder, esq. captain in the royal navy, knighted.

7. Sir George Keith Elphinstone, K. B. vice admiral of the blue, created a baron of the kingdom of Ireland, by the name, style, and title of baron Keith, of Stonehaven Marischal, with remainder to the heirs male of his body; and, in default of such issue male, to Margaret Mercer Elphinstone, only daughter of the said sir George Keith Elphinstone, and to the heirs male of her body.

18. Rev. Folliot Herbert Walker Cornwall, D. D. dean of Canterbury—bishop of Bristol.

21. Capt. Francis Rashleigh, of major-general Nichols's regiment—town major of Gibraltar.

—. Hon. lieutenant-colonel Alex. Hope, of the 14th foot—lieutenant-governor of Tynemouth and Clifford's Fort.

25. Major-general Andrew Gordon—lieutenant-governor of the island of Jersey.

28. Hon. Andrew Cochrane Johnstone—captain-general and governor in chief of Dominica.

29. Sir Joseph Bankes, K. B. sworn of his majesty's privy council.

31. Richard White, esq. of Bantry, county of Cork—an Irish peer, by the title of baron Bantry of Bantry.

April 14. William Bentinck, esq.—captain-general and governor in chief of St. Vincent, Bequia, and the Grenadines lying north of Curiaçou.

—. George Beckwith, esq.—governor and commander in chief of the Bermudas.

18. Stephen de Lancey, esq.—captain-general and commander in chief of Tobago.

26. Lord Charles Somerset, comptroller of his majesty's household; George Beckwith and Stephen de Lancey, esqrs. and the hon. Andrew Cochrane Johnstone—sworn of his majesty's privy council.

29. Major Henry Davis, of the late 93d foot—major of brigade to the forces in South Britain.

—. Major Lindelthal—deputy-quarter-master-general to the forces in Portugal, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army. Geo. Warden, esq—assistant-commissary-general to the said forces.

May 10. Henry Russell, esq. knighted, on being appointed one of the judges of the supreme court of judicature at Fort William in Bengal.

27. Sir John Jervis, K. B. admiral of the blue—baron Jervis, of Medford, county of Stafford, and earl of St. Vincent.

—. Charles Thompson, esq. vice-admiral of the blue, and William Parker, esq. rear-admiral of the red—baronets.

31. Charles Buggin, esq. of Thetford, county of Norfolk, knighted.

June 2. Right hon. Richard earl Howe—the order of the garter.

3. Capt. William Maxwell, of the late 93d foot, and capt. William Gray, of the 2d foot—majors of brigade to the forces in South Britain.

—. Lieut.-col. sir James Foulis, bart. of the Mid-Lothian fencible cavalry—fort-major and lieutenant of Edinburgh castle.

8. John Thomas Duckworth, esq.—colonel of his majesty's marine forces.

—. Charles lord viscount Dillon, of the kingdom of Ireland—constable

conſtable of the caſtle, town, and barony of Athlone, the half-barony of Moycarnan, county of Roſcommon, and the territory of Brawney, county of Weſtmeath.

14. Charles lord Romney—lord-lieutenant of the county of Kent.

—. His grace the duke of Athol, ſworn of his majeſty's privy-council.

29. Edmund Henry, baron Glentworth—ſworn of his majeſty's privy council in the kingdom of Ireland.

July 7. Sir John Cox Hippiſley, of Warfield-grove, Berks, bart. recorder of Sudbury, county of Suffolk, permitted to accept, uſe, and bear, the ducal arms of Wirtemberg.

8. Edmund Henry baron Glentworth—clerk of the banaper and clerk of the crown in his majeſty's high court of chancery in Ireland.

11. Walter earl of Ormond and Oſſory—ſworn of his majeſty's Iriſh privy council.

17. Charles earl of Ely, and Charles marquis of Drogheda—poſtmaſters-general of the kingdom of Ireland.

25. Hon. Robert Stewart, commonly called lord viſcount Caſtlereagh—keeper of his majeſty's ſignet, or privy-ſeal, of the kingdom of Ireland.

29. Frederick Chriſtian Lentz, eſq.—his majeſty's conſul at Magdebourgh and Stettin.

Aug. 2. Henry Lawes, earl of Carhampton—maſter-general of his majeſty's ordnance in Ireland.

12. Gen. ſir Charles Grey, K.B. —governor of the iſland of Guernſey.

26. James Ker, eſq. barriſter at law—judge of the court of vice-admiralty for Lower Canada.

—. George Iſted, eſq. of the middle Temple—agent, on the behalf of the public, for the affairs of the iſland of cape Breton, in North America.

Sept. 5. Major James Hadden, of the royal artillery—adjutant-general to the army ſerving in Portugal, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army.

—. Brevet-major William Doyle, of 24th foot—deputy-adjutant-general to the forces in Canada, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army.

14. George Leonard, eſq.—ſuperintendant to the trade and fiſheries on the coaſts of the provinces and iſlands in North America, from Gaſpee, in the gulph of the river St. Lawrence, unto and including the bay of Paſſimaquoddy.

19. Lieutenant general Gerard Lake—governor of Dumbarton-caſtle.

—. Major-general Patrick Bellew, of the 1ſt foot guards—lieutenant-governor of Quebec.

27. John Trevor, eſq. ſworn of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.

—. Rear Admiral ſir Horatio Nelſon—K. B.

30. Captain Colin Macdonald, of the 2d battalion of royals—major of brigade to the forces ſerving in Portugal.

—. Captain-lieutenant Spicer, of the royal artillery—lieutenant-governor of Fort Royal, in the iſland of St. Domingo.

Oct. 4. General ſir Charles Grey, K.B.—ſworn of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, and alſo as governor of the iſland of Guernſey.

—. John Anſtruther, eſq.—knighted.

7. W. Henry Souper, eſq.—deputy

puty commiſſary of muſters in the Weſt Indies.

—. Lieutenant-colonel John Sontag—military ſuperintendant of hoſpitals in South Britain.

9. Rev. John Buckner, LL. D.—biſhop of Chicheſter.

10. James earl of Lonſdale—a baron, and viſcount Lowther.

—. Richard earl of Mornington, in the kingdom of Ireland—an Engliſh peer, baron Welleſley of Welleſley, county of Somerſet; and Robert baron Carrington, in the kingdom of Ireland—baron Carrington, of Upton, county of Nottingham.

—. Right hon. Charles Townſhend—baron Bayning, of Foxley, Berks; right hon. James Grenville—baron Glaſtonbury, of Butleigh, county of Somerſet, with remainder to lieutenant-general Rd. Grenville, and his heirs male; right hon. Thomas Orde Powlet—baron Bolton, of Bolton-caſtle, county of York; right hon. ſir Gilbert Elliot, of Minto, bart.—baron of Minto, county of Roxburg; ſir John Wodehouſe, bart.—baron Wodehouſe, of Kimberly, county of Norfolk; ſir John Ruſhout, bart.—baron Northwick, of Northwick-park, county of Worceſter; Thomas Powis, eſq.—baron of Lilford, county of Northampton; Thomas Liſter, eſq.—baron Ribbelſdale, of Giſburne-park, in the weſt riding of Yorkſhire; James Drummond, eſq.—lord Perth, baron Drummond, of Stob-hall, county of Perth; and Francis Humberſtone Mackenzie, eſq.—lord Seaforth, baron Mackenzie, of Kintail, county of Roſs.

14. Captain James Maitland, of major-general Whyte's regiment—major of brigade to the forces at St. Domingo.

Richard earl of Shannon, K. P.; right hon. ſir John Parnel, bart. chancellor of his majeſty's exchequer in Ireland; the right hon. Thomas Pelham, chief ſecretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, or the chief ſecretary to the lord lieutenant for the time being; the right hon. John Monck Maſon, the right hon. Lodge Morres, and the right hon. Robert Stewart, commonly called lord viſcount Caſtlereagh—commiſſioners for executing the office of treaſurer of his Majeſty's exchequer in Ireland.

17. Adam Duncan, eſq. admiral of the blue—baron Duncan of Lundie, in the ſhire of Perth, and viſcount Duncan of Camperdown.

—. Richard Onſlow, eſq. vice admiral of the red—a baronet.

Nov. 4. Francis baron de Dunſtanville—baron Baſſet, of Stratton, county of Cornwall; with remainder to Frances Baſſet, his daughter, by Frances Suſannah baroness de Dunſtanville, his wife.

14. Armor Lowry, viſcount Belmore, of the kingdom of Ireland—earl Belmore, of the county of Fermanagh; Henry viſcount Conyngham — viſcount Mount Charles, county of Donegal, and earl Conyngham, of Mount Charles aforeſaid; Francis viſcount Landaff —earl Landaff, of Thomaſtown, county of Tipperary; Richard Hely, lord Donoughmore — viſcount Donoughmore, of Knocklofty, county of Tipperary, with remainder to the heirs male of Chriſtian Hely, baroneſs Donoughmore, deceaſed; Hugh baron Carleton, chief juſtice of his majeſty's court of common pleas—viſcount Carleton, of Clare, county of Tipperary; Margaret baroneſs Oriel, wife of the right hon. John Foſter — viſcounteſs Ferrard, of Oriel,

Oriel, and the dignity of viſcount Ferrard, of Oriel aforeſaid, to the heirs male of her body by the ſaid John Foſter; James lord Caledon —viſcount Caledon, of Caledon, county of Tyrone; Thomas viſcount Cremorne — baron Cremorne, of Dawſon-grove, county of Monaghan, with remainder to Richard Dawſon, eſq. nephew of the ſaid Thomas viſcount Cremorne; Richard lord Sunderlin—baron Sunderlin, of Baronſton, county of Weſtmeath, with remainder to his brother, Edmond Malone, of Shingles, county of Weſtmeath aforeſaid, eſq.; right hon. James Cuff—baron Tyrawley, of Balinrobe, county of Mayo; Chas. Stanley Monck, eſq. —baron Monck, of Ballytrammon, county of Wexford; Mrs. Grace Toler, wife of John Toler, eſq. his majeſty's ſolicitor-general of that kingdom—baroneſs Norwood, county of Tipperary, and the dignity of baron Norwood, of Knockalton, county of Tipperary aforeſaid, to the heirs male of her body by the ſaid John Toler; William Power Keating Trench, eſq.—lord Kilconnel, baron Kilconnel, of Garbelly, county of Galway; Charles William Bury, eſq.—baron Tullamore, of Charleville-foreſt, in the King's county; ſir George Allanſon Winn, bart.—lord Headley, baron Allanſon and Winn, of Aghadoe, county of Kerry; ſir John Shore, bart.—governor-general of India, baron Teignmouth, of Teignmouth; and Leonard Troughear Holmes, clerk—baron Holmes, of Kilmallock, county of Limerick.

20. Wm. Dowdeſwell, eſq.—captain-general and governor in chief of the Bahama iſlands in America.

25. Thomas Burke, of Marblehill, county of Galway, eſq.; John Jervis White Jervis, of Ballyellis, county of Wexford, eſq.; Thomas Mullins, of Burnham, county of Kerry, eſq.; John Edmond Browne, of Palmerſton, county of Mayo, eſq.; and Anthony Brabazon, of New Park, county of Mayo, eſq.—baronets of the kingdom of Ireland.

28. Lieutenant-colonel Richard Mark Dickens, of 35th foot—adjutant-general to the forces ſerving in the Weſt Indies; captain Henry Cuyler, of 30th foot—deputy adjutant-general to the ſaid forces, with the rank of major in the army; brigadier-general Duncan Cameron — quarter-maſter-general to the ſaid forces; major Benſon Bonham, 69th foot—deputy quarter-maſter-general to the ſaid forces, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

George Smith, gent.—deputy commiſſary of muſters in South Britain.

Dec. 9. Dame Ann Crofton—baroneſs Crofton, of Mote, county of Roſcommon.

12. Lieutenant-general ſir Ralph Abercrombie, K. B.—commander in chief of his majeſty's forces in Ireland.

Robert earl of Roden—one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy councillors in Ireland.

19. General Staates Long Morris—governor of Quebec.

30. John Haightley, of Fawſley, Northamptonſhire—a baronet.

DEATHS *in the Year* 1797.

Jan. 11. Jemima marchioneſs Grey, baroneſs Lucas. Her ladyſhip was the grand-daughter of Henry, laſt duke of Kent; daughter of

of John, third earl of Breadalbane, by the ſaid duke's eldeſt daughter Amabel Jemima; and widow of Philip, ſecond earl of Hardwicke, to whom ſhe was married, 1740, and by whom ſhe has left two daughters, Amabel, widow of lord Polwarth; and Jemima, widow of lord Grantham; to the eldeſt of whom deſcend the eſtates belonging to the duke of Kent, and the title of baroneſs Lucas. She was born October 19th, 1722.

—. Sir Samuel Egerton Leigh, bart.

14. John Stuart Wortley, eſq. M.P.

17. Aged 38, Henry Pelham, eſq. brother to the right hon. Thomas Pelham, ſecretary to the preſent lord lieutenant of Ireland.

18. In her 31ſt year, Elizabeth Anne lady Rancliffe.

—. Anne, counteſs dowager of Guildford.

In her 32d year, Lucy lady Sheffield, third daughter of Thomas lord Pelham, and ſecond wife of lord Sheffield, to whom ſhe was married December 26th, 1794. His firſt lady died April 3d, 1793.

—. Aged 45, the hon. and rev. William Bromley Cadogan.

—. At Burleigh-houſe, in her 24th year, the counteſs of Exeter. The earl of Exeter, being early in life divorced from his firſt wife, he married miſs Higgins; of the origin of which match the following account, ſaid to be authentic, is given by one of the periodical publications. The amiable woman whoſe virtues lately gave a luſtre to the title of counteſs of Exeter, and who died lamented by all who knew her, has ſomething ſo uncommonly intereſting in the hiſtory of her life, that a detailed ſketch of it cannot but be acceptable to every reader of ſenſibility. When the preſent earl was a minor, he married, at an early age, a lady, from whom he was afterwards divorced. After the ſeparation had taken place, the earl, his uncle, adviſed him to retire into the country for ſome time, and paſs as a private gentleman. Mr. Cecil accordingly bent his courſe into a remote part of Shropſhire; and fixing his reſidence at an inn, in a little rural village, he amuſed himſelf there for ſome months, paſſing by the name of Jones. As he had plenty of money, and was extremely liberal to all about him, ſome perſons in the neighbourhood conceived a notion that he had not come honeſtly by his riches, grew ſuſpicious of him, and ſhunned his company. They took him for an Indian nabob; and, as he paſſed along, he often heard the ruſtics exclaim, "There goes the London gentleman." Taking a diſlike to his ſituation at the inn, he ſought out a farm-houſe, where he might board and lodge; ſeveral families had refuſed to take him in, becauſe he was "too fine a gentleman, and they could not underſtand how he came by his money." At length, he found a ſituation which anſwered his purpoſe, and in conſideration of his liberal offers, and the knowledge of his poſſeſſing money, a farmer fitted him up a room. Here he continued to reſide for about two years, going up to London twice in the year, and returning with ſuch money as he had occaſion for; when he departed, the country people thought he was gone to gather in his rents, and became more aſſured of this, from his always returning with plenty of caſh. Time hanging heavy on his hands, he purchaſed ſome land, on which he intended to

build a houſe; but neither ſtone-maſon nor carpenter would undertake the job, for the reaſons already mentioned. He did not condeſcend to contradict the reports of the villagers; but offering to pay ſo much money beforehand, the tradeſmen, after ſome grave conſultation together, agreed to finiſh his work; this was done accordingly, and every perſon was paid to the full extent of his demands. The farmer, at whoſe cottage his lordſhip reſided, had a daughter, about ſeventeen years of age, whoſe ruſtic beauties threw at an infinite diſtance, all that his lordſhip had ever beheld in the circle of faſhion: the ſofteſt roſes that ever modeſty poured upon youth and lovelineſs, glowed upon her lips—her cheeks were tinged with the divine bloom of Hebe; and the purity of the huntreſs nymph was in her breaſt:

"Her lips were red—the one was thin
Compar'd to that was next her chin—
Some bee had ſtung it newly—"

—and, whenever any part of her neck or boſom was accidentally diſplayed, the "*Nitor ſplendens marmore purior*" dazzled the obſerver's eye. Although this charming maid was placed in the humble lot of life, his lordſhip perceived, that her beauty would adorn, and her virtue ſhed a luſtre on, the moſt elevated ſituation. One day, when the farmer returned home from his plough, Mr. Cecil frankly told them, that he liked their daughter, and would marry her, if they would give their conſent—"Marry our daughter!" exclaimed Mrs. Farmer, "what, to a fine gentleman?—No, indeed!" "Yes, marry her," ſays the huſband, "he ſhall marry her, and ſhe likes him—has he not houſe and land too, and plenty of money to keep her?" In fine, the matter was made up, and Mr. Cecil married this charming ruſtic. Maſters of every kind were now procured, and, in twelve months time, Mrs. Cecil became an accompliſhed woman, to the envy of the country girls around, and to the aſtoniſhment of the villagers, who now began to be reconciled to the ſuppoſed too fine a gentleman. It was not long before the news arrived of his uncle's death, when he found it neceſſary to repair to town. He accordingly ſet out, taking his wife with him, and on his journey, called at the ſeats of ſeveral noblemen, where, to the utter aſtoniſhment of his wife, he was welcomed in the moſt friendly manner. At laſt they arrived at Burleigh, in Northamptonſhire, the beautiful patrimonial ſeat of his lordſhip. Here they were welcomed with acclamations of joy. As ſoon as he had ſettled his affairs he returned into Shropſhire, diſcovered his rank to his wife's father and mother, put them into the houſe he had built there, and ſettled on them an income of 700 l. per annum. He afterwards took the counteſs with him to London, introduced her to the faſhionable world, where ſhe was reſpected, admired, adored, until it pleaſed the great Diſpenſer of providential events, to call the ſpirit of life to a more laſting region of happineſs. Her ladyſhip has left two ſons and one daughter.

22. Henry Iſherwood, eſq. M.P.

23. The counteſs of Wigtoun.

25. The infant twins of the earl and counteſs of Aylesford.

26. Right hon. Hew Macky, ſixth lord Reay.

—. Hon. and rev. John Ellis Agar, brother to the right hon. lord viſcount Clifden.

—. Lady

—. Lady Smythe, relict of ſir Edward Smythe, of Acton Burnell, Salop, and aunt to lord Clifford.

Feb. 1. Col. Frederic, ſon of Theodore king of Corſica. [See Chronicle.]

3. Shot himſelf, Richard Muilman French Chiſwell, eſq. M. P.

7. Hon. Mrs. C. Lindſay, wife of the hon. and rev. C. Lindſay.

10. Right hon. lady Mary Milſington, wife of lord viſcount Milſington.

14. Lady Morgan, wife of ſir Charles Morgan.

15. In his 81ſt year, ſir Robert Burdett, bart. of Foremark, in the county of Derby; for which county he ſerved the office of ſheriff ſo long ago as the year 1738.

17. Lady Anne Conolly, daughter of the third earl of Strafford.

22. Sir John Filmer, bart.

28. Edwin, lord Sandys.

—. Miſs Addiſon, only ſurviving daughter of the celebrated Joſeph Addiſon, eſq. [See Chronicle.]

March 2. At his houſe in Berkley-ſquare, in the 80th year of his age, the earl of Orford.—This nobleman, better known in the literary world, by the name of Horace Walpole, was the youngeſt ſon of ſir Robert Walpole, earl of Orford, who was, for many years, the firſt miniſter of ſtate of this country.—Horace was born about the year 1717. He was firſt at Eton School, and afterwards at Cambridge.—He was intimate with Gray, the celebrated lyric poet; and they ſet out together on a tour of Europe, in the year 1739, 1740, and 1741. A ſeparation, however, took place, in conſequence of a diſpute which aroſe between them, in the courſe of their travels. Mr. W. ſupported a ſplendid figure during the remainder of his travels; but Gray was obliged to obſerve a rigid economy. A reconciliation took place after their return to England, but the wound in their friendſhip left a ſcar that was never totally effaced. He was M. P. for Callington, in the parliament which met in June, 1741; and for Caſtle-Riſing, in 1747; and for King's Lynn, in 1754 and 1761; at the expiration of which parliament, he retired from public buſineſs, and attached himſelf wholly to literary purſuits. On the death of his nephew, the late lord Orford, he ſucceeded to the family title and eſtates.—In his great work, entitled, "A Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors," much induſtry and judicious criticiſm are diſplayed, in a ſprightly and faſhionable ſtyle. His hiſtoric doubts, reſpecting the character, conduct, and perſon, of Richard III. is replete with argument, ingenuity, and ſound knowledge. The only dramatic work he ever produced, was "The Myſterious Mother," a tragedy, printed at his own preſs, at Strawberry-hill, and not being intended for performance or publication, only 50 copies of it were circulated among his friends. The ſtory is well worthy of peruſal in the cloſet, although too horrid for theatric repreſentation; depicting the horrors of guilt with much poetic vigour, and a conſiderable knowledge of the human heart. "The Caſtle of Otranto," a romance, by this author, as an unique of the kind, was favourably received by the public, and produced an agreeable exerciſe of the ſeverer paſſions; it has been, however, the prolific parent of a number of ſtrange compoſitions, which daily load the preſs, and which are calculated

culated to excite apprehenſion and ſurpriſe, without ſhedding any new light on life or nature. His lordſhip alſo publiſhed "Anecdotes of Painters;" among which, are many intereſting particulars relative to the genius, the works, and the life of the inimitable Hogarth. He was one of the combination of wits, who ſupported Moore, in his periodical paper, entitled, The World; contributing many of the beſt articles to that entertaining miſcellany.—There are a great number of pieces of occaſional poetry ſcattered through various publications, which might be compiled into a volume, highly creditable to the taſte and talents of his lordſhip. All his lordſhip's works are marked by a playfulneſs of imagination, and a delicacy of wit; having rendered ſeveral dry ſubjects in the higheſt degree intereſting and amuſing. Lord Orford was agreeable and communicative in his manners, ſhone greatly in company, and was thought to poſſeſs a greater ſtock of literary and political anecdotes, than any other man in this country.—During almoſt the whole of his life, he was the victim of the gout, which at length wore him down to the ſtate of a cripple, and almoſt to a ſkeleton; his mental faculties, however, were never impaired by it, and, to the laſt, ſeemed to bid defiance to the ſhock of nature. Lord Orford never married: his favourite miſtreſs, through life, being the Muſe. A few years ago, he offered to marry either of the two Miſs Berrys, merely with the view to place either of them in a ſituation which might give ſplendour to their accompliſhments and virtues. Both thoſe ladies, however, declined the offer, without heſitation.—The portraits taken of this nobleman, in early life, totally vary from his real likeneſs afterwards, in conſequence of the continued infirmities, which changed his perſon. The only faithful repreſentation of him, which diſeaſe had left, was drawn by Mr. George Dance.—His lordſhip died worth 95,000 l. in the three per cents.; 50,000 l. of which he has deviſed in legacies. He has bequeathed 10,000 l. to the ducheſs of Glouceſter; 5000 l. to lady Waldegrave; 4000 l. to each of the Miſs Berrys; and 500 l. to each of his nephews; beſides ſmaller legacies. To Mrs. Damer, he has left Strawberry-hill, and 2000 l. a year, during her life; and to Mr. Berry, his preſs and manuſcripts; from which, his lordſhip's poſthumous works, including his letters, during forty years, and additions to his other works, will probably ſoon be publiſhed. By a codicil to his will, he has directed, that the boxes, containing his prints, be conveyed to Strawberry-hill, as heir looms appurtenant to that eſtate, which is entailed to the Waldegrave family, after the deceaſe of Mrs. Damer.

5. Elizabeth, counteſs dowager of Harborough, relict of the third earl of Harborough.

13. Lieutenant-general Cowper.

14. Elizabeth, counteſs of Derby, only daughter of James, the eighth duke of Hamilton and Brandon, by Elizabeth his wife, afterwards ducheſs of Argyle; ſiſter to Douglas, the tenth and preſent duke of Hamilton, &c. and wife of Edward, twelfth earl of Derby. Her ladyſhip completed her 44th year on the 26th of January laſt.

21. Charles Fitzroy, earl Southampton, ſecond brother to the duke of Grafton.

30. Lady

30. Lady Pitches, relict of ſir Abraham Pitches, and mother to lady Deerhurſt.

—. Sir Berney Brograve, baronet.

—. John Pratt, eſq. uncle to earl Camden.

April 6. Sir Harry Mainwaring, bart.

8. Robert Barclay, eſq. of Ury, M. P.

9. Lady Johnſtone.

15. Lady Elena Bennet, youngeſt daughter to the earl of Tankerville.

16. Sir John Dryden, bart. of Canon's Aſhby, in the county of Northampton. Sir J. D. was the ſecond ſon of —— Turner, eſq. formerly knight of the ſhire for the county of Oxford, and a very opulent and reſpectable gentleman. The conteſt of the father, as a candidate for a ſeat in parliament, forms a very memorable epoch in the hiſtory of Oxfordſhire: but in nothing is it more remarkable, than in the circumſtance of having brought the preſent earl of Liverpool into notice. When this occurred, Mr. Jenkinſon was a very young, and a very obſcure man; it was his good fortune, however, to have a knack of ballad-making, and he actually compoſed one on the occaſion here alluded to, that led to all his future greatneſs; for the member for the county of Oxford introduced him to lord Bute, and the whole nation is acquainted with the reſt of his hiſtory.

20. C. W. Jones, lord viſcount Ranelagh.

24. Hon. Charles Paget, youngeſt ſon of the earl of Uxbridge.

25. Hon. W. Seymour, ſon of lord W. Seymour.

29. Henry Leigh, viſcount Tracy.

—. George Barnwell, fifth viſcount Kingſland, of Turvey in Ireland.

—. Henry Lewis Charles Albert, reigning prince of Naſſau Saarbruck.

30. Eliz. counteſs of Marchmont. She was the daughter of Mr. Crompton, an eminent ſilk-mercer of London, and ſecond wife of Hume Campbell, earl of Marchmont, by whom (1747) ſhe had one ſon, lord Polwarth, who married Amabel, eldeſt of the two daughters of the late marchioneſs Grey, and was created baron Hume in England, but died without iſſue, 1781. She ſurvived her huſband, who made ſo diſtinguiſhed a figure in the oppoſition to ſir Robert Walpole, little more than three years, he dying Jan. 10, 1794.

May 1. The hon. Grace Trevor.

8. Archibald Erſkine, ſeventh earl of Kelly. His lordſhip was major of the 11th regiment of foot, and one of the 16 peers of Scotland, in the late parliament.

16. John Wallop, earl of Portſmouth, viſcount Lymington, baron Wallop, of Over Wallop in that county. His lordſhip ſucceeded his grandfather, as earl of Portſmouth, Nov. 23, 1762; married Urania Fellowes, youngeſt daughter of the late Coulſon Fellowes, eſq. by whom he had iſſue four ſons and four daughters, of whom are now living John Charles viſcount Lymington, now earl of Portſmouth; the honourable Newton Fellowes, of Eggesford, in the county of Devon, who changed his name in conſequence of a large property left him by his maternal uncle, the honourable Coulſon Wallop, M. P. for Andover; and three daughters.

19. In

19. In his 40th year, the honourable Simon Butler, third ſon of Edmund, the 10th lord viſcount Mountgarret of the kingdom of Ireland, brother of the late, and uncle of the preſent earl of Kilkenny. In 1794 he married Eliza, ſecond daughter of Edward Lynch, of Hampſtead, near Dublin, eſq. by whom he has left one only child, named Edward Lynch Butler, an infant, about nine months old. His remains were depoſited in the vault belonging to St. James's church.

20. Hon. James Hay, third ſon of the late earl of Errol.

21. Thomas Coventry, eſq. uncle to the earl of Coventry.

22. George Robert Clarke, huſband of the dowager lady Warwick.

— William Brabazon, ninth earl of Meath, killed in a duel with Mr. Gore.

23. Lady Mary Cecil, youngeſt daughter of the marquis of Saliſbury.

25. John Griffin Griffin, lord Howard de Walden, and lord Braybrooke, field-marſhal of his majeſty's forces, lieutenant, cuſtos rotulorum, and vice-admiral, of the county of Eſſex, colonel of the Queen's own dragoons, recorder of Saffron Walden, and K. B. With him the title of lord Howard de Walden becomes extinct.

— The hon. Mrs. C. Dillon, ſiſter to viſcount Dillon.

June 4. Sir A. S. Hammond, captain in the navy, and one of the colonels of marines. This officer received a contuſion in his head, on the 1ſt of June, 1794, from the effects of which, though ſlight in appearance, he never perfectly recovered, and which is thought to have haſtened his death.

6. Miſs Moore, only daughter of the archbiſhop of Canterbury.

11. Dowager lady Greſley.

14. The hon. Mrs. Olmius, lady of the hon. John Olmius, and ſiſter to the late lord Waltham.

21. Count Bernſtorff, firſt miniſter of Denmark.

— The earl of Roden.

24. Dennis Rolle, eſq. father of lord Rolle.

July 3. Lady Erſkine.

4. Sir Richard Symons, bart.

9. Rt. hon. Edmund Burke.

17. In an advanced age, the right honourable Dorothy counteſs dowager of Sandwich, one of the four daughters of Charles, firſt lord viſcount Fane, and one of the two ſurviving ſiſters and coheireſſes of Charles, the ſecond and laſt lord viſcount Fane. In March, 1740, ſhe was married to John, late earl of Sandwich, by whom ſhe has left the preſent earl of Sandwich, her only ſurviving iſſue.

20. Cornelius O'Callaghan, baron of Liſmore.

— The right hon. Edward Carey.

21. Peter Iſaac Thelluſſon, eſq. M. P.

22. The counteſs of Scarborough, ſiſter of ſir Geo. Savile.

25. Lady Mountſtewart, relict of John lord viſcount Mountſtewart, and ſole daughter of earl Dumfries.

— Mrs. Gunning, aunt to the late ducheſs of Argyle.

— Hon. Geo. Edward Devereux, eldeſt ſon of lord viſcount Hereford.

— The lady of ſir Cha. Hamlyn, bart. M. P.

— Charles D'Auvergne, eſq. father of the prince of Bouillon.

Aug. 3. At his ſeat at Montreal,

near Seven Oaks, Kent, in his 81ſt year, the right hon. Jeffery lord Amherſt, of Holmeſdale, K. B. privy counſellor to his majeſty, governor of Guernſey, field-marſhal in the army, and colonel of the 2d regiment of life-guards, and of the 60th (or royal American) regiment of foot. He is ſucceeded in titles and eſtates by his nephew, William Pitt Amherſt.

5. Lady Auguſta Elizabeth Finch, youngeſt daughter of the late earl of Winchelſea.

6. James Petit Andrews, eſq. F. R. S.

8. Thomas Peter Leigh, eſq. M.P.

9. Frances, wife of lord Charles Fitzroy.

18. Lord viſcount Montmorres. [See Chronicle.]

25. In his 35th year, the honourable Robert George William Trefuſis, lord Clinton. He is ſucceeded in titles and eſtates by his eldeſt ſon; has left ſix children, and his lady pregnant with the ſeventh. His remains were interred in the family vault at Trefuſis, in the county of Cornwall.

— Elizabeth, lady Cranſtoun, relict of the late lord Cranſtoun. She died, in her 27th year, of a decline brought on by grief, for the death of her huſband, who died in Sept. 1796.

Sept. 1. At his palace at Chicheſter, the right rev. ſir William Aſhburnham, bart. D. D. the venerable biſhop of that ſee, and rector of Geſtling, in Suſſex. He was the father of the Engliſh bench, and the only biſhop not appointed by his preſent majeſty.

Hon. Penn Aſheton Curzon, ſon of lord Curzon.

2. John Gunning, eſq. brother to the ducheſs of Argyle.

9. Rt. hon. ſir Skeffington Smith, bart.

12. Barbara, counteſs dowager of Newburgh.

14. The lady of ſir Geo. Evelyn, bart.

17. Lady Georgina Johnſtone, ſecond daughter of the earl of Hopetown.

20. Hon. Edward James Eliot, M. P.

Lady Clarke, relict of ſir Robert Clarke, bart.

22. Lady Farquhar, wife of ſir Walter Farquhar, bart.

23. Rev. ſir Thomas Edwards, bart.

25. Rt. hon. lady Dormer.

Sir Capel Molyneux, bart.

Lady Eliz. Callender, ſiſter to the marquis of Antrim.

Oct. 4. The hon. Mrs. A. King, aunt to lord King.

6. Sir John Stewart, bart.

Lady Charlotte William Beauclerck, wife of lord William Beauclerck.

11. Maria Matilda, ducheſs dowager of Albany, natural daughter of the laſt pretender to the Engliſh throne.

13. Lady Dixie, relict of ſir W. Dixie, bart.

14. The right hon. Robert lord Bellenden.

15. Elizabeth, lady Moſley.

17. Hon. Geo. Murray, vice admiral of the white.

20. Hon. Robert Rochfort, brother to the earl of Belvidere.

26. Mrs. Gee, aunt of lord Camden.

Nov. 2. Sir James Riddel, bart.

7. Rev. ſir Geo. Booth, bart.

9. The hon. Mrs. Walpole.

13. Edward earl of Kingſton.

15. Marcus Beresford, eſq. M. P.

16. About

16. About nine o'clock in the morning, of a dropſy, at his new palace of Sans Souci, near Potſdam; his Pruſſian majeſty, Frederic William the ſecond. Since his return from Pyrmont, the principal phyſicians deſpaired of his recovery; yet the king enjoyed ſo ſtrong a conſtitution, that his firſt illneſs was that of which he died. His majeſty was born September 25th, 1744; had reigned 11 years; and is ſucceeded by his ſon, Frederic William, born Auguſt 3d, 1770. In whatever light the character of this monarch is to be viewed, it will appear not altogether problematical. The ambition of the houſe of Brandenburgh actuated him, as it had done his predeceſſor; and the meaſures he took to gratify it, whether by the partition of Poland, the treaty of Pilnitz, or the ſeparate peace with the French republic, will, in the eſtimation of impartial judges, be deemed alike unworthy. His favourite miſtreſs was, on the acceſſion of his ſucceſſor, immediately apprehended, and committed to cloſe cuſtody for life.

18. Sir W. J.W. S. Gardiner, bart.

22. Lady Mary Irvine, daughter of George earl of Granard, and relict of J. Irvine, eſq.

25. In the 76th year of his age, and 40th of his epiſcopacy, the right reverend Charles Walmeſley, lord biſhop of Rama, vicar apoſtolic of the weſtern diſtrict, and ſenior biſhop and vicar apoſtolic, doctor of theology in Sorbonne, F. R. S. and the laſt ſurvivor of the eminent mathematicians who were conſulted for calculating the alteration from the old to the new ſtyle; author of ſeveral literary works, particularly an Explanation of the Apocalypſe, Ezekiel's Viſion, &c. By the fire at Bath, ſome years ſince, at the time of the riots, we believe, the other valuable MSS. he had been compiling during a well-ſpent life of labour and travelling through many countries before his return to England, were all irretrievably loſt.

27. The Rt. hon. lord viſcount Montague.

29. Lady Leſlie, wife of lord Leſlie, and daugh. of lord Pelham.

Dec. 4. Lady Skynner, wife of the right hon. ſir John Skynner.

—Sir John Croft, bart.

5. Benjamin Lethullier, eſq. M.P.

8. The moſt noble Henry de Burgh, marquis and earl of Clanrickard, and lord Dunkellin, of the kingdom of Ireland, and a knight of the order of St. Patrick. He was the ſenior marquis of that kingdom, and born in 1742. Having left no male iſſue, the marquiſate becomes extinct, but the earldom, with his eſtates, deſcend to his brother, general de Burgh.

12. At Exeter, whither he went for the recovery of his health, the honourable Thomas Bruce, ſon of William, earl of Kincardine, and brother to the late earl of Elgin and Kincardine, a lieutenant-general in the army, colonel of the 16th regiment of foot, and M. P. for Great Bedwin, Wilts. His remains were depoſited, on the 20th, in Exeter cathedral, with military honours.

13. Lady Jennings Clarke, relict of ſir Philip Jennings Clarke, bart.

— General James Johnſtone, governor of Quebec.

15. Sir Alex^r Craufurd, bart.

23. At Stutgard, Frederic Eugene, reigning duke of Wirtemberg.

SHERIFFS

Appointed by his Majeſty in Council, for the Year 1797.

Bedfordſhire, John Higgins the elder, of Turvey:

Berks, Bartholomew Tipping, of Wooley:

Bucks, John Sullivan, of Richings Park:

Cambridge and *Huntingdonſhire*, William Waller, of Cheſterton:

Cheſhire, John Leche, of Stretton:

Cumberland, Hugh Parkin, of Skirſgill:

Derbyſhire, Charles Hurt, of Wirkſworth:

Devonſhire, John Seal, of Mount Boon:

Dorſetſhire, William Richards the younger, of Smedmore:

Eſſex, William Manby, of Stratford:

Glouceſterſhire, William Tindall, of North Cerney:

Herefordſhire, John Barneby, of Brockhampton, eſqrs.

Hertfordſhire, Sir John Saunders Sebright, of Beechwood, baronet.

Kent, George Grote, of Beckenham:

Leiceſterſhire, Samuel Bracebridge Abney, of Lindley:

Lincolnſhire, John Cracroft, of Hackthorne:

Monmouthſhire, Thomas Houghton, of Pontypool:

Norfolk, Joſeph Wyndnom, of Herſham, eſqrs.

Northamptonſhire, ſir William Langham, of Catſbrook, bart.

Northumberland, Matthew Bell, of Wolſington;

Nottinghamſhire, John Galley Knight, of Warſop:

Oxfordſhire, James Jones, of Atwell:

Rutlandſhire, Thomas Hunt, of Wing:

Shropſhire, William Tayleur, of Bantingſdale:

Somerſetſhire, Samuel Day, of Chartolhouſe:

Southampton, John Compton, of Minſtead, eſqrs.

Staffordſhire, Sir R. Lawley, of Canwell, bart.

Suffolk, Chaloner Archdeckne, of Glemham:

Surrey, Robert Taylor, of Ember Court:

Suſſex, Charles Scraſe Dickins, of Brighthelmſtone:

Warwickſhire, Robert Knight, of Barrells, eſqrs.

Wiltſhire, ſir John Methuen Poore, of Ruſhall, bart.

Worceſterſhire, Moſes Harper, of Aſtley, eſq.

Yorkſhire, ſir John Ramsden, of Bryam, bart.

South Wales.

Brecon, John Macnamara, of Llangoed Caſtle, eſq.

Cardigan, James Nathaniel Taylor, of Stradmore, eſq.

Caermarthen, David Sanders, of Glamerhydw, eſq.

Glamorgan, Robert Nous, of Court-yr-Ala, eſq.

Pembroke, Abraham Leach, of Corſton, eſq.

Radnor, Percival Lewis, of Downton, eſq.

North

NORTH WALES.

Angleſea, Richard Jones, of Trofly Marian, eſq.

Caernarvon, ſir Edward Price Lloyd, of Panlyglaſs, bart.

Denbighſhire, Robert Heſketh, of Gwrych, eſq.

Flint, John Edward Maddocks, of Vrno Jw, eſq.

Merioneth, Bell Lloyd, of Crogen, eſq.

Montgomery, Robert Knight, of Gwernygoe, eſq.

SHERIFF *appointed by his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, in Council, for the Year* 1797.

County of Cornwall, William Slade Gully, of Trevenen, eſq.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

EXTRACTS *from the* LONDON GAZETTES.

Whitehall, January 17th.

Extract of a letter from the lord lieutenant of Ireland to the duke of Portland, dated Dublin Caſtle, January 10.

I HAVE the ſatisfaction to acquaint your grace, that, ſince the information tranſmitted to Mr. Grenville, the French had entirely left Bantry Bay, there has been no re-appearance of them upon the coaſts; ſo that I truſt, from the violence of the tempeſt, and from their ſhips being ill found and ill victualled, their expedition is for the preſent fruſtrated. Upon reviewing what has paſſed during this expedition of the enemy, I have the ſatisfaction to reflect, that the beſt ſpirit was manifeſted by his Majeſty's regular and militia forces; and I have every reaſon to believe, that, if a landing had taken place, they would have diſplayed the utmoſt fidelity. When the flank companies of the Antrim regiment were formed, the whole regiment turned out, to a man, with expreſſions of the greateſt eagerneſs to march; and the Downſhire regiment, to a man, declared they would ſtand or fall by their officers. At the time the army was ordered to march, the weather was extremely ſevere; I therefore ordered them a proportion of ſpirits upon their route, and directed an allowance of fourpence a day to their wives until their return. During their march, the utmoſt attention was paid them by the inhabitants of the towns and villages through which they paſſed; ſo that, in many places, the meat provided by the Commiſſariat was not conſumed. The roads, which in parts had been rendered impaſſable by the ſnow, were cleared by the peaſantry. The poor people often ſhared their potatoes with them, and dreſſed their meat without demanding payment; of which there was a very particular inſtance in the town of Banagher, where no gentleman or principal farmer reſides to ſet them the example. At Carlow, a conſiderable ſubſcription was made for the troops as they paſſed; and at Limerick and Cork, every exertion was uſed to facilitate the carriage of artillery and baggage by premiums to the carmen; and in the town of Galway, which for a ſhort time was left with a very inadequate garriſon,

garriſon, the zeal and ardour of the inhabitants and yeomanry was peculiarly manifeſted, and in a manner to give me the utmoſt ſatisfaction. In ſhort, the general good diſpoſition of the people through the ſouth and weſt was ſo prevalent, that, had the enemy landed, their hope of aſſiſtance from the inhabitants would have been totally diſappointed. From the armed yeomanry, government derived the moſt honourable aſſiſtance. Noblemen and gentlemen of the firſt property vied in exerting themſelves at the head of their corps. Much of the expreſs and eſcort duty was performed by them. In Cork, Limerick, and Galway, they took the duty of the garriſon. Lord Shannon informs me, that men of three and four thouſand pounds a year were employed in eſcorting baggage and carrying expreſſes. Mr. John Latouche, who was a private in his ſon's corps, rode twenty-five miles in one of the ſevereſt nights, with an expreſs, it being his turn for duty. The merchants of Dublin, many of them of the firſt eminence, marched ſixteen Iriſh miles with a convoy of arms to the north, whither it was conducted by reliefs of yeomanry. The appearance in this metropolis has been highly meritorious. The corps have been formed of the moſt reſpectable barriſters, attornies, merchants, gentlemen, and citizens; and their number is ſo conſiderable, and their zeal in mounting guard ſo uſeful, that I was enabled greatly to reduce the garriſon with perfect ſafety to the town. The numbers of yeomanry fully appointed and diſciplined, in Dublin, exceed 2,000, above 400 of whom are horſe. The whole number of corps approved by government amount to 440, excluſive of the Dublin corps. The groſs number is nearly 25,000. There are alſo ninety-one offers of ſervice under conſideration, and 125 propoſals have been declined; and, in reply to a circular letter written to the commandants of the reſpective corps, their anſwers almoſt univerſally contained a general offer of ſervice in any part of the kingdom. Many prominent examples of individual loyalty and ſpirit have appeared. An uſeful impreſſion was made upon the minds of the lower catholics by a judicious addreſs from Dr. Moylan, the titular biſhop of Cork. I cannot but notice the exertions of Lord Kenmare, who ſpared no expenſe in giving aſſiſtance to the commanding officer in his neighbourhood, and who took to his own demeſne a great quantity of cattle which had been driven from the coaſt. Nor could any thing exceed the ardour of the Earl of Ormonde, who, when his regiment of militia were returned as part of the garriſon of Dublin, ſolicited with ſo much zeal a command in the flank companies, that I thought it a meaſure due to his majeſty's ſervice to encourage his lordſhip's requeſt.

Admiralty Office, Jan. 21, 1797. Copy of a letter from Sir Edward Pellew, bart. captain of his Majeſty's frigate, Indefatigable, to Evan Nepean, eſq. dated January 17, 1797.

I have the honour to make known to you, for the information of the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, that on Friday laſt the 13th inſtant, at half paſt noon, in latitude

47 deg. 30 min. N. Uſhant bearing N. E. 50 leagues, we diſcovered a large ſhip in the N. W. quarter, ſteering under eaſy ſail for France; the wind was then at weſt, blowing hard, with thick hazy weather. I inſtantly made the ſignal to the Amazon for a general chaſe, and followed it by the ſignal that the chaſe was an enemy. At four P. M. the Indefatigable had gained ſufficiently upon the chaſe, for me to diſtinguiſh very clearly that ſhe had two tier of guns, with her lower deck ports ſhut, and that ſhe had no poop.

At fifteen minutes before ſix we brought the enemy to cloſe action, which continued to be well ſupported on both ſides near an hour, when we unavoidably ſhot a-head; at this moment the Amazon appeared a-ſtern, and gallantly ſupplied our place; but the eagerneſs of captain Reynolds to ſecond his friend, had brought him up under a preſs of ſail, and, after a well ſupported and cloſe fire for a little time, he alſo unavoidably ſhot a-head. The enemy, who had nearly effected running me on board, appeared to be much larger than the Indefatigable, and, from her very heavy fire of muſquetry, I believe was full of men; this fire was continued until the end of the action with great vivacity, although ſhe frequently defended both ſides of the ſhip at the ſame time.

As ſoon as we had replaced ſome neceſſary rigging, and the Amazon had reduced her ſail, we commenced a ſecond attack, placing ourſelves, after ſome raking broadſides, upon each quarter; and this attack, often within piſtol ſhot, was by both ſhips unremitted for above five hours: we then ſheered off to ſecure our maſts. It would be needleſs to relate to their Lordſhips every effort that we made in attack, which commenced at a quarter before ſix P. M. and did not ceaſe, excepting at intervals, until half paſt four A. M. I believe ten hours of more ſevere fatigue was ſcarcely ever experienced; the ſea was high, the people on the main deck up to their middles in water, ſome guns broke their breechings four times over, ſome drew the ring-bolts from the ſides, and many of them were repeatedly drawn immediately after loading; all our maſts were much wounded, the main top-maſt completely unrigged, and ſaved only by uncommon alacrity.

At about twenty minutes paſt four, the moon opening rather brighter than before, ſhewed to lieutenant George Bell, who was watchfully looking out on the fore-caſtle, a glimpſe of the land; he had ſcarcely reached me to report it, when we ſaw the breakers. We were then cloſe under the enemy's ſtarboard bow, and the Amazon as near her on the larboard; not an inſtant could be loſt, and every life depended upon the prompt execution of my orders; and here it is with heart-felt pleaſure I acknowledge the full value of my officers and ſhip's company, who, with incredible alacrity, hauled the tacks on board, and made ſail to the ſouthward. The land could not be aſcertained, but we took it to be Uſhant; and in the bay of Breſt, crippled as we were, I had no particular fears; but before day we again ſaw breakers upon the lee bow; the ſhip was inſtantly wore to the northward, and being then ſatisfied that the land we had before ſeen was not Uſhant, the lingering approach

approach of day-light was moſt anxiouſly looked for by all; and ſoon after it opened, ſeeing the land very cloſe a-head, we again wore to the ſouthward, in twenty fathoms water, and a few minutes after diſcovered the enemy, who had ſo bravely defended herſelf, lying on her broadſide, and a tremendous ſurf beating over her. The miſerable fate of her brave but unhappy crew was perhaps the more ſincerely lamented by us, from the apprehenſion of ſuffering a ſimilar misfortune. We paſſed her within a mile, in a very bad condition, having at that time four feet water in our hold, a great ſea, and the wind dead on the ſhore; but we had aſcertained, beyond a doubt, our ſituation to be that of Hodierne Bay, and that our fate depended upon the poſſible chance of weathering the Penmark rocks. Exhauſted as we were with fatigue, every exertion was made, and every inch of canvas ſet that could be carried, and at eleven A. M. we made the breakers, and, by the bleſſing of God, weathered the Penmark rocks about half a mile.

The Amazon had hauled her wind to the northward, when we ſtood to the ſouthward; her condition I think was better than ours, and I knew that her activity and exertions were fully equal to any thing that could be effected under ſimilar circumſtances; the judgment with which ſhe was managed during ſo long an action, and the gallantry of her attacks, could not but merit the higheſt commendation, and to the heart of a friend it was peculiarly gratifying. I have full as much reaſon to ſpeak highly of my own officers and men, to whom I owe infinite obligations. The lieutenants Thomſon, Norway, and Bell, lieutenants O'Connor and Wilſon, of the marines, and Mr. Thomſon, the maſter, have abundant claims upon my gratitude, as well as every inferior officer in the ſhip. The ſufferings of the Amazon are unknown to me; and I am ſingularly happy to ſay that my own are inconſiderable. The firſt lieutenant, Mr. Thomſon, a brave and worthy officer, is the only one of that deſcription wounded, with eighteen men; twelve of which number have wounds of no ſerious conſequence, conſiſting chiefly of violent contuſions from ſplinters.

I am, &c.

(Signed) E. PELLEW.

A court martial was ſubſequently holden on board his majeſty's ſhip Cambridge, in Hamoaze, to enquire into the cauſe and circumſtances of the loſs of his majeſty's ſhip Amazon, and to try capt. Robert Carthew Reynolds, the officers, and company of the ſaid ſhip, for their conduct upon that occaſion. It appeared, 'That his majeſty's ſhip Amazon was loſt after a well diſputed action with a French ſhip, of 74 guns, Les Droits de l'Homme, in Audierne Bay, the Amazon having ſuffered materially in her maſts and rigging, and being far in ſhore at the cloſe of the engagement. And the court is of opinion, that too much praiſe cannot be awarded to the captain, officers, and crew, of the Amazon; by which, in conjunction with the Indefatigable, a ſhip of the enemy's line was deſtroyed; and the court do conſider the loſs of the Amazon to be the reſult of a noble purſuit of an enemy

* See *a Narrative*, at p. *127.

my on her own coaſt; and, with reſpect to it, do conſequently acquit captain Reynolds, his officers, and crew, with every ſentiment of its higheſt approbation. And captain Reynolds, his officers, and crew, are hereby moſt honourably and fully acquitted accordingly.

The following admirable letter, written by captain Reynolds, was ſent to the admiralty, but never appeared in the gazette. The letter was produced in court.

Quimper, January 20, 1797.

Sir,

It is with inexpreſſible concern that I have to acquaint you, for the information of their lordſhips, of the fate of his majeſty's ſhip Amazon, wrecked on the French coaſt in Audierne Bay, on the 14th inſt. Their lordſhips are already acquainted, by ſir E. Pellew, of our ſhattered condition towards the end of our united action with Les Droits de l'Homme (a French man-of-war, of 74 guns, and 1600 men, ſailors and troops), commanded by captain, ci-devant baron, le Croſs. The various ſituations and changes incident to ſo long an action, I forbear to mention; ſir E. Pellew having unqueſtionably done it in a better manner than I am able. The Amazon began to engage about ſeven o'clock in the evening on the 13th, an hour after ſir Edward had gallantly commenced the action, and continued a running fight until five the next morning, which brought us 40 leagues from where we began the chaſe, near the French coaſt; and the wind blowing ſtrong directly upon the ſhore, in the eagerneſs of purſuit, and during the heat of battle, we were unable accurately to calculate the diſtance we had run; and our maſts, yards, and rigging, being miſerably ſhattered, it was not poſſible for us to work off ſhore. Our mizen-top-maſt, gaff, ſpanker-boom, and main-top-ſail yard, were entirely ſhot away; the main and fore maſts, the fore and main yards, wounded in ſeveral places by large ſhot, ſome of which we judged to be 36-pounders; our ſhrouds, ſtays, and back-ſtays, many of them ſhot away, beſides what we had knotted and ſtoppered in the action; and our cordage all expended in reeving running-rigging. In this condition, ſir, and with three feet water in our hold, we ſtruck the ground a little after five in the morning, and not more than ten minutes after we had ceaſed firing. Les Droits de l'Homme met with a ſimilar fate a little diſtance from us, and almoſt at the ſame moment. From half-paſt five to nine o'clock, we were employed in making rafts to ſave the men; and it gives me unſpeakable comfort, that not a man was loſt after the ſhip ſtruck the ſhore, except ſix that ſtole away the cutter from the ſtern, and were drowned. Myſelf and officers quitted not the ſhip till with great care and pains we got the wounded and every man out of her. We were received on ſhore by a party of ſoldiers, who conducted us to the little town of Audierne, about a league from the ſhip. Thence they marched us to Dournancy to Quimper, where we now remain, and are well treated. I am not able to expreſs my ſatisfaction for the noble ſupport I received from the officers in general, and petty officers, during the action: to particulariſe either, I hope, will not be conſidered as taking from the merits of the whole; but Mr. Littlehales, the

the first lieutenant, being constantly on the quarter-deck with me throughout the whole of the action, it would be unjust and ungrateful in me not to acknowledge the ample assistance he afforded in every situation, throughout the course of so long and trying a conflict; and if a man, who has unfortunately lost his ship, (through I hope not dishonourably,) may be permitted, I humbly beg leave to recommend Mr. Littlehales to their lordships' notice and patronage. I hope this will not be deemed to derogate from the merits of lieutenants Nichols and Thomas, who were quartered on the main-deck, and who, during a great part of the action, fought half way up their legs in water, cheering and inspiring courage to all around them by their own animated and gallant example. Mangled as we were in our hull, as well as in our masts, yards, and rigging, thanks to Almighty God, we had but three men killed, and 15 badly wounded. I rest firmly assured, that sir E. Pellew has done ample justice to my conduct in his representation of the engagement to their lordships; and I humbly hope no blemish will attach to my character, for a misfortune occasioned by an impatient ardour to signalise British valour opposed to superior force.

I have the honour, &c.

R. C. Reynolds.

London Gazette Extraordinary, Monday, Feb. 27.

Whitehall, Feb. 27.

A letter, of which the following is a copy, has been this day received from the right honourable lord Cawdor, by his grace the duke of Portland, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department.

Fishgard, Friday, Feb. 24.

My Lord,

In consequence of having received information, on Wednesday night at eleven o'clock, that three large ships of war and a lugger had anchored in a small roadsted upon the coast, in the neighbourhood of this town, I proceeded immediately, with a detachment of the Cardigan militia and all the provincial force I could collect, to the place. I soon gained positive intelligence they had disembarked about 1200 men, but no cannon. Upon the night's setting in, a French officer, whom I found the second in command, came in with a letter, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose to your grace, together with my answer; in consequence of which they determined to surrender themselves prisoners of war, and accordingly laid down their arms this day at two o'clock. I cannot at this moment inform your grace of the exact number of prisoners, but I believe it to be their whole force. It is my intention to march them this night to Haverfordwest, where I shall make the best distribution in my power. The frigates, corvette, and lugger got under weigh yesterday evening, and were this morning entirely out of sight. The fatigue we have experienced will, I trust, excuse me to your grace for not giving a more particular detail; but my anxiety to do justice to the officers and men I had the honour to command, will induce me to attend your grace, with as little delay as possible

poſſible, to ſtate their merits, and at the ſame time to give you every information in my power upon this ſubject. The ſpirit of loyalty which has pervaded all ranks throughout this country, is infinitely beyond what I can expreſs.

I am, &c.

CAWDOR.

Cardigan Bay, 5th of Ventoſe, 5th year of the Republic.

Sir,

The circumſtances under which the body of French troops under my command were landed at this place, renders it unneceſſary to attempt any military operations, as they would tend only to bloodſhed and pillage. The officers of the whole corps have therefore intimated their deſire of entering into a negotiation, upon principles of humanity, for a ſurrender. If you are influenced by ſimilar conſiderations, you may ſignify the ſame by the bearer, and in the mean time hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe. Health and reſpect.

TATE, Chef de Brigade.

To the Officer commanding His Britannic Majeſty's troops.

Fiſhgard, Feb. 23.

The ſuperiority of the force under my command, which is hourly increaſing, muſt prevent my treating upon any terms ſhort of your ſurrendering your whole force priſoners of war. I enter fully into your wiſh of preventing an unneceſſary effuſion of blood, which your ſpeedy ſurrender can alone prevent, and which will entitle you to that conſideration it is ever the wiſh of Britiſh troops to ſhew an enemy whoſe numbers are inferior. My major will deliver you this letter, and I ſhall expect your determination by ten o'clock, by your officer, whom I have furniſhed with an eſcort that will conduct him to me without moleſtation.

I am, &c.

CAWDOR.

To the Officer commanding the French troops.

London Gazette Extraordinary.

Admiralty Office, March 3, 1797.

Robert Calder, eſq. firſt captain to admiral ſir John Jervis, bart. arrived this morning with diſpatches from him to Mr. Nepean, of which the following are copies.

Victory, in Lagos Bay,

Sir, *Feb. 16, 1797.*

The hopes of falling in with the Spaniſh fleet, expreſſed in my letter to you of the 13th inſtant, were confirmed that night, by our diſtinctly hearing the report of their ſignal guns, and by intelligence received from captain Foote, of his majeſty's ſhip the Niger, who had, with equal judgment and perſeverance, kept company with them for ſeveral days, on my preſcribed rendezvous (which, from the ſtrong ſouth-eaſt winds, I had never been able to reach), and that they were not more than the diſtance of three or four leagues from us. I anxiouſly awaited the dawn of day, when, being on the ſtarboard tack, Cape St. Vincent bearing eaſt by north eight leagues, I had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing a number of ſhips extending from ſouth-weſt to ſouth, the wind then at weſt and by ſouth. At forty-nine minutes paſt ten, the weather

weather being extremely hazy, La Bonne Citoyenne made the ſignal that the ſhips ſeen were of the line, twenty-five in number. His majeſty's ſquadron under my command, conſiſting of the fifteen ſhips of the line named in margin*, happily formed in the moſt compact order of ſailing, in two lines. By carrying a preſs of ſail, I was fortunate in getting in with the enemy's fleet at half-paſt eleven o'clock, before it had time to connect, and form a regular order of battle. Such a moment was not to be loſt; and, confident in the ſkill, valour, and diſcipline of the officers and men I had the happineſs to command, and judging that the honour of his majeſty's arms, and the circumſtances of the war in theſe ſeas, required a conſiderable degree of enterprife, I felt myſelf juſtified in departing from the regular ſyſtem; and paſſing through their fleet, in a line formed with the utmoſt celerity, tacked, and thereby ſeparated one-third from the main body, after a partial cannonade which prevented their rejunction till the evening; and by the very great exertions of the ſhips which had the good fortune to arrive up with the enemy on the larboard tack, the ſhips named in the margin †, were captured, and the action ceased about five o'clock in the evening.

I encloſe the moſt correct liſt I have been able to obtain of the Spaniſh fleet oppoſed to me, amounting to twenty-ſeven ſail of the line, and an account of the killed and wounded in his majeſty's ſhips, as well as in thoſe taken from the enemy. The moment the latter (almoſt totally diſmaſted) and his majeſty's ſhips the Captain and Culloden, are in a ſtate to put to ſea, I ſhall avail myſelf of the firſt favourable wind to proceed off Cape St. Vincent, in my way to Liſbon.

Captain Calder, whoſe able aſſiſtance has greatly contributed to the public ſervice during my command, is the bearer of this, and will more particularly deſcribe to the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty the movements of the ſquadron on the 14th, and the preſent ſtate of it.

I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

Liſt of the Spaniſh Fleet oppoſed to the Britiſh, the 14th of February, 1797.

	Guns.	
Santiſſima Trinidad	130	
Mexicana	112	
Principe de Aſturias	112	
Conception	112	
Conde de Regla	112	
Salvador del Mundo	112	taken.
San Joſef	112	taken.
San Nicolas	84	taken.
Oriente	74	
Glorioſo	74	
Atlante	74	
Conqueſtador	74	
Soberano	74	
Firme	74	
Pelayo	74	
San Genaro	74	
San Ildephonſo	74	
San J. Nepomuceno	74	
San Fran. de Paula	74	
San Yſidro	74	taken.
San Antonio	74	

* Victory, Blenheim, Britannia, Namur, Barfleur, Captain, Prince George, Goliath, Excellent, Culloden, Orion, Irreſiſtible, Coloſſus, Diadem. Egmont,

† Salvador del Mundo 112
San Joſef 112
San Nicholas 80
San Yſidro 74

San

	Guns.
San Pablo - - -	74
San Firmin - - -	74
Neptuno - - -	74
Bahama - - -	74
Name unknown - -	74
Name unknown - -	74

J. JERVIS.

List of killed and wounded in the ſquadron under the command of admiral ſir John Jervis, in the action with the Spaniſh fleet, the 14th of February, 1797.

		Killed.				*Wounded.*				
Ships.	*Commanders.*	*Officers.*	*Seamen.*	*Marines.*	*Soldiers.*	*Officers.*	*Seamen.*	*Marines.*	*Soldiers.*	*Total K. & W.*
Victory	Ad. ſir J. Jervis, K. B. 1ſt Capt. Rt Calder 2d Capt. G. Grey	-	1	-	-	-	2	3	-	6
Britannia	Vice Ad. Thompſon Capt. T. Foley	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Barfleur	V. A. W. Waldegrave Capt. J. R. Dacres	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	7
Pr. George	Rear Admiral Parker Capt. J. Irwin	-	7	1	1	-	7	-	-	15
Blenheim	C. T. Lenox Frederick	-	10	-	2	2	40	-	7	61
Namur	Capt. J. H. Whitſhed	-	2	-	-	-	5	-	-	7
Captain	Commodore Nelſon Capt. R. W. Miller	1	20	-	3	2	50	-	4	80
Goliath	C. Sir C. H. Knowles	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	-	8
Excellent	Capt. C. Collingwood	1	8	2	-	-	10	2	-	23
Orion	Capt. Sir J. Saumarez	-	-	-	-	-	7	2	-	9
Coloſſus	Capt. G. Murray	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	-	5
Egmont	Capt. John Sutton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	—
Culloden	Capt. T. Troubridge	1	7	2	-	-	39	8		57
Irreſiſtible	Capt. G Martin	-	4	1	-	1	12	1	-	19
Diadem	Capt. G. H. Towry	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	2
		3	59	6	5	5	189	21	12	300

Officers killed and wounded.

Blenheim.—Mr. Edward Libby, acting lieutenant, wounded; Mr. Peacock, boatſwain, wounded; Mr. Joſeph Wixen, maſter's mate, wounded, ſince dead.

Captain.—Major William Norris, marines, killed; Mr. James Godench, midſhipman, killed; commodore Nelſon, bruiſed, but not obliged to quit the deck; Mr. Carrington, boatſwain, wounded in boarding the San Nicolas; Mr. Thomas Lund, midſhipman, wounded.

Excellent.—Mr. Peter Peffers, boatſwain, killed; Mr. Edward Auguſtus Down, maſter's mate, wounded.

Orion.—Mr. Thomas Manſel, midſhipman, wounded.

Culloden.

Culloden.—Mr. G. A. Livingſtone, lieutenant of marines, killed.

Irreſiſtible. — Serjeant Watſon, marines, killed; Mr. Andrew Thompſon, lieutenant, wounded; Mr. Hugh M'Kinnon, maſter's mate, wounded; Mr. William Balfour, midſhipman, wounded.

J. JERVIS.

Liſt of killed and wounded on board the Spaniſh ſhips, taken by the ſquadron under the command of admiral Sir John Jervis, K. B. on the 14th of February, 1797.

Ships Names.		*Kd.*	*Wd.*
San Yſidro	Officers	4	8
	Artilleriſts, ſeamen, and ſoldiers	25	55
		29	63
Salvador del Mundo	Officers	5	3
	Artilleriſts, ſeamen, and ſoldiers	37	121
		42	124
San Nicolas	Officers	4	8
	Artilleriſts, ſeamen, and ſoldiers	140	51
		144	59
San Joſef	Officers	2	5
	Artilleriſts, ſeamen, and ſoldiers	44	91
		46	96

Killed	261
Wounded	342
Total	603

Note.—Among the killed is the general Don Franciſco Xavier Winthuyſen, Chef D'Eſcadre.

The London Gazette Extraordinary, March 27, 1797.

Parliament-ſtreet, Mar. 27, 1797.

Early this morning captain Drew, of the 45th regiment, arrived from the iſland of Trinidad, with a diſpatch from lieutenant-general ſir R. Abercromby, K. B. to the right honourable Henry Dundas, of which the following is a copy.

Head Quarters, Trinidad, Feb. 27, 1797.

Sir,

On my arrival in this country, I did not fail to lay before the admiral my inſtructions, and to conſult with him upon the means to carry them into execution. I found in him every deſire to co-operate in the execution of the views to which they are directed. The arrival of part of the convoy from England enabled us to proceed with confidence in our operations; therefore, as ſoon as the troops could be collected from the different iſlands, which were ordered to rendezvous at Curiaçou, the admiral ſailed from Martinique, which iſland he left with

with his ſquadron on the 12th inſtant.

The preciſion with which the admiral had given his orders to aſſemble the ſhips of war and tranſports, left us not a moment of delay. On the 15th, in the morning, the fleet ſailed from Curiaçou; on the 16th, in the afternoon, it paſſed through the Bocas, or entrance into the Gulf of Paria, where we found the Spaniſh admiral, with four ſail of the line and a frigate, at anchor, under cover of the iſland of Gaſpargrande, which was fortified.

Our ſquadron worked up, and came to anchor oppoſite to, and nearly within gun-ſhot of the Spaniſh ſhips. The frigates and tranſports were ordered to anchor higher up in the bay, and at the diſtance nearly of five miles from the town of Port d'Eſpagne. The diſpoſition was immediately made for landing at daylight next morning, and for a general attack upon the town and ſhips of war.

At two o'clock in the morning of the 17th, we perceived the Spaniſh ſquadron to be on fire; the ſhips burnt with great fury, one line of battle of ſhip excepted, which eſcaped the conflagration, and was taken poſſeſſion of at daylight in the morning, by the boats from our fleet; the enemy at the ſame time evacuated the iſland, and abandoned that quarter.

This unexpected turn of affairs directed our whole attention to the attack of the town. The troops were immediately ordered to land, and, as ſoon as a few hundred men could be got on ſhore, about four miles to the weſtward of it, we advanced, meeting with little or no reſiſtance. Before night we were maſters of Port d'Eſpagne and the neighbourhood, two ſmall forts excepted. In the morning a capitulation was entered into with the governor Don Chacon, and in the evening all the Spaniſh troops laid down their arms, and the whole colony paſſed under the dominion of his Britannic majeſty.

Copies of the capitulation, of the ſtores and proviſions taken, are herewith tranſmitted.

It is a peculiar ſatisfaction to me that there is no liſt of killed or wounded; lieutenant Villeneuve, of the 8th regiment of foot, who was brigade major to brigadier general Hompeſch, being the only perſon who was wounded, and he is ſince dead of his wounds.

From the admiral I have experienced every poſſible co-operation. Captain Woolley, of his majeſty's ſhip the Arethuſa, and captain Wood, of the Favourite ſloop of war, who had been ſent to reconnoitre in the Gulf of Paria, afforded us minute information of the ſituation of the enemy previous to our arrival. Captain Woolley, who directed the diſembarkation, ſhewed all the zeal and intelligence which I have experienced from him on former occaſions. To lord Craven, who begged to attend the expedition, I am indebted for great zeal and exertion.

Lieutenant-colonel Soter, who is intimately acquainted with this country, has been, and continues to be, of very great uſe to me. I ſhould not do juſtice to his general character, if I did not take this opportunity to expreſs it. My aid-de-camp, captain Drew, of the 45th regiment, will have the honour to deliver this letter; he has ſerved long in this country, and is capable to give ſuch further information as

may be required. I humbly beg leave to recommend him to his majeſty's favour.

I have the honour to be, &c.

R. ABERCROMBY, K. B.

Articles of Capitulation for the ſurrender of the iſland of Trinidad, between his excellency ſir Ralph Abercromby, K. B. commander in chief of his Britannic majeſty's land forces; his excellency Henry Harvey, eſq. rear admiral of the red, and commander in chief of his Britannic majeſty's ſhips and veſſels of war; and his excellency Don Joſef Maria Chacon, knight of the order of Calatrava, brigadier of the royal navy, governor and commander in chief of the iſland of Trinidad and its dependencies, inſpector general of the troops of its garriſon, &c. &c. &c.

Art. I. The officers and troops of his catholic majeſty, and his allies, in the iſland of Trinidad, are to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war, and are to deliver up the territory, forts, buildings, arms, ammunition, money, effects, plans, and ſtores, with exact inventories thereof, belonging to his catholic majeſty; and they are thereby tranſferred to his Britannic majeſty, in the ſame manner and poſſeſſion as has been held heretofore by his ſaid catholic majeſty.

Art. II. The troops of his catholic majeſty are to march out with the honours of war, and to lay down their arms, at the diſtance of three hundred paces from the forts they occupy, at five o'clock this evening, the 18th of February.

Art. III. All the officers and troops aforeſaid of his catholic majeſty are allowed to keep their private effects, and the officers are allowed to wear their ſwords.

Art. IV. Admiral Don Sebaſtian Ruiz de Apodaca, being on ſhore in the iſland, after having burnt and abandoned his ſhips, he, with the officers and men belonging to the ſquadron under his command, are included in this capitulation, under the ſame terms as are granted to his catholic majeſty's troops.

Art. V. As ſoon as ſhips can be conveniently provided for the purpoſe, the priſoners are to be conveyed to Old Spain, they remaining priſoners of war until exchanged by a cartel between the two nations, or until the peace; it being clearly underſtood, that they ſhall not ſerve againſt Great Britain or her allies, until exchanged.

Art. VI. There being ſome officers among his catholic majeſty's troops, whoſe private affairs require their preſence at different places of the continent of America, ſuch officers are permitted to go upon their parole to the ſaid places for ſix months, more or less, after which period they are to return to Europe; but as the number receiving this indulgence muſt be limited, his excellency Don Chacon will previouſly deliver to the Britiſh commanders a liſt of their names, rank, and places which they are going to.

Art. VII. The officers of the royal adminiſtration, upon the delivery of ſtores with which they are charged, to ſuch officers as may be appointed by the Britiſh commanders, will receive receipts, according to the cuſtom in like caſes, from the officers ſo appointed to receive the ſtores.

Art. VIII. All the private property of the inhabitants, as well

Spaniards as such as may have been naturalized, is preserved to them.

Art. IX. All public records are to be preserved in such courts or offices as they are now in, and all contracts or purchases between individuals, which have been done according to the laws of Spain, are to be held binding and valid by the British government.

Art. X. The Spanish officers of administration, who are possessed of landed property in Trinidad, are allowed to remain in the island, they taking the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic majesty; and they are further allowed, should they please, to sell or dispose of their property, and to retire elsewhere.

Art. XI. The free exercise of their religion is allowed to the inhabitants.

Art. XII. The free-coloured people, who have been acknowledged as such by the laws of Spain, shall be protected in their liberty, persons, and property, like other inhabitants; they taking the oath of allegiance, and demeaning themselves as becomes good and peaceable subjects of his Britannic majesty.

Art. XIII. The sailors and soldiers of his catholic majesty are, from the time of their laying down their arms, to be fed by the British government, leaving the expence to be regulated by the cartel between the two nations.

Art. XIV. The sick of the Spanish troops will be taken care of, but to be attended, and to be under the inspection of their own surgeons.

Art. XV. All the inhabitants of Trinidad shall, within thirty days from the date hereof, take the oath of allegiance to his Britannic majesty, to demean themselves quietly and faithfully to his government, upon pain, in case of non-compliance, of being sent away from the island.

Done at Port d'Espagne, in the island of Trinidad, the 18th day of February, 1797.

RALPH ABERCROMBY.
HENRY HARVEY.
JOSEPH MARIA CHACON.

Return of the Spanish garrison of the island of Trinidad, made prisoners of war, Feb. 18, 1797.

Royal artillery.—1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 43 non-commissioned officers, drummers, and privates.

Engineers.—1 brigadier, 2 captains, 1 subaltern.

Trinidad regiment.—2 lieutenant-colonels, 2 captains, 15 subalterns, 1 adjutant, 2 ensigns, 1 surgeon, 1 chaplain, 504 non-commissioned officers, drummers, and privates.

French officers.—1 lieutenant-colonel, 3 captains, 1 subaltern, 2 engineers.

Fifty men, sick in general hospital.

JOHN HOPE, Adj. Gen.

Return of the naval officers and seamen made prisoners of war at the capture of Trinidad, February 18, 1797.

1 chef d'escadre.
1 brigadier.
5 captains of line of battle ships.
3 captains of frigates.
7 lieutenants of line of battle ships.
74 officers of all other descriptions.

91 officers.

581 marines.
1032 seamen.

1613 total of marines and seamen.

(Signed) JOHN HOPE, Adj. Gen.

List

List of ships of war burnt and captured in Shaggaramus Bay, in the Gulf of Paria, February 17, 1797, by the squadron under the command of rear admiral Harvey.

San Vincente,	84	R. A. Don Sebastian Ruiz de Apodaca. Captain Don Geronimo Mendoza.	Burnt.
Gallarado,	74	Don Gabriel Sorondo.	
Arrogante,	74	Don Raphael Benasa.	
San Damaso,	74	Don Toref Jordan,—captured.	
Santa Cecilia,	36	Don Manuel Urtesabel,—burnt.	

London Gazette Extraordinary, Monday, Oct. 16, 1797.

Admiralty Office, Oct. 16.

Captain Fairfax, of the Venerable, arrived early this morning with dispatches from Adam Duncan, esq. admiral of the blue, commander in chief of his majesty's ships, &c. employed in the north sea, to Evan Nepean, esq. secretary of the admiralty, of which the following are copies.

Venerable, at sea, Oct. 13, 1797, off the Coast of Holland.

Sir,

Be pleased to acquaint the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that, judging it of consequence their lordships should have as early information as possible of the defeat of the Dutch fleet under the command of admiral De Winter, I dispatched the Rose cutter at three P. M. on the 12th (11th) instant, with a short letter to you, immediately after the action was ended. I have now further to acquaint you, for their lordships' information, that in the night of the 10th instant, after I had sent away my letter to you, of that date, I placed my squadron in such situation as to prevent the enemy from returning to the Texel, without my falling in with them. At nine o'clock in the morning of the 11th I got sight of captain Trollope's squadron, with signals flying for an enemy to leeward; I immediately bore up, and made the signal for a general chace, and soon got sight of them, forming in a line on the larboard tack to receive us, the wind at N. W. As we approached near I made the signal for the squadron to shorten sail, in order to connect them; soon after I saw the land between Camperdown and Egmont, about nine miles to leeward of the enemy, and finding there was no time to be lost in making the attack, I made the signal to bear up, break the enemy's line, and engage them to leeward, each ship her opponent, by which I got between them and the land, whither they were fast approaching. My signals were obeyed with great promptitude, and vice-admiral Onslow, in the Monarch, bore down on the enemy's rear in the most gallant manner, his division following his example, and the action commenced about forty minutes past twelve o'clock. The Venerable soon got through the enemy's line, and I began a close action, with my division on their van, which lasted near two hours and a half, when I observed all the masts of the Dutch admiral's ship to go by the board; she was, however, defended for some time in a most gallant manner; but

being overpreſſed by numbers, her colours were ſtruck, and admiral De Winter was ſoon brought on board the Venerable. On looking around me, I obſerved the ſhip bearing the vice-admiral's flag was alſo diſmaſted, and had ſurrendered to vice-admiral Onſlow; and that many others had likewiſe ſtruck. Finding we were in nine fathoms water, and not farther than five miles from the land, my attention was ſo much taken up in getting the heads of the diſabled ſhips off ſhore, that I was not able to diſtinguiſh the number of ſhips captured; and the wind having been conſtantly on the land ſince, we have unavoidably been much diſperſed, ſo that I have not been able to gain an exact account of them; but we have taken poſſeſſion of eight or nine; more of them had ſtruck, but taking advantage of the night, and being ſo near their own coaſt, they ſucceeded in getting off, and ſome of them were ſeen going into the Texel the next morning.

It is with the greateſt pleaſure and ſatisfaction I make known to their lordſhips the very gallant behaviour of vice-admiral Onſlow, the captains, officers, ſeamen, and marines of the ſquadron, who all appeared actuated with the truly Britiſh ſpirit, at leaſt thoſe that I had an opportunity of ſeeing.

One of the enemy's ſhips caught fire in the action, and drove very near the Venerable; but I have the pleaſure to ſay it was extinguiſhed, and ſhe is one of the ſhips in our poſſeſſion. The ſquadron has ſuffered much in their maſts, yards, and rigging, and many of them have loſt a number of men; however in no proportion to that of the enemy. The carnage on board the two ſhips that bore the admirals' flags has been beyond all deſcription; they have had no leſs than 250 men killed and wounded on board of each ſhip; and here I have to lament the loſs of captain Burgeſs, of his majeſty's ſhip the Ardent, who brought that ſhip into action in the moſt gallant and maſterly manner, but was unfortunately killed ſoon after. However, the ſhip continued the action cloſe, until quite diſabled. The public have loſt a good and gallant officer in captain Burgeſs, and I, with others, a ſincere friend.

Captain Trollope's exertions and active good conduct, in keeping ſight of the enemy's fleet until I came up, have been truly meritorious, and, I truſt, will meet a juſt reward.

I ſend this by captain Fairfax, by whoſe able advice I profited much during the action, and who will give their lordſhips any further particulars they may wiſh to know.

As moſt of the ſhips of the ſquadron are much diſabled, and ſeveral of the prizes diſmaſted, I ſhall make the beſt of my way with them to the Nore.

I herewith tranſmit you a liſt of killed and wounded, on board ſuch of the ſquadron as I have been able to collect; a liſt of the enemy's fleet oppoſed to my ſquadron, and my line of battle on the day of action. I am, ſir,

Your moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
ADAM DUNCAN.

A liſt of the killed and wounded on board the ſhips of admiral Duncan's ſquadron, in an action with the

the Dutch, on 11th of October, 1797.

Venerable. 13 ſeamen, 2 marines, killed; 6 officers, 52 ſeamen, 4 marines, wounded.—Total 77.

Monarch. 2 officers, 34 ſeamen, killed; 9 officers, 79 ſeamen, 12 marines, wounded.—Total 136.

Bedford. 2 midſhipmen, 26 ſeamen, 2 marines, killed; 1 lieutenant, 37 ſeamen, 3 marines, wounded.—Total 71.

Powerful. 8 ſeamen, 2 marines, killed; 4 officers, 74 ſeamen and marines, wounded.—Total 88.

Iſis. 1 ſeaman, 1 marine, killed; 3 officers, 18 ſeamen, wounded.—Total 23.

Ardent. 2 officers, 33 ſeamen, 6 marines, killed; 8 officers, 85 ſeamen, 11 marines, 3 boys, wounded.—Total 148.

Agincourt. None killed or wounded.

Belliqueux. 2 officers, 20 ſeamen, 3 marines, killed; 3 officers, 63 ſeamen, 12 marines, wounded.—Total 103.

Lancaſter. 3 ſeamen killed; 2 officers, 13 ſeamen, 3 marines, wounded.—Total 21.

Triumph. 25 ſeamen, 3 marines, 1 boy, killed; 5 officers, 50 ſeamen and marines, wounded.—Total 84.

Officers killed.

Monarch. Mr. J. P. Tindall, and Mr. Moyle Finlay, midſhipmen.

Ardent. Captain Burgeſs, Mr. Michael Dunn, maſter.

Belliqueux. Lieutenant Robert Webſter, Mr. James Milne, maſter's mate.

List and diſpoſition of the Dutch fleet on the 11th of October, 1797.

Van.

Vice-admiral Reyntjes, commander.

Cerberus. Captain Jacobſon, 68 guns, 450 men.

Delft. Captain Verdoon, 56 guns, 375 men. Taken.

Jupiter. Vice-admiral Reyntjes and rear-admiral Meuſes, 74 guns, 550 men. Taken.

Alkmaar. Captain Kraft, 56 guns, 350 men. Taken.

Haarlem, captain Wiggerts, 68 guns, 450 men. Taken.

Munnikkendam, captain Lancaſter, 44 guns, 270 men. Taken.

Heldin, capt. Dumiſnilde L'Eſtrille, 32 guns, 230 men.

Daphne brig, lieutenant Fredericks, 18 guns, 98 men.

Centre.

Admiral De Winter, commander in chief.

Waſſenaar, captain Holland, 64 guns, 450 men. Taken.

Batavier, captain Souters, 56 guns, 350 men.

Vryheid (the Liberty), admiral De Winter Van Roſſem, 74 guns, 550 men. Taken.

States General, rear-admiral Story, 74 guns, 550 men.

Leyden, captain Muſquetier, 68 guns, 450 men.

Mars, captain Kolff, 44 guns, 400 men.

Waakſaamheid, captain-lieutenant Nicrop, 24 guns, 150 men.

Minerva, captain Eilbracht, 24 guns, 150 men.

Galatea brig, lieutenant Rivery, 18 guns, 98 men.

Atalanta brig, lieutenant Plets, 18 guns, 98 men.

Rear.

Rear-admiral Bloys, commander.

Admiral de Vries, captain Zegers, 68 guns, 450 men. Taken.

Hercules, captain Van Ryſoort, 64 guns, 450 men. Taken.

Brutus, rear-admiral Bloys, 74 guns, 550 men.

Beſchermer, captain Hinxtt, 56 guns, 350 men.

Gelykheid (the Equality), capt. Ruyſen, 68 guns, 450 men. Taken.

Ambuſcade, captain-lieut. Huys, 32 guns, 270 men.

Ajax brig, lieutenant Arkenbout, 18 guns, 98 men.

Haasje (Aviſo), lieutenant Hartenfeld, 6 guns, 35 men.

ADAM DUNCAN.

N. B. Another line of battle ſhip, reported to be taken, name unknown.

Diſpoſition of the ſquadron, in the order of battle, on the 11th of October, 1797.

Larboard, or lee diviſion.

Richard Onſlow, eſq. vice-admiral of the red, commander.

1. Ruſſel, Henry Trollope, capt. 74 guns, 590 men.

2. Director, William Bligh, capt. 64 guns, 491 men.

3. Montague, John Knight, capt. 74 guns, 590 men.

4. Veteran, George Gregory, captain, 64 guns, 491 men.

5. Monarch, vice-admiral Onſlow, Edward O'Bryen, captain, 74 guns, 599 men.

6. Powerful, William O'Bryen Drury, captain, 74 guns, 590 men.

7. Monmouth, James Walker, captain, 64 guns, 491 men.

8. Agincourt, John Williamſon, captain, 64 guns, 491 men.

Repeaters.

Beaulieu frigate—cutters, Roſe, King George, Active, Diligent—Speculator lugger.

Starboard, or weather diviſion.

Adam Duncan, eſq. admiral of the blue, and commander in chief, &c. &c. &c.

9. Triumph, William Henry Effington, capt. 74 guns, 640 men.

10. Venerable, admiral Duncan, William George Fairfax, capt. 74 guns, 593 men.

11. Ardent, Richard R. Burges, capt. 64 guns, 491 men.

12. Bedford, ſir Thomas Byard, capt. 74 guns, 590 men.

13. Lancaſter, John Wells, capt. 64 guns, 491 men.

14. Belliqueux, John Inglis, capt. 64 guns, 491 men.

15. Adamant, William Hotham, capt. 50 guns, 343 men.

16. Iſis, William Mitchel, capt. 50 guns, 343 men.

Repeaters.

Circe frigate.—Martin ſloop.

ADAM DUNCAN.

Venerable, off Orfordneſs, Oct. 15, 1797.

Sir,

In addition to my letter of the 13th inſtant, containing the particulars of the action of the 11th, and which I have not been able to ſend away until this day, I have to acquaint you, for the information of the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, that, from the wind continuing to blow on the Dutch coaſt, the ſhips have had great difficulty in keeping off the ſhore, and that we have unavoidably been ſeparated. On Friday laſt the wind blew ſtrong from the WSW. to the WNW. and continued ſo to do until Saturday morning; it then ſhifted to the north, when I made the ſignal to wear, ſtood to the weſtward, and fortunately anchored here laſt evening, the Venerable being ſo leaky, that with all her pumps going, we could but juſt keep her free. This morning I obſerved the ſhips named in the margin* at anchor

* Monarch. Powerful. Lancaſter. Beaulieu.

near

near us, three near the Kentiſh-knock, and three in Hoſley-bay. The wind is at NW. and much againſt the diſabled ſhips; I have therefore ſent the Lancaſter and Beaclieu out to render them aſſiſtance.

Sir Thomas Williams, in the Endymion, who joined me the day after the action, I alſo ſent in ſhore, to keep by and aſſiſt the diſabled ſhips; and I am informed, that, in the courſe of the night, he fell in with a Dutch ſhip of the line off the Texel, and had engaged her, but I have not heard the particulars.

I am, ſir,
Your moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
ADAM DUNCAN.

Evan Nepean, eſq.

The following is the account of this important victory, as given to the Dutch government by admirals De Winter and Story.

"With the deepeſt impreſſion of grief I inform you, that yeſterday morning, October 11, we diſcovered the Engliſh fleet. I immediately formed into a line of battle on the ſtarboard tack, and did every thing in my power to keep the ſhips as cloſe together as poſſible; but my orders for this purpoſe could not be completely obeyed, on account of the unſteadineſs of the wind, the high ſea, and the bad ſailing of ſome of the veſſels. At eleven o'clock the enemy attacked the rear of the line, which they broke through with great reſolution. This I ſaw with ſome pleaſure, becauſe I always entertained hopes that the reſt of the fleet would cloſe up, and therefore I made a ſignal to the headmoſt ſhips to ſlacken ſail. This, however was of no avail. We came into action ſucceſſively in an irregular manner. My ſhip was engaged at one time with two, and afterwards with three. The Hercules, which was the ſecond in the line from me, took fire, and drove towards me, by which means I was obliged to ſhift my ſtation, and approach a fourth Engliſh ſhip, being that of the admiral. All my running rigging was now tore to pieces, and while I was endeavouring to make a ſignal for ſome of the ſhips to come to my aſſiſtance, the flag-line was ſhot from my hand. In the mean while the Waſſenaar, by the captain being wounded early, and the loſs of a great many people, was obliged to ſtrike, as did alſo the Haarlem, the De Vries, the Delft, and the Jupiter, whoſe main-maſt went by the board. This I was, in ſome meaſure prevented from ſeeing, by the thickneſs of the ſmoke, and the cloſeneſs with which I was engaged. Every thing being at length ſhot away, and having loſt a conſiderable number of men, I nevertheleſs endeavoured to force my way through the five Engliſh ſhips, with a view of making for port, or of giving an opportunity to ſome of the fleet not yet diſabled, to afford me aſſiſtance, but my attempt was not ſucceſsful. At two o'clock all my three maſts went overboard, but I ſtill continued to defend the wreck for half an hour, when, having no further hope, ſeeing the reſt of the ſhips at a diſtance, and finding that my flag was ſhot away, I ordered the people, one half of whom I had already loſt, to ſtop firing, and at three o'clock an Engliſh frigate approached me, the

captain of which came on board, and carried me to admiral Duncan. The Gelykheid lay to the windward of me. I ſaw alſo that ſhe made no longer reſiſtance, and had ceaſed firing; her running rigging was all in pieces, but why ſhe ſtruck, I know as little as I do of the admiral de Vries, the Delft, and the Haarlem. The Hercules loſt her mizen-maſt, and took fire, which brought her as well as me into the midſt of the Engliſh fleet, and ſhe has alſo been captured. With the behaviour of my officers and crew, I am perfectly ſatisfied. I recommend them to you as men who defended themſelves to the laſt, and continued faithful to their admiral. Both ſides fought with fury, and many men have fallen. The Engliſh alſo have ſuſtained great loſs. They had retired to Yarmouth, with nine ſail of the line, in order to refit. On Saturday evening they received intelligence that we were at ſea; on Monday they again ſailed, having re-victualled in twenty-four hours, and having received eight other ſhips from Portſmouth and the Downs, in the room of the eight which were under repair. They had altogether ſixteen ſail of the line, among which there was only one 50, the greater part of the reſt being ſhips of 74 guns. Behold then the moſt unfortunate day of my life. Every exertion that depended on manœuvres or perſonal courage, was made by myſelf and many others on board, but in vain. Our enemies reſpect us on account of the obſtinacy of our defence. No action can have been ſo bloody, for it was fatal to us. I ſhall have the honour of ſending you a more accurate and minute account, as ſoon as I find an opportunity. I at preſent take advantage of a permiſſion from the Engliſh admiral, to give you this ſhort notice, and to call your care and attention to a number of priſoners, whoſe bravery and courage deſerved a better fate, and particularly to the crew of the Vryheid. I recommend to you the poor widows and orphans, and the wife and children of my worthy captain Van Roſſum, whoſe thigh was ſhot off at half paſt two. He is ſtill alive, but there are little hopes of his recovery. Two cadets, one of which is my nephew, have each loſt the left leg; the reſt of my officers are well. Cranenburg, the lieutenant of marines, only is dead. Of the ſtate of the other ſhips I can give no account, nor do I know what loſs they have ſuſtained; the Engliſh do not know themſelves. I am informed, however, that vice-admiral Reintjes has been wounded alſo, and that he is on board admiral Onſlow. Meurer is well, but captain Holland, of the Waſſenaar, was mortally wounded in the beginning of the action, and loſt a great many men.

"I truſt and hope that I ſhall be permitted to return to Holland, in order to juſtify myſelf further.

"I am your unfortunate
"admiral,
"DE WINTER."

Official letter of rear-admiral S. Story, to the Committee for Maritime Affairs at the Hague.

"*On board the Sates General, Oct.* 14, 1797.

"After having happily gained the offing with the ſquadron of the republic on the 7th of Oct. we continued to cruize along the coaſt, by making tacks towards the Bree-

Veertien.—We fell in with no veſſels until the 11th, when, at eight in the morning, we were informed by the men upon the outlook at the topgallant-maſt-head, that the Engliſh fleet, amounting to thirty ſail, was then to the windward of us. The ſignal for preparing to engage was immediately made, and afterwards that for forming a line of battle in three diviſions on the larboard tack. The wind was then NNE. and the village of Egmont bore ENE. diſtant two leagues and a half. The Engliſh fleet, which bore down upon us with the wind abaft, formed in a line towards the ſouth; then ranged *en echiquier* (chequerwiſe), it came right upon us. At half-paſt twelve began one of the moſt obſtinate engagements, perhaps, that ever took place on the ocean. At the commencement of the action, the greater part of the Engliſh fleet broke through our line. Two of their largeſt veſſels then engaged one of ours. Their line conſiſted of twenty ſhips, ſix of which carried 84 guns; the others were 74's and 64's. The ſhips engaged on both ſides throughout the whole line. Thus we were attacked both to windward and leeward.

"All veſſels, as far as I could obſerve, fought with equal courage. The behaviour of the officers and crews is above all praiſe. I engaged admiral Duncan's ſhip, and another of 84 guns. The States General was between theſe two veſſels, each of which was not more than the length of the ſhip from us. The ſame thing took place throughout all the line. Every part of my rigging was ſoon ſhot away; but we got aſtern of them in ſuch manner, that the Engliſh admiral was obliged to wear, and to drop aſtern alſo. All his rigging appeared ready to give way, and moſt of it came down ſome time after. The ſhip of 84 guns, with which I ſtill remained engaged, was immediately ſeconded by a 74, in the room of admiral Duncan's ſhip. We maintained a moſt obſtinate action with theſe two ſhips, and continued fighting until three o'clock.—While we were conſtantly repeating broadſide after broadſide, a fire broke out in our ſtern and between decks; but it was ſoon extinguiſhed. All the ſhips were now ſo much diſabled, that they could no longer be managed, and drove about in the greateſt confuſion. It was no longer poſſible to fire a ſingle gun. The ſtanding-rigging of each maſt was carried away; the maſts, topmaſts, and yards were all wounded; the running-rigging was entirely ſhot away, and the ſails all torn to pieces. I had twenty killed, and forty ſeverely wounded. Every brace was ſhot away; as were alſo the wheel, the tiller-ropes, &c. In a word, every thing was carried away; we had ſhot in every part of the hull; and in this wretched ſtate we floated about at the mercy of the waves.

"New braces were got up as ſoon as poſſible; and at four o'clock we ſtood towards the Engliſh fleet. But my officers then made a report to me, that the ſhip was filling faſt with water; and I was under the neceſſity of ſhortening ſail. The evening ſet in with thick rain, which prevented us from ſeeing any of our ſhips, but a few which had formed the rear of the line. I then collected all the veſſels belonging to my diviſion that I could diſcover. At midnight I found I had got together eleven ſail. I endeavoured, with them, to collect the remainder of

of the ſquadron, and ſtood again towards the Engliſh fleet.

" At day-break we ſaw them to windward of us, at a ſhort diſtance aſtern. There was then none of our ſhips of the line a-head of us, but we obſerved two ſhips making for the Texel; upon coming near them, we found they were Engliſh; they made ſail, and we were not in a condition to chaſe them. I then continued to ſteer towards the Texel, and I obſerved the hulls of three veſſels floating near the ſpot where the battle was fought. On the 12th, in the evening, I got ſafely into the Texel with the ſhips I had collected.

" Health and fraternity,
" S. STORY."

The following is a tranſlation of the detailed official account ſent by admiral De Winter to the Batavian government.

On the 7th of October, in the year 1797, at ten o'clock in the morning, the wind E. by N. blowing a light breeze, the Dutch fleet, conſiſting of four ſhips of 74, ſeven of 64, four of 50, two of 44, two of 32, two of 24, four brigs of 16 guns, and two advice-boats, under the command of vice-admiral De Winter, cleared the Texel, and got ſafely out to ſea. On the night of the ſame day, and at the dawn of the ſucceeding morning, ſix ſail of the Engliſh were diſcovered, a few miles to windward, the wind being then SW. upon which the ſignal for a general chace was made; but theſe ſhips being much ſmaller in number, and better ſailers than the Dutch, gained ſo much upon their fleet, as well with regard to diſtance as to the wind, that it would have been highly injudicious to ſpread our ſhips too much. We therefore deſiſted from chaſing, and continued our courſe, ſtanding out more into the offing, towards the flat of the Meuſe, with a view to meet a 64 gun ſhip, which was expected from thence to join the fleet, and alſo to encounter and give battle to the Engliſh fleet, in caſe we ſhould fall in with them in our courſe, while ſteering to the weſtward.

On the 8th, 9th, and 10th, the wind continuing weſterly, and very variable, the Dutch fleet worked up a great way, till within eight German miles E. by S. of Loweſtoffe, whilſt five of the Engliſh ſhips, conſiſting of the Ruſſel, of 74, the Iſis, of 50 guns, the Beaulieu and Circe frigates, and Martin ſloop, conſtantly kept to windward of our fleet; whence we concluded, that their object was to obſerve our motions, and that they had probably ſent advice to the Engliſh ports, in order to collect their ſhips, with a view of attacking the Dutch fleet with a ſuperior force. Suppoſing that the Engliſh fleet was not yet out, and this ſmall fleet of obſervation becoming very troubleſome to us, we reſolved to avail ourſelves of the darkneſs of the night, in order to detach the beſt ſailing ſhips of the fleet, under a preſs of ſail, in hope of getting to windward of them by break of day, and thus enabling ourſelves to attack, or at leaſt chaſe away thoſe unwelcome obſervers; but on the 10th in the evening we received information by ſome merchant ſhips, that the Engliſh fleet, conſiſting of 15 ſail of the line, frigates, ſloops, &c. making 25 in the whole, was at ſea, at the diſtance of about ten German

German miles from us, to the NNE. In conſequence of this intelligence, the order for detaching ſome of our ſhips was recalled, and in the courſe of the ſame night our fleet was collected, ſo as to be in cloſe and compact order at the break of day. The wind being then NW. the Dutch fleet edged away to the NNE. for the purpoſe of reaching our place of rendezvous, off Camperduyn, the next day; propoſing to ſail thence in queſt of the Engliſh fleet, which we were alſo informed was ſteering E. by S. directing its courſe towards the Texel.

At break of day, the wind being NW. with inconſtant airs, ſqualls, and a turbulent high ſea, the Batavian fleet was about eight miles off Scheveningen. Several of our ſhips being ſent to hail ſome merchant ſhips, then paſſing a-breaſt of the fleet, and ſtanding to the S. and SSW. a frigate brought advice to the admiral, that the Engliſh fleet was ſteering for the Texel. Being perfectly aſſured of this, the admiral made a ſignal for all ſhips to repair to their reſpective ſquadrons, and to form cloſe together, and then put about under eaſy ſail, ſteering E. by N. and ENE. to afford time for thoſe ſhips now to leeward the ſpeedier to join the fleet, and then to ſtand in ſhore. He alſo made the ſignal to prepare for battle; the before-mentioned Engliſh ſquadron continued ſteering about NNE. under a preſs of ſail, and making ſignals, whence we concluded that they had got ſight of the Engliſh fleet.

At half an hour paſt eight, we got ſight of the land, which we diſcovered to be the Wykerdyns, bearing eaſt at the diſtance of four to five German miles from us. At this time the fleet had again hauled the wind. At nine o'clock we diſcovered the Engliſh fleet, conſiſting of about twenty ſail, in the NNW. towards Kimmen, at the diſtance of four to five German miles, and coming down before the wind; a ſignal for which being immediately made by vice-admiral Reyntjes, admiral De Winter threw out the ſignal to form the line of battle, and one after the other to cloſe to the wind, with the larboard tack down; whereby the rear, under rear-admiral Bloys, became of courſe the van. The Vryheid braced her topſails a-back, to enable the other ſhips more conveniently and ſpeedily to reach their reſpective ſtations; the Jupiter, vice-admiral Reyntjes, alſo fell back, whilſt ſome other ſhips were endeavouring to get into their ſtations; but rear-admiral Bloys remained lying to windward with his topſail aback; although a ſignal was out for his ſquadron to make more ſail, and to repair to its ſtation; which ſignal was duly anſwered by all the ſhips of his ſquadron, except his own. In the mean time, the Engliſh fleet approached within three quarters of a German mile, and then brought to, in order to arrange itſelf, the wind being very inconſtant, varying ſometimes one or two points. The Vryheid had the misfortune of having her maintopſail-yard carried away by a ſquall, which obliged her to ſet the foreſail and ſome ſtayſails, that ſhe might keep her diſtance. In the mean time admiral De Winter made the ſignal for the ſhips to cloſe as much as poſſible, as alſo for the foremoſt ſhip of the line to ſhorten ſail.

The line of the Batavian fleet was now formed; but the Brutus, rear-admiral

admiral Bloys Van Treſlong, not being in her ſtation, laid herſelf in the line a-head of the Leyden, the Delft having fallen back below the line (and not being able properly to attain her ſtation and diſtance in any other manner), was ordered by vice-admiral Reyntjes to place herſelf the hindmoſt ſhip of the line, by which means the Batavian line became completely formed; but being irregular as to diſtance, the ſignal for cloſing as much as poſſible was repeated.

Whilſt ſo doing, the Engliſh fleet having put itſelf in order, bore down upon us before the wind. The diviſion of vice-admiral Onſlow, who was in the Monarch, being ſomewhat a-head, that diviſion, conſiſting of four ſhips of 74, three of 64, and one of 50 guns, made for the rear of the Batavian line. At the ſame moment the Haarlem got too cloſe to the Jupiter, which ſhip filling her main topſail, and the Haarlem backing all her ſails, a conſiderable diſtance was thereby occaſioned between theſe two ſhips; and the Haarlem, being a very indifferent ſailer, could not ſo ſpeedily regain her ſtation in the line.

Vice-admiral Onſlow, profiting by this circumſtance, forthwith led with his ſhip, the Monarch, through the line; while admiral De Winter made the ſignal to direct the fire againſt the advancing ſhips of the enemy; expecting that by forming in cloſe order, the Engliſh fleet would be alſo obliged to form a regular and parallel line a-breaſt of the Batavian fleet. The Monarch thus running through the line, gave her ſtarboard broadſide to the Haarlem, and the larboard to the Jupiter; and per contra a broadſide was given her by the Munnikkendam frigate, which had ſtationed herſelf ſomewhat behind, yet without the line, to the leeward of the Jupiter; and ſo well was the Monarch alſo received by the Jupiter, that the wheel of her helm was ſhot away, and the whole ſhip conſiderably ſhattered.

In the interim, three Engliſh ſhips got along-ſide of the Haarlem, Alkmar, and Delft, whilſt two others, together with a frigate, paſſed aſtern, and ſeverely battered the Delft; in this manner theſe hindmoſt ſhips became engaged on both ſides, and were thereby very ill-treated, and thrown into confuſion in a ſhort ſpace of time; to ſuch a degree indeed, that the Alkmaar ran againſt the ſtern of the Munnikkendam, which frigate being already conſiderably ſhattered, uſed her utmoſt efforts to bear away, and for a ſhort time quit her ſtation, that ſhe might have the better opportunity of repairing her damage; but being almoſt unmanageable from the injury ſhe had ſuſtained, and being purſued by the Beaulieu and a ſhip of the line (ſuppoſed the Agincourt) ſhe was reduced to the ſad neceſſity of ſubmitting to her more powerful opponents; and, after a valiant defence, the Delft, the Haarlem, and the Alkmaar, being not only much diſabled, but in a ſinking condition, were alſo obliged to ſtrike to the ſuperior force of their aſſailants, as well as the Jupiter, which was at once attacked by the Ruſſel, and forſaken by the Cerberus.

At the ſame time the conflict commenced between the diviſion of admiral Duncan, conſiſting of three ſhips of 74, four of 64, and one of 50 guns, whereof the Venerable was the foremoſt, which endeavoured to penetrate between rear-admiral Storey,

Storey, and admiral De Winter; but was at firſt fruſtrated in her intention by the cloſing of theſe diviſions; unfortunately, however, the Waſſenaar, being a very heavy and bad ſailing ſhip, could not cloſe with ſufficient ſpeed, and being at the ſame time attacked by the Powerful, of 74 guns, the Venerable ſucceeded in getting a-ſtern of the States General, without ſuſtaining much injury; whilſt the Ardent attacked the Vryheid, and attempted to paſs in like manner; the other Engliſh ſhips likewiſe exerted themſelves to paſs the Hercules and de Vries, but were prevented by the cloſe ſituation of our ſhips.

The battle now became general, and one half of the Engliſh fleet being to leeward, and the other half to windward of the Batavian line, the conflict was vigorous and obſtinate on both ſides; and, conſidering the ſeparation of the Engliſh line, and that the part of their fleet which was lying to leeward ſuffered conſiderably by the tremendous fire they received from our ſhips oppoſed to them, and the repeating frigates and brigs, the Batavian admiral De Winter entertained great hopes that victory would (as has often happened) declare in favour of the Batavian flag. In theſe expectations he was, however, much diſappointed, when, after being overwhelmed with clouds of ſmoke and flames, for the ſpace of an hour and a half, and after having conſiderably damaged his adverſary, the ſtate of the Dutch fleet was no ſooner clear to his ſight, than he had the melancholy proſpect before his eyes of the Hercules on fire, which obliged her to quit the line; whilſt the Beſchermer alſo got before the wind, out of the action, as well as the States General, which ſet her foreſail, and got on the lee ſide, a-head of the Vryheid, probably to ſhelter herſelf from the flames of the Hercules. By this movement the Vryheid became engaged with three Engliſh ſhips; namely, the Venerable; the ſhip by which the Hercules was battered; and her own opponent: this was alſo the caſe with the Gelykheid and Admiral de Vries, who were attacked by four ſhips of the enemy. They nevertheleſs, continued all to fight with great vigour and bravery.

The Waſſenaar, being very crank and not able to uſe her lower tier on the ſtarboard ſide, (and the Batavia not coming up, but having, upon the firſt fire, run before the wind to leeward of the fleet,) the Powerful, which was lying a-ſtern of the former, battered her in ſuch a manner that ſhe was no longer governable. Being thus, from the retreat of the Batavier, expoſed to the attack of two ſhips, ſhe was alſo ſeen to ſtrike to the ſuperior force of the enemy. The Powerful then came up to the aſſiſtance of admiral Duncan's ſhip, which being in a very ſhattered condition, might ſtill have been ſucceſsfully attacked by three Batavian ſhips, the Brutus, Leyden, and the Mars, at that time formed in a line under ſingle topſails, and in good order, and having apparently diſcomfited and repulſed their opponents.

The battle ſtill continued in the rear of the Batavian line. The Vryheid, though quite ſurrounded, had the good fortune to damage the fore-rigging of the Powerful ſo much, that the latter could not advance, or perform any manœuvre to facilitate the renewal of her attack.

The

The Vryheid being alſo much ſhattered, her helm ungovernable, and having no longer an opportunity of making any ſignals, fell off herſelf, and was thereby fortunately liberated from the Hercules, then in flames, as alſo from the joint attack of the Powerful and Venerable. The Brutus, Leyden, and Mars, coming up, engaged in paſſing by ſome of the Engliſh ſhips, which were much ſhattered, and endeavouring to recover themſelves; they alſo exchanged ſome broadſides with the Venerable; but, nevertheleſs, remained on the ſtarboard tack, and failed by the diſabled ſhips Vryheid, Gelykheid, and Admiral de Vries, without giving them any other aſſiſtance, or putting about towards us.

At this critical juncture, the Vryheid was again driven to leeward, within the reach of the Engliſh ſhips; theſe having now ſomewhat recovered themſelves, immediately ſurrounded, and battered her with incredible fury; this was alſo the caſe with the Gelykheid, then lying to windward. The Mars made ſome attempts to lend them aſſiſtance; but for want of her being ſupported by the others, ſhe alſo adopted the moſt prudential conduct, by following the Brutus under eaſy ſail. Thus we found ourſelves forſaken on all ſides, and ſurrounded by the Engliſh fleet. The Venerable having put about, together with all the reſt of the Engliſh ſhips, ran a-head of the Vryheid, already engaged with two other ſhips, and ſo vigorouſly attacked her, that in a few minutes all her maſts went overboard at once; but, notwithſtanding every thing being ſhot away, many guns diſmounted, and about 200 of her men killed and wounded, ſhe nevertheleſs continued her defence upwards of half an hour; vainly hoping that ſuch of the Batavian ſhips as had not ſuffered very much in the engagement, would haſten to the relief and liberation of their admiral; or that by a wind ariſing from the north-weſt, we might be driven towards the ſhore, and the Engliſh thereby be obliged to deſiſt from further attack; but theſe hopes were ſoon evinced to be momentary illuſions. The wind, on the contrary, ſhifted to the N. and NE. and the greateſt part of the Batavian fleet ſtood away on the other tack from the Engliſh; and from the diſaſtrous effects of theſe combined cauſes, the Admiral de Vries, the Gelykheid, the Hercules (which, while on fire, had thrown her gunpowder overboard), and laſtly, the Vryheid, were obliged ſeverally to ſtrike, as neither of them were any longer manageable, and, being ſurrounded by a number of the enemy's ſhips, all further reſiſtance was rendered ineffectual.

Thus the battle of the 11th of October, 1797, was ended by the ceaſing of the fire from the Batavian ſhip Vryheid, which to the laſt nobly contended to preſerve what ſhe honourably loſt—the Batavian colours.

The bad ſucceſs of this engagement is to be attributed to the following cauſes:

1ſt. The Engliſh force, although equal in number, exceeded that of the Batavians as to ſhips of the line.

2d. The Engliſh ſhips having been together at ſea during the ſpace of nineteen weeks, the particular capacity of all the ſhips was known to them, with relation to each other; which it muſt be

allowed, is of the utmoſt importance and advantage in nautical manœuvres. This was not the caſe with the Dutch.

3d. The advantage of the attack; and

4th. The early retreat of ſix Batavian ſhips from the action. And among thoſe that remained were four very indifferent ſailers, to which may be principally attributed the breaking of the line. Add to this, that having loſt the advantage of attack, and being partly forſaken, it becomes a matter of leſs ſurprize, that the victory turned out ſo deciſively in favour of the Engliſh. Upon the whole, without magnifying Batavian courage beyond what was exemplified in this memorable engagement; and admitting that caſual circumſtances had been equally favourable to them as to the Engliſh, and admiral De Winter's ſignals been obeyed and executed with the ſame promptitude as admiral Duncan's were, it is no improbable conjecture, that ſome of the Britiſh fleet would at this time have been moored in the Texel, as a memento of Batavian proweſs, and a monument to the memory of the 11th of October, 1797.

Narrative of the dreadful Shipwreck of Les Droits de l'Homme, a French ſhip, of 74 guns, driven on ſhore on the 14th of January 1797, after a ſevere action with the Indefatigable and Amazon frigates, under the command of ſir Edward Pellew and captain Reynolds. By Elias Pipon, lieut. 63d regiment.

On the 5th of January 1797, returning home on leave of abſence for the recovery of my health, from the Weſt Indies, in the Cumberland letter of marque, ſaw a large man of war off the coaſt of Ireland, being then within four leagues of the mouth of the river Shannon. She hoiſted Engliſh colours, and decoyed us within gun-ſhot, when ſhe ſubſtituted the tri-coloured flag, and took us. She proved to be Les Droits de l'Homme, of 74 guns, commanded by *ci-devant* baron, now citoyen La Croſſe, and had ſeparated from a fleet of men of war, on board of which were 20,000 troops, intended to invade Ireland; on board of this ſhip was general Humbert, who afterwards effected a deſcent in Ireland, with 900 troops, and 600 ſeamen *. On the 7th of January went into Bantry Bay, to ſee if any of the ſquadron was ſtill there, and on finding none, the ſhip proceeded to the ſouthward; nothing extraordinary occurred until the evening of the 13th, when two men of war hove in ſight, which proved afterwards to be the Indefatigable and Amazon frigates. It is rather remarkable, that the captain of the ſhip ſhould inform me, that the ſquadron which was going to engage him, was ſir Edward Pellew's, and declared, as was afterwards proved by the iſſue, "that he would not yield to any two Engliſh frigates, but would ſooner ſink his ſhip with every ſoul on board;" the ſhip was cleared for action, and we Engliſh priſoners, conſiſting of three infantry officers, two captains of merchantmen, two women and forty-eight ſeamen and ſoldiers, were

* Sir Edward Pellew has told me ſince, that the official account from France, on which he has received head-money, amounted to 1750 ſouls, at the time of the ſhipwreck.

conducted

conducted down to the cable-tier, at the foot of the fore-maſt.

The action began with opening the lower-deck ports, which, however, were ſoon ſhut again, on account of the great ſea, (I muſt here obſerve, that this ſhip was built on a new conſtruction, conſiderably longer than men of war of her rate, and her lower deck, on which ſhe mounted thirty-two pounders, French, equal to forty pounders Engliſh, was two feet and a half lower than uſual), which occaſioned the water to ruſh in to that degree, that we felt it running on the cables. The ſituation of the ſhip before ſhe ſtruck on the rocks, has been fully elucidated by Sir Edward Pellew, in his letter of the 17th of January 1797, to Mr. Nepean *; the awful taſk is left for me to relate what enſued.

At about four in the morning, a dreadful

* To make this narrative better underſtood, we ſubjoin Sir Edward Pellew's letter to the ſecretary of the admiralty, dated January 17, 1797.

"I have the honour to make known to you, for the information of the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, that on Friday laſt, the 13th inſtant, at half paſt noon, in latitude 47 deg. 30 min. N. Uſhant bearing N.E. fifty leagues, we diſcovered a large ſhip in the N.W. quarter, ſteering under eaſy ſail for France; the wind was then at weſt, blowing hard, with thick hazy weather. I inſtantly made the ſignal to the Amazon for a general chaſe, and followed it by the ſignal that the chaſe was an enemy. At four P.M. the Indefatigable had gained ſufficiently on the chaſe for me to diſtinguiſh very clearly, that ſhe had two tier of guns, with her lower-deck ports ſhut, and that ſhe had no poop.

"At fifteen minutes before ſix, we brought the enemy to cloſe action, which continued to be well ſupported on both ſides near an hour, when we unavoidably ſhot ahead; at this moment the Amazon appeared aſtern, and gallantly ſupplied our place, but the eagerneſs of captain Reynolds to ſecond his friend, had brought him up under a preſs of ſail, and, after a well ſupported and cloſe fire for a little time, he alſo unavoidably ſhot ahead. The enemy, who had nearly effected running me on board, appeared to be much larger than the Indefatigable, and from her very heavy fire of muſquetry, I believe was full of men. This fire was continued until the end of the action with great vivacity, although ſhe frequently defended both ſides of the ſhip at the ſame time.

"As ſoon as we had replaced ſome neceſſary rigging, and the Amazon had reduced her ſail, we commenced a ſecond attack, placing ourſelves, after ſome raking broadſides, upon each quarter; and this attack, often within piſtol ſhot, was by both ſhips unremitted for above five hours; we then ſheered off to ſecure our maſts. It would be needleſs to relate to their lordſhips, every effort that we made, in an attack that commenced at a quarter before ſix P.M. and did not ceaſe, excepting at intervals, until half paſt four A.M. I believe ten hours of more ſevere fatigue was ſcarcely ever experienced; the ſea was high; the people on the main deck up to their middles in water; ſome guns broke their breechings four times over, ſome drew the ring bolts from the ſides, and many of them were repeatedly drawn immediately after loading; all our maſts were much wounded, the main top-maſt completely unrigged, and ſaved only by uncommon alacrity.

"At about twenty minutes paſt four, the moon opening rather brighter than before, ſhewed to lieutenant George Bell, who was watchfully looking out on the forecaſtle, a glimpſe of the land; he had ſcarcely reached me to report it, when we ſaw the breakers. We were then cloſe under the enemy's ſtarboard bow, and the Amazon as near her on the larboard; not an inſtant could be loſt, and every life depended upon the prompt execution of my orders; and here it is with heartfelt pleaſure I acknowledge the full value of my officers and ſhip's company, who with incredible alacrity hauled the tacks on board, and made ſail to the ſouthward. The land could not be aſcertained, but we took it to be Uſhant; and in the Bay of Breſt crippled as we were.

I had

dreadful convulſion at the foot of the fore-maſt, aroufed us from a ſtate of anxiety for our fate, to the idea that the ſhip was ſinking! It was the fore-maſt that fell over the ſide; in about a quarter of an hour an awful mandate from above was re-echoed from all parts of the ſhip, "*Pauvres Anglais! pauvres Anglais! Montes bien vite, nous sommes tous perdues!*" Every one rather flew than climbed up. Though ſcarcely able before to move, from ſickneſs, I now found an energetic ſtrength in all my frame, and ſoon gained the upper deck, but oh, what a ſight! dead, wounded, and living, intermingled in a ſtate too ſhocking to deſcribe! not a maſt ſtanding, a dreadful loom of the land, and breakers all around us. The Indefatigable, on the ſtarboard quarter, appeared ſtanding off in a moſt tremendous ſea, from the Penmark Rocks, which threatened her with inſtant deſtruction. To the great humanity of her commander, thoſe few perſons who ſurvived the ſhipwreck, were indebted for their lives, for had another broadſide been fired, the commanding ſituation of the Indefatigable muſt have ſwept off at leaſt a thouſand men. On the larboard ſide, was ſeen the Amazon, within two miles, juſt ſtruck on the ſhore—our own fate drew near. The ſhip ſtruck, and immediately ſunk! ſhrieks, horror, and diſmay were heard from all quarters, whilſt the mercileſs waves tore from the wreck many early victims. Day-light appeared, and we beheld the ſhore lined with people who could render us no aſſiſtance. At low water, rafts were conſtructed, and the boats

I had no particular fears, but before day we again ſaw breakers on the lee bow; the ſhip was inſtantly wore to the northward; and being ſatisfied that the land we had before ſeen was not Uſhant, the lingering approach of day-light was moſt anxiouſly looked for by all, and ſoon after it opened, ſeeing the land very cloſe ahead, we again wore to the ſouthward in twenty fathoms water, and a few minutes after diſcovered the enemy, who had ſo bravely defended herſelf, lying on her broadſide, and a tremendous ſurf beating over her. The miſerable fate of her brave, but unhappy crew, was perhaps the more ſincerely lamented by us, from the apprehenſion of ſuffering a ſimilar misfortune. We paſſed her within a mile, in a very bad condition, having at that time four feet water in our hold, a great ſea, and the wind dead on ſhore, but we had aſcertained, beyond a doubt, our ſituation to be that of Hodierne Bay, and that our fate depended upon the poſſible chance of weathering the Penmark Rocks. Exhauſted as we were with fatigue, every exertion was made, and every inch of canvas ſet that could be carried, and at eleven A.M. we made the breakers, and, by the bleſſing of God, weathered the Penmark Rocks about half a mile.

"The Amazon had hauled her wind to the northward, when we ſtood to the ſouthward; her condition, I think, was better than ours, and I knew that her activity and exertions were fully equal to any that could be effected under ſimilar circumſtances; the judgment with which ſhe was managed during ſo long an action, and the gallantry of her attacks, could not but merit the higheſt commendation, and to the heart of a friend, it was peculiarly gratifying. I have full as much reaſon to ſpeak highly of my own officers and men, to whom I owe infinite obligations. The lieutenants Thompſon, Norway, and Bell, lieutenants O'Connor and Willon, of the marines, and Mr. Thompſon, the maſter, have abundant claims upon my gratitude, as well as every inferior officer in the ſhip. The ſufferings of the Amazon are unknown to me; and I am ſingularly happy to ſay, that my own are inconſiderable. The firſt lieutenant, Mr. Thompſon, a brave and worthy officer, is the only one of that deſcription wounded, with eighteen men, twelve of which number have wounds of no ſerious conſequence, conſiſting chiefly of violent contuſions from ſplinters.

I am, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD PELLEW."

got in readiness to be hoiſted out. The duſk arrived, and an awful night enſued. The dawn of the ſecond day brought with it ſtill ſeverer miſeries than the firſt, for the wants of nature could hardly be endured any longer, having been already near thirty hours without any means of ſubſiſtence, and no poſſibility of procuring them. At low water a ſmall boat was hoiſted out, and an Engliſh captain and eight ſailors ſucceeded in getting to the ſhore. Elated at the ſucceſs of theſe men, all thought their deliverance at hand, and many launched out on their rafts, but ah! death ſoon ended their hopes.

Another night renewed our afflictions. The morn of the third day, fraught with greater evils than ever, appeared; our continued ſufferings made us exert the laſt effort, and we English priſoners, tried every means to ſave as many fellow-creatures as laid in our power. Larger rafts were conſtructed, and the largeſt boat was got over the ſide. The firſt conſideration was to lay the ſurviving wounded, the women, and helpleſs men in the boat; but the idea of equality, ſo fatally promulgated among the French, loſt them all ſubordination, and nearly one hundred and twenty jumped into the boat, in defiance of their officers, and ſunk it. The moſt dreadful ſea that I ever ſaw, ſeemed at that fatal moment to add to the calamity, nothing of the boat was ſeen for a quarter of an hour, when the bodies floated in all directions; then appeared, in all the horrors of fight, the wreck, the ſhores, the dying, and the drowned! Indefatigable in acts of humanity, an adjutant-general (Renier) launched himſelf into the ſea, to obtain ſuccours from the ſhore, and was drowned in the attempt.

Already nearly one-half of the people had periſhed, when the fourth night renewed in its horrors, all our miſeries. Weak, diſtracted, and wanting every thing, we envied the fate of thoſe whoſe lifeleſs corpſes no longer wanted ſuſtenance. The ſenſe of hunger was already loſt, but a parching thirſt conſumed our vitals. Recourſe was had to urine and ſalt water, which only increaſed the want; half a hogſhead of vinegar indeed floated up, and each had half a wine glaſs, which gave a momentary relief, yet ſoon left us again in the ſame ſtate of dreadful thirſt. Almoſt at the laſt gaſp! every one was dying with miſery, and the ſhip, which was now one-third ſhattered away from the ſtern, ſcarcely afforded a graſp to hold by, to the exhauſted and helpleſs ſurvivors.

The fourth day brought with it a more ſerene ſky, and the ſea ſeemed to ſubſide, but to behold from fore to aft the dying in all directions, was a ſight too ſhocking for the feeling mind to endure. Almoſt loſt to a ſenſe of humanity, we no longer looked with pity on thoſe who were the ſpeedy forerunners of our own fate, and a conſultation took place, to ſacrifice ſome one to be food for the remainder. The die was going to be caſt, when the welcome ſight of a man of war brig renewed our hopes. A cutter ſpeedily followed, and both anchored at a ſhort diſtance from the wreck. They then ſent their boats to us, and by means of large rafts about one hundred and fifty, of near four hundred who attempted it, were ſaved by the brig that evening. Three hundred and eighty were left to endure another night's miſery, when, dreadful to relate, above one-half were found dead next morning.

I was

I was ſaved at about ten o'clock on the morning of the 18th, with my two brother officers, the captain of the ſhip, and general Humbert. They treated us with great humanity on board the cutter, by giving us a little weak brandy and water every five or ſix minutes, after which a baſon of good ſoup. I fell on the locker, in a kind of trance, for near thirty hours, ſwelled to that degree, as to require medical aid to reſtore my decayed faculties. We were taken to Breſt almoſt naked, having loſt all our baggage, where they gave us a rough ſhift of clothes; and in conſequence of our ſufferings, and the help we afforded in ſaving many lives, a cartel was fitted out by order of the French Government, to ſend us home without ranſom or exchange. We arrived at Plymouth on the 7th of March following.

Account of the Loſs of his Majeſty's frigate la Tribune; in the month of November 1797.

La Tribune was one of the finest frigates in his majeſty's ſervice, mounted 44 guns, and had been lately captured by captain Williams, in the Unicorn frigate. She was commanded by captain S. Barker, and ſailed from Torbay the 22d of September 1797, as convoy to the Quebec and Newfoundland fleets. In lat. 49. 14. long. 17. 22. ſhe fell in and ſpoke with his majeſty's ſhip Experiment, from Halifax, out twelve days. She loſt ſight of all her convoy October 10, in lat. 46. 16. long. 32. 11. On Thurſday morning they diſcovered the harbour of Halifax about eight o'clock; and the wind being E. S. E. they approached it very faſt, when captain Barker propoſed to the maſter to lay the ſhip too, till they could obtain a pilot. The maſter replied "that he had beat a 44 gun ſhip into the harbour, that he had been frequently there, nor was there any occaſion for a pilot, as the wind was favourable." Confiding in theſe aſſurances, captain Barker went below, and was for a time employed in arranging ſome papers he wiſhed to take on ſhore with him; the maſter in the meantime taking upon him the pilotage of the ſhip, and placing great dependance on the judgment of a negro man, of the name of John Coſey, who had formerly belonged to Halifax. About twelve o'clock the ſhip had approached ſo near the Thrum Cap Shoals that the maſter became alarmed, and ſent for Mr. Galvin, the maſter's mate, who was ſick below. On his coming upon deck, he heard the man in the chains ſing out, "by the mark five!" the black man came forward at the same time ſinging out, "steady!" Galvin got on one of the carronades to obſerve the ſituation of the ſhip; the maſter, in much agitation, ran up to the wheel, and took it from the man who was ſteering, with an intent to wear the ſhip; but before this could be effected, or Galvin was able to give an opinion, ſhe ſtruck. Captain Barker inſtantly came on deck, and reproached the maſter with having loſt the ſhip; ſeeing Galvin alſo on deck, he addreſſed him, and ſaid, that knowing he had formerly ſailed out of this harbour, he was much ſurpriſed he could ſtand by and ſee the maſter run the ſhip on ſhore. Galvin informed the captain, he had not been on deck long enough to give an opinion.

Signals of diſtreſs were immediately made, and anſwered by the military poſts, and the ſhips in the harbour. Boats from all the military poſts, from his majesty's ſhips, and the dock-yard, proceeded to the relief of la Tribune. The military boats, and one of the boats from the dock-yard, with Mr. Rackum, boatſwain of the ordinary, reached the ſhip, but the other boats, though making the greateſt exertions, were not able, the wind being ſo much againſt them, to get on board. The ſhip was immediately lightened, by throwing all her guns, excepting one retained for ſignals, overboard, and every other heavy article, ſo that about half paſt eight o'clock in the evening the ſhip began to heave, and about nine ſhe got off from the ſhoals. She had before, at about five or ſix o'clock, loſt her rudder, and on examination, it was now found, that ſhe had ſeven feet water in her hold. The chain-pumps were immediately manned, and ſuch exertions made, that they ſeemed to gain on the leaks, and, by the advice of Mr. Rackum, the captain ordered to let go the beſt bower anchor; this was done, but it did not bring her up; the captain then ordered them to cut the cable, and the jib and fore-top-maſt ſtay-ſail were hoiſted to ſteer by. All this time the violent gale which had come on from the S.E. kept increaſing, and carrying them to the weſtern ſhore. In a ſhort time the ſmall bower anchor was let go, at which time they found themſelves in about thirteen fathom water; the mizen-maſt was then cut away.

It was now about ten o'clock, and the water gaining faſt upon them, little hope remained of ſaving the ſhip or their lives; at this critical period, lieutenant Campbell quitted the ſhip. Lieutenant North was taken into the boat out of one of the ports. Lieutenant James, of the Royal Nova Scotia regiment, not being to be found, was ſo unfortunate as to remain, and to the great diſtreſs of his worthy parents and friends, ſhared the general fate. From the period when lieutenant Campbell quitted the ſhip, all hopes of ſafety had vaniſhed; the ſhip was ſinking faſt, the ſtorm was increaſing with redoubled violence, and the rocky ſhore to which they were approaching, reſounding with the tremendous noiſe of the billows which rolled towards it, preſented nothing to thoſe who might ſurvive the calamity, but the expectation of a more painful death, from being daſhed againſt thoſe tremendous precipices, which, even in the calmeſt day, it is almoſt impoſſible to aſcend. Dunlap, one of the ſurvivors, declared, that at about half paſt ten, as nearly as he could conjecture, one of the men who had been below came to him on the forecaſtle, and told him it was all over. In a few minutes after the ſhip took a lurch, as a boat will when nearly filled with water, and going down; immediately on which Dunlap began to aſcend the fore-ſhrouds, and, at the ſame moment caſting his eyes towards the quarter deck, ſaw captain Barker ſtanding by the gang-way, and looking into the water, and directly after heard him call for the jolly-boat. At the ſame time he ſaw the lieutenant of marines running towards the taffrail, he ſuppoſed to look for the jolly-boat, as ſhe had been previouſly let down, with men in her; but inſtantly the ſhip took a ſecond lurch, and ſunk to the bottom; after which

neither the captain or any other of the officers were ſeen.

The ſcene, ſufficiently diſtreſſing before, became now peculiarly awful! More than 240 men, beſides women and children, were floating on the waves, making their laſt effort to preſerve their exiſtence. Dunlap, whom we have before mentioned, gained the foretop. Mr. Galvin, the maſter's mate, after incredible difficulty, got into the maintop; he was below when the ſhip ſunk, directing the men at the chain-pump, but was waſhed up the hatchway, thrown into the waſte, and from thence into the water, and his feet as he plunged ſtruck a rock; on aſcending, he ſwam to gain the main ſhrouds, when he was ſuddenly ſeized hold of by three men; he now thought he was loſt; to diſengage himſelf from them he made a dive into the water, which induced them to quit their hold: on riſing again he ſwam to the ſhrouds, and arriving at the maintop, ſeated himſelf on an arm cheſt, which was laſhed to the maſt. From the obſervations of Mr. Galvin from the maintop, and Mr. Dunlap in the foretop, it appears that near one hundred perſons were, for a conſiderable time, hanging to the ſhrouds, the tops, and other parts of the wreck; but from the extreme length of the night, and the ſeverity of the ſtorm, nature became exhauſted, and they kept at all periods of the night dropping off, and diſappearing. The cries and groans of the unhappy ſufferers, from the bruiſes many of them had received, and as their hopes of deliverance began to fail them, were continued through the night; though, as morning appeared, from the few that then ſurvived, they became feeble indeed: the whole number ſaved from the wreck, amounted to eight perſons, and ſeveral of them ſo exhauſted, as to be indifferent whether they were taken off or not. Mr. Galvin mentions, that about twelve o'clock the mainmaſt gave way; at that time he ſuppoſes there were on the main-top and on the ſhrouds upwards of 40 perſons. By the fall of the maſt the whole were again plunged into the water, and of that number only nine, beſides himſelf, regained the top. The top reſted upon the mainyard, and the whole remained faſt to the ſhip by ſome of the rigging. Of the ten perſons who regained the main-top, four only remained alive when the morning appeared: ten were at that time alive on the foretop, but three of them had got ſo exhauſted, and had become ſo unable to help themſelves, that before any relief came they were finally waſhed away; three others periſhed, and thus four only were finally left alive in the foretop. The place where the ſhip went down, was barely three times her length, to the ſouthward of the entrance into Herring Cove. The people came down in the night to the point oppoſite to which the ſhip ſunk, and kept large fires, and were ſo near as to converſe with the people on the wreck.

The firſt exertion that was made for their relief was by *a boy thirteen years old*, from Herring Cove, who ventured off in a ſmall ſkiff by himſelf, about eleven o'clock the next day; and this truly deſerving young lad, with great exertions, and at extreme riſk to himſelf, boldly approached the wreck, and backed in his little boat ſo near to the foretop, as to take off two of the men. for the boat could not with ſafety hold any

more; and here a trait of generous magnanimity occurred, which deſerves to be noticed. Dunlap and Munroe had, through this diſaſtrous night, providentially preſerved their ſtrength and ſpirits beyond their unfortunate companions, and had endeavoured to cheer and encourage them as they found their ſpirits ſinking; they were now both enabled to have ſtepped into the boat, and thus have terminated their own ſufferings, but their other two companions, though alive, were unable to help themſelves; they lay exhauſted on the top, wiſhed not to be diſturbed, and ſeemed deſirous to periſh as they lay. Theſe generous fellows heſitated not a moment to remain themſelves on the wreck, and to ſave, though againſt their will, their unfortunate companions: they lifted them up, and by the greateſt exertions got them into the little ſkiff, and the manly boy rowed them triumphantly to the Cove, and inſtantly had them conveyed to a comfortable habitation. After ſhaming, by his example, older perſons, who had larger boats, he put off again in his ſkiff, but with all his efforts he could not then approach the wreck: his example, however, was ſoon followed by the Tribune's jolly-boat, and by ſome of the boats in the Cove; with their joint exertions the eight men were preſerved, who, with four that eſcaped in the jolly-boat, made the whole number of ſurvivors of this fine ſhip's company.

An inſtance occurred, which, though it may appear unnatural, after the diſtreſſing ſcene we have related, is ſo deſcriptive of the cool thoughtleſsneſs of danger which ſo often diſtinguiſhes our Britiſh tars, that it would be inexcuſable to omit it. Daniel Munroe, one of the ſurvivors, had, as well as Dunlap, got into the foretop. Suddenly he diſappeared; and it was concluded he had been waſhed away with many others; when, after an abſence from the top of about two hours, he raiſed his head through the lubber hole, to the ſurprize of Dunlap, who enquired where he had been: he ſaid he had been cruiſing for a better birth. After ſwimming about the wreck for a conſiderable time, he had retired to the fore-ſhrouds, and crawling in on the cat-harpins, had actually been ſleeping there more than an hour, and appeared to be greatly refreſhed.

Account of the late Deſcent in Pembrokeſhire.

On Wedneſday, the 22d of February laſt, ſeveral perſons, from the heights above St. Bride's bay, deſcried a ſmall ſquadron, conſiſting of two frigates, and two ſmaller veſſels, ſteering from the Briſtol Channel round St. David's Head. They ſhowed Engliſh colours, but were ſoon ſuſpected to be French. After turning St. David's Head, and ſailing a few miles to the northward, in Cardigan bay, they drew near the ſhore, and caſt ſingle anchors to the north of a ſmall promontory, under Lanwnnwr; they remained but a ſhort time at that place, moving ſoon up, half a league nearer to Fiſhgard; and finally anchoring in a ſmall bay, near Lanonda church. They immediately hoiſted French colours, and put out their boats. The country-people were dreadfully alarmed, and inſtantly abandoned their houſes. One boat was obſerved to approach the ſhore, full of men. The cliff here

here is very ſteep and rugged, the aſcent exceedingly difficult. A countryman ſaw them coming up ſingly, throwing their muſkets before them, and climbing on their hands and knees. As ſoon as they got to the top of the hill, they ſet the furze, and what combuſtibles they could collect, on fire, to apprize their comrades of their ſucceſs. As no perſon ventured to continue in ſight of the cliff any longer, it is impoſſible to know how they contrived to bring up their barrels of gunpowder, &c. It has been ſaid, that they were directed either by Iriſhmen or Welchmen, who were perfectly acquainted with the coaſt; but the difficulty of the ſpot they fixed upon, renders this highly improbable; eſpecially, when it is conſidered, that at the diſtance of three miles to the ſouthward, and two to the northward, there are very convenient landing-places. But the difficulty of landing is not the ſole, nor the chief, diſadvantage attending this place. It is at the diſtance of four or five miles from a good road, the country mountainous, rocky, and ſo uneven, that theſe few miles coſt the writer near two hours of laborious travelling, on a good horſe, to view the ſpot. It required almoſt infinite labour to convey their ſtores from thence. Between this place, alſo, and the road, there is a very high hill, covered with ſtupendous maſſes of rocks and looſe ſtones, on which, indeed, they fixed piquets; but after theſe ſhould have been driven in, the ſituation of the main body, on the brow of the cliff, would have been totally expoſed to the fire of artillery.

Their debarkation was completed before Thurſday morning, when numbers of them diſperſed over the country, to procure proviſions and wearing-apparel, or, in other words, to plunder. From thoſe houſes in which they found inhabitants, they took but few things; but entirely ranſacked, and gutted, thoſe that were abandoned. This was particularly the caſe with the houſe belonging to the farm on which they landed. The furniture, and all the implements of huſbandry, were burnt for fuel; the feathers of the beds turned looſe over the fields, for the ſake of the ſtuff which incloſed them. They alſo killed a few ſheep and poultry; but, all circumſtances conſidered, the damage is infinitely leſs than might have been expected. They committed no wanton murders, nor any deeds of great cruelty.—Two Welchmen were killed, but theſe, by their fooliſh raſhneſs, provoked their fate; one almoſt deſerved it: for after a Frenchman had ſurrendered himſelf to him, and reſigned his muſket, the Welchman, with the butt-end of the ſame muſket, aimed a blow at his head; on this, the other inſtantly ran him through with his bayonet, which he had not relinquiſhed.

The greateſt exertions were uſed by the chief men of the county, to collect all the forces that could be found. Theſe arrived at Fiſhgard on Thurſday evening, a little after dark.

They conſiſted of	
The Pembroke Fencibles - - -	100
Part of the Cardiganſhire Militia -	200
The Fiſhgard and Newport Fencibles - - - - - -	300
Lord Cawdor's Troop of Yeoman Cavalry - - - - -	60
In all -	660

Theſe men, although properly

trained to the uſe of the muſket, had never ſeen one fired in anger; but many of the officers had been long in the ſervice, and were experienced in war. To theſe muſt be added, a vaſt number of gentlemen volunteers, with crowds of colliers, and common people of all deſcriptions, ſome armed, and ſome unarmed. Although theſe latter increaſed the appearance of the force, yet they muſt be looked upon as of little uſe in battle, if not of real diſſervice: not to mention that, in ſpite of the public encomiums on their loyalty, many credible perſons were witneſſes, both in Haverfordweſt, and on the roads, on Thurſday evening, to ſuch expreſſions, as ſubjected their principles and inclinations to ſtrong ſuſpicions. Three perſons are now in cuſtody, on a charge of having communicated intelligence to the French commander, and the Romney dragoons are in purſuit of more this day.

About ten o'clock on Thurſday night, an officer brought to Lord Cawdor the letter which afterwards appeared in the Gazette, and the ſurrender was ſoon determined upon, and fixed for the following day at noon. From the place of their firſt encampment, if it may be ſo called, they marched at that time, with Lord Cawdor at their head, to Goodick Sands, under Fiſhgard, where they gave up their arms. Their number was very near fourteen hundred. They appeared truly formidable, when compared with our ſmall force; although our's was very judiciouſly diſtributed on a hill above the ſands, ſo as to make an appearance of a very long line. The priſoners diſplayed the conſtitutional levity of Frenchmen on the occaſion. As ſoon as they left their arms, ſome began to ſing, ſome to ſmoke, ſome to dance and leap, others chewed bread and cheeſe, but ſome few exhibited dark and indignant countenances. They were marched on Friday night to Haverfordweſt, and confined in different places, ſome in the caſtle, ſome in churches, and ſome in ſtore-houſes. They were ſoon after removed to Milford, and put in priſon-ſhips.

Thus ended this ſingular expedition. It is very natural to aſk, what could have been its object? It was too ſmall a force to make any ſerious impreſſion on the country; and it appears too large to throw away for nothing. It has been told, that it was expected, the country would join them. This expectation was ſurely very abſurd! Had the body of the people been ſo inclined, this force was much too ſmall to encourage them. The Directory might have known, yea, muſt have known, that none but perſons in actual inſurrection already, or madmen, anxious to throw away their lives, would have joined ſo feeble a body.

It has been again aſſerted, that they were robbers, galley-ſlaves, and the ſweepings of the gaols. Perhaps this is the fact; but there were five or ſix hundred of them, as fine men as were ever embodied in a regiment; and it is certain, that the commander declared, that he had 600 of the beſt ſoldiers of France, who had diſcipline, courage, and conſtitutions, equal to any undertaking; who had been in conſtant ſervice, without lying in a regular houſe-bed for ſome years. Had they been galley ſlaves, or, as has alſo been ſaid, ſome of the royaliſts of La Vendée, who had enliſted

enlifted in the republican armies, but were not to be trufted at home, it might be fuppofed, that the Directory could not have promifed itfelf any advantage from fuch perfons, equal to the value of the arms, and the immenfe quantities of ammunition, rifked in the undertaking *.

That it was not intended as a diverfion in favour of a more important attack elfewhere, is now evident, from the certainty that no fuch attack was made about that time.

It is, again, very natural to afk, how came they to furrender, without ftriking a blow? It has been anfwered, that the officers had loft their authority, that the foldiers were become mutinous, and bent upon plunder. In proof of this, a fact is related, that a country-gentleman, after having been robbed, entered their lines, and complained to the commander, who condemned the thief to be fhot; but a general cry of grace! grace! from all parts, determined him to pardon the culprit. But if the officers had loft their command, how were they able to bring all their men, in perfect order, to lay down their arms, a meafure which moft of them difliked?

It has been by others fuppofed, that when the fhips left them, and all hopes of retreat were cut off, they were panic-ftruck, and that they believed our force to have been much greater than it was. But the officers muft have known, that the veffels were to leave them, and that it would have been madnefs for them to ftay long in that fituation. As for our force, perfons are now in cuftody, on a ftrong fufpicion of having given them very exact information.

The commander himfelf in his letter, afcribes his conduct to the circumftances under which he was landed at that place, and to certain principles of humanity, which inclined him to avoid bloodfhed and pillage. As to the circumftances, we know nothing of them; but as for principles of humanity, it is more than probable, that thofe who poffefs them in fuch a degree, as to turn with difguft from bloodfhed and pillage, are not fo fit for war, as to have fuch expeditions as this entrufted to them.

After all, the defign, the conduct, and the fate of the expedition, are enveloped in a myftery. In this country, there are as many opinions as heads, and a thoufand different conjectures are afloat every day. The only circumftance in which we all agree, is, afcribing our prefervation to Divine Providence.

Haverfordwest, March 11.

Inftructions to Colonel Tate.

There will be placed under the command of colonel Tate, a body of troops completely organized, to the number of one thoufand and fifty, all refolute determined men, with whom he may undertake any thing; they are to be called, "La Seconde Legion des Francs." The deftruction of Briftol is of the very laft importance, and every poffible effort fhould be made to accomplifh

* There were feventy cart-loads of powder and ball, with a quantity of hand grenades. The report of their having 5000 ftand of arms concealed in the cliffs, is not founded in truth,

it.

it. For this purpoſe, it will be proper to reconnoitre the mouth of the Severn in the day-time, and to ſail up the Avon at night-fall, within five miles of the town, where the landing ſhould be made on the right bank, in the greateſt ſilence; and, the troops being ſupplied with combuſtible matter, col. Tate is to advance rapidly in the dark, on that ſide of Briſtol which may be to windward, and immediately to ſet fire to that quarter. If the enterprize be conducted with dexterity, it cannot fail to produce the total ruin of the town, the port, the docks, and the veſſels, and to ſtrike terror and amazement into the very heart of the capital of England. The expedition under the command of col. Tate has in view three principal objects: the firſt is, if poſſible, to raiſe an inſurrection in the country: the ſecond is, to intercept and embarraſs the commerce of the country: and the third is, to prepare and facilitate the way for a deſcent, by diſtracting the attention of the Engliſh government. In all countries, the poor are the claſs moſt prone to inſurrection; and this diſpoſition is to be forwarded by diſtributing money and drink, by inveighing againſt the government as the cauſe of the public diſtreſs; by recommending and facilitating a riſing, to plunder the public ſtores and magazines, and the property of the rich, whoſe affluence is the natural ſubject of envy to the poor. It is, notwithſtanding, to be obſerved, that, however defective may be the morality of the Engliſh people, they have ſtill a reſpect for the laws and their magiſtrates, even in the moment of inſurrection; it will be therefore adviſable to ſpare as much as poſſible, the property of thoſe who may be in any civil function, and even of the country gentlemen, and all impoſitions ſhould be laid on the peers, the men of rank and high fortune, the clergy, thoſe who ſerve as officers in the army and navy, and eſpecially in the militia; of all ſuch, the country ſeats, farms, woods, cattle and corn, ſhould be given up to be plundered by the people. Theſe predatory excurſions ſhould be made in different, and even diſtant quarters, by detachments of two or three hundred men each. The commerce of the enemy in the country, is to be interrupted by breaking down bridges, cutting dykes, ruining cauſeways, which is, at the ſame time eſſentially neceſſary for the preſervation of the army; by plundering all convoys of ſubſiſtence, the public ſtages and waggons, and even private carriages; the cutting off the ſupplies of proviſions from the principal towns, burning all veſſels and boats on the rivers and canals, deſtroying magazines, ſetting fire to docks and coal-yards, rope-walks, great manufactories, &c. &c. It is to be obſerved likewiſe, that by theſe means a crowd of artizans will be thrown out of employment, and of courſe, ready to embark in any meaſure which holds out to them ſubſiſtence and plunder, without labour and fatigue. The ſucceſs of the expedition will likewiſe be materially forwarded by diſarming the militia, by burning the arſenals in the ſeaports, by ſtopping the couriers of government, by ſeducing the enemy's troops to deſert; and by the terror which the ſucceſs of the legion; and the progreſs of the inſurrection, will carry into the boſoms of the unwarlike citizens.

In

In order to ſpread the panic as generally as poſſible, the legion is to be divided into ſeveral columns; having ſettled a common rendezvous, where they are to aſſemble every four, ſix, or eight days. The inhabitants muſt be obliged to ſerve as guides, and any who refuſe are to be puniſhed on the ſpot; the magiſtrates or ſome of their families, are always to be employed in preference on this ſervice, that they may not accuſe or puniſh the others. All denunciations againſt thoſe who join the legion, are to be puniſhed with death. Wherever the legion, or any of its columns is poſted, if the neighbouring pariſhes do not give inſtant notice of the approach of the enemy, whether by ringing of bells or otherwiſe, they are to be given up to fire and ſword. Col. Tate will not omit to obſerve, that there are in England numbers of French, who will be eager to join him, ſuch as priſoners of war, ſoldiers and ſailors, privates in the Engliſh emigrant regiments, and a crowd of others, whom want and deſire of vengeance will draw to his ſtandard. He may admit ſuch Frenchmen into the legion, but he will obſerve to be on his guard, that the newcomers may not raiſe cabals and factions, eſpecially if there ſhould be among them any nobles or prieſts, whoſe ambition is only to be exceeded by their cowardice; ſhould any ſuch attempt be made, he will take care to puniſh it moſt ſeverely. Col. Tate will encourage all deſerters and priſoners to enter into the new companies before mentioned; if ſuch priſoners refuſe, he will ſhave their heads and eyebrows; and if they are taken again in arms, they are to be ſhot. L. Hoche.

To Col. Tate, on his Military Operations and Marches.

With boldneſs and intelligence combined, you may eaſily poſſeſs yourſelf of Cheſter and Liverpool; which you will ruin by burning the magazines, and filling up the ports, or at leaſt you may cut off all communication between thoſe cities and the interior. There is another object, which ſhould likewiſe decide you to enter thoſe counties, as you will be joined there by two other columns of French troops, to which you will unite that under your command, if the general commanding the expedition in chief ſhall deſire it. In order to ſpread the conſternation and aſtoniſhment as wide as poſſible, after the deſtruction of Liverpool (for this point is capital), you muſt follow your blow, and ſeize upon ſome ſmall town or ſeaport on that coaſt, which you will lay under contribution. Your ſoldiers are to carry nothing with them but their arms, ammunition, and bread; they will find every where clothes, linen, and ſhoes; the inhabitants may ſupply your wants, and the ſeats of the gentry are to be your magazines. In caſe your poſition ſhould be at laſt no longer tenable, or that ſuperior forces ſhould compel you to quit the country bordering on the channel, you muſt not loſe an inſtant to join two French parties ſent into the counties of York, Durham, and Northumberland. In that caſe you muſt ſend me notice into Ireland, that I may be enabled to execute a diverſion in your favour. An officer in diſguiſe may reach me, either by ſeizing a fiſhing boat on the coaſt of Wales, or elſe by the route of Scotland. L. Hoche.

*Account of the Mutiny in the Channel Fleet.**

IN the month of February laſt, petitions were ſent from all the line of battle ſhips at Portſmouth to lord Howe; but being all written by one perſon, and couched in the ſame language, it was preſumed they were only the productions of ſome factious or mad-brained individuals, who were too contemptible for notice; the petitions were therefore thrown aſide, and obtained no anſwers. This, on the return of the fleet to port from the laſt cruize, occaſioned a correſpondence by letter to be kept up and paſſed from ſhip to ſhip, through the whole fleet; till at length it was unanimouſly agreed upon, that no ſhip ſhould lift an anchor till a redreſs of grievances was obtained. In this ſtate matters remained till the 15th of April, when admiral Bridport ordered the ſignal for the fleet to prepare for ſea; but, inſtead of weighing anchor, three cheers were given from the Queen Charlotte, as the ſignal for diſaffection, which in like manner was followed by every ſhip in the fleet. The officers were thunderſtruck, and tried various means to bring the men to a ſenſe of their duty; but without effect. The next day a boat from each ſhip was demanded, and two of the men belonging to each crew were appointed delegates to repreſent the whole, and lord Howe's cabin was deemed the moſt proper place for their deliberations. On the 17th every man in the fleet was ſworn to ſupport the cauſe in which he had embarked, even the admiral's body ſervants were not exempted from the oath. Their next procedure was the reeving ropes, in terrorem, at the fore-yard-arm, and turning all the officers out of the fleet who had behaved in any manner to offend them. On the 18th the lords of the admiralty arrived there, in the courſe of which, and two following days, ſeveral propoſitions were made by them to reduce the fleet to obedience, but ineffectually. On the 21ſt admirals Gardner, Colpoys, and Pole went on board the Queen Charlotte, in order to confer with the delegates, who informed the admirals, that it was the determination of the crews to agree to nothing that ſhould not be ſanctioned by parliament, and guaranteed by the king's proclamation; which ſo diſappointed and irritated Admiral Gardner, that he ſeized one of the delegates by the collar, and ſwore he would have them all hanged, with every fifth man throughout the fleet. This circumſtance ſo exaſperated the crew againſt the gallant admiral, that it was with much difficulty he eſcaped from the ſhip with his life. The delegates from the Royal George now returned to their ſhip, and informed the crew of what had happened, who, after ſome conſultation, reſolved on ſummoning all the delegates on board their ſhip, which was done by hoiſting the red or bloody flag, which ſtruck terror through the fleet (as the ſignal was not generally underſtood), and particularly to the officers, who trembled for the conſequences, fearing that ſomething dreadfully hoſtile was intended. It was at this moment that the much-valued and reſpected lord Bridport's flag was ſtruck, with a reſolution never again to diſplay it, which drew tears from almoſt all the

* For the various petitions, proclamations, &c. ſee the State Papers.

officers.

officers. The fleet next proceeded to load all their guns, ordered a watch to be kept the same as at sea, and put every thing in a state of defence, keeping every officer to his respective ship. On the 22d the men were somewhat pacified, and caused two letters to be written, one to the lords of the admiralty, stating the cause of their conduct on the preceding day, the other to lord Bridport, in which they styled him their *father* and *friend*, and avowed no intentional offence to him. This had a good effect; for on the 23d the admiral returned to his ship, and re-hoisted his flag, and after a short address to the crew, in which he told them that the painful business of the last week would be the means of hurrying him shortly to his grave, he informed them that he had brought with him a redress of all their grievances, and his majesty's pardon for the offenders, which after some deliberation were accepted, when every man returned to his duty.

This, however, was but a transient calm. On the 7th of May, this unfortunate dispute was renewed, from the circumstance of the sailors having been led to suppose, that government had broken its faith with them, and that the promised redress of grievances was to be withheld. Through the personal interference of lord Howe, and the passing of an act in compliance with the wishes of the seamen, the mutiny was again for a while appeased. The concessions of parliament, and the moderation of lord Howe, appeared to have settled every thing in dispute, and order was expected to ensue. In this, however, we were disappointed; the sailors at Portsmouth soon after came on shore and committed every kind of excess, and four of them were secured in custody for a rape and robbery. Some attempts were made to rescue them, but without effect.

On May 22d the fleet at Sheerness began to shew signs of ferment, and shortly after the mutineers took possession of the ships then there.

At seven o'clock on Saturday evening, earl Spencer, admiral Young, lord Arden, and Mr. Marsden, set off from the Admiralty for Sheerness, and at twelve that night an admiralty messenger followed, with his majesty's proclamation, offering his most gracious pardon to such men as having been seduced from their duty, should return to it.

In order to concentrate the scene of their operations, and to render their plans more effectual, the mutinous seamen compelled all the ships which lay near Sheerness to drop down to the Great Nore; amongst them was the St. Florenzo, which had been fitted up to carry the princess of Wirtemburg to Germany. No man could leave the ship without a kind of passport, signed by some of the delegates, which was called a *liberty ticket*; and if any seaman was found without such an order, he was kept close prisoner till he could shew by what means he had obtained leave of absence.

These delegates came regularly every day to Sheerness, where they held their conferences. They then paraded the streets and ramparts of the garrison, with a degree of triumphant insolence, which had been extremely aggravated by the arrival of a regiment of militia from Canterbury; against whom they held up in scorn the bloody flag of defiance. At the head of these men marched that person who was considered

conſidered as admiral of the fleet. The captain of the forecaſtle was the efficient, though not the nominal, commander of every ſhip. It is a moſt lamentable fact, that no officer had any command or authority whatever.

On Saturday, fourteen delegates came up the river, to induce the crews of his majeſty's ſhips lying in the Long Reach, to drop down to the Nore. As ſoon as it was underſtood who theſe perſons were, they were fired upon from a fort below Tilbury. At Graveſend they were taken into cuſtody by the loyal inhabitants of that town, but having been ſoon ſet at liberty, they prevailed on the ſeamen of the Lancaſter, of 64 guns, which lay at Long Reach, to join them.

On Monday, an admiralty board being formed at commiſſioner Hartwell's houſe, the delegates were ſent for, and introduced to lords Spencer, Arden, &c. One of the ſeamen, called Parker *, the principal delegate, was the ſpokeſman for his colleagues, who amounted to about a dozen. They ſtood behind Parker, forming a ſort of half circle, and the lords of the admiralty ſeemed ſeveral times deſirous of inviting them to ſpeak, but none of them would take a part in the diſcuſſion, except Parker, who, being the chief of the delegates, was called the port admiral.

Lord Spencer addreſſed himſelf to the delegates. He told them that they ſhould have every indulgence that had been granted to the ſeamen at Portſmouth, and with which they had been contented; and his lordſhip expreſſed a hope, that the ſeamen at Sheerneſs would be alſo ſatisfied with thoſe indulgencies. The ſeamen ſaid, they had other grounds of complaint. They preſented a liſt of them, amounting to eight articles; the firſt and principal of which was, the unequal diſtribution of prize-

* Parker, who has rendered himſelf ſo conſpicuous among the mutineers of the fleet, is ſaid to be deſcended from a reſpectable family in Exeter, Devon. He obtained a good education, was bred in the navy, and, about the concluſion of the American war, was an acting lieutenant in one of his majeſty's ſhips. He ſoon came into the poſſeſſion of a conſiderable ſum of money; and ſhortly after he arrived in Scotland, he married a farmer's daughter in Aberdeenſhire, with whom he received ſome property. At this time, being without employment, he ſoon ſpent his money, which involved him in debt, on account of which he was caſt into the jail of Edinburgh, where he was at the time the counties were raiſing ſeamen for the navy. He then entered as one of the volunteers for Perthſhire, received the bounty, and was releaſed from priſon, upon paying the incarcerating creditor a part of his bounty. He was put on board the tender then in Leith Roads, commanded by captain Watſon, who carried him, with many others, to the Nore. On the paſſage, captain Watſon diſtinguiſhed Parker, both by his activity and polite addreſs. That he is the ſame perſon who is now known in the mutinous fleet by the appellation of admiral Parker, there remains no doubt; for capt. Watſon of the Leith tender, who arrived in Leith Roads a few days ago, ſays, that before he ſailed from the Nore, he was ordered by the crew of the Sandwich to come on board, which he did; and was then introduced and interrogated by Parker, whom he knew at firſt ſight. Parker alſo recollected him, and from this circumſtance he experienced great favour. Parker ordered every man on board to treat captain Watſon well; ſaying, that he was the ſeaman's friend, and had treated him well; and that if any man uſed him otherwiſe, he ſhould inſtantly be ——. [Here he pointed to the rope at the yard-arm.] Captain Watſon took an opportunity of hinting to Parker the impropriety of his conduct, and the conſequences which might follow; it ſeemed to throw a momentary damp on his ſpirits, but he expreſſed a wiſh to wave the ſubject, and capt. Watſon left him, having obtained permiſſion to proceed on his voyage.

money. The lords commiſſioners told the delegates, they could grant nothing of themſelves, but they would lay their complaints and demands before thoſe who muſt finally decide upon them.

In the courſe of the diſcourſe, lord Spencer aſked them, rather peeviſhly, "What do you want?" to this Parker anſwered, "You are a man of ſenſe, and you know what is due to us; you know what we want." The audacious inſolence of Parker was intolerable. When lord Spencer hinted, he muſt refer their demands to miniſters in London, Parker ſaid, "Aye, go and conſult the ring-leaders of your gang;" and as the delegates were retiring, Parker, in anſwer to ſome juſt admonitions from lord Spencer, ſaid, "You may all be ——."

On Tueſday afternoon, the lords of the admiralty returned to town, without having accompliſhed the object of their journey. The mutineers grew bolder; in addition to mutiny, they committed acts of plunder and piracy. The Grampus ſtore-ſhip, equipped for the Eaſt Indies, with a ſupply of naval and ordnance ſtores for the fleet there, was ſtopped by the delegates; the ſtores were taken out of her, and diſtributed amongſt the ſhips under the command of the delegates. The Serapis, ſtore-ſhip, from the Weſt Indies, was likewiſe ſtopped.

On Thurſday evening the delegates ſent on ſhore to the admiral a declaration, ſtating their intention of blocking up the river Thames. They gave as the reaſon for this, their having heard that the Dutch fleet was on the point of ſailing; and as they were determined to have their grievances, as they called them, ſettled, they would bring matters to an extremity at once. This was conſidered as a threat which they would ſcarcely venture to execute; but yeſterday, about half-paſt twelve, the Standard, Inſpector, Brilliant, and Swan, got under weigh, and moored at equal diſtances acroſs the mouth of the Thames. Soon after, ſeveral veſſels ſtanding down the river were obliged to come to an anchor near the ſhips of the mutineers. The Monmouth at the ſame time moved her birth.

The preſident of the delegates now held his office only for a day; a freſh preſident was choſen every day.

The following is a liſt of the ſhips at the Nore, and in the mouth of the Thames. Three or four of the number, however, were well diſpoſed; but theſe were kept in the middle of the fleet, and were obliged to conform to the orders of the delegates.

Sandwich	90	Terpſichore	32
Montague	74	Iris	32
Inflexible	64	Inſpector	16
Director	64	Brilliant	28
Naſſau	64	Swan	14
Repulſe	64	Proſerpine	28
Belliqueux	64	Comet	14
Standard	64	Pylades	16
Lion	64	Grampus (store-ſhip.)	
Monmouth	64	Serapis (store-ſhip.)	
Ardent	64		

The San Fiorenzo, which had lain for ſome days in a ſtate of captivity under the ſtern of the Sandwich, much to the honour of her gallant officers and her loyal crew, made a ſurpriſing eſcape, equally remarkable for the boldneſs of the attempt, as well as for the management and ſkill with which it was executed. It appears, that the moment when the ſeveral ſhips were to pipe all hands to dinner, was the time fixed upon for carrying this plan into effect, when it was naturally ſuppoſed that the

the hoſtile ſhips muſt have been in a ſtate of the leaſt preparation to prevent its completion. The boatſwain's whiſtle, therefore, was the ſignal on this occaſion; the cables of the San Fiorenzo were inſtantly cut, and ſhe got under weigh without loſs of time. This eſcape was favoured by the arrival of the Montague, which came up at that moment, and by the ſudden agitation which the event cauſed in the fleet, the mutinous crews were by this, and the circumſtance already mentioned, retarded in their endeavours to bring back the San Fiorenzo by force. Notwithſtanding all this, ſhe was fired at by ſeveral of the ſhips, and as ſhe was perceived to have ſuſtained conſiderable damage in her rigging and her main fore chains, it was feared that ſome lives might have been loſt. She proceeded immediately to Harwich, where ſhe expected to meet the other frigates which were to convoy the prince and princeſs of Wirtemburg to Germany.

On May 31, part of admiral Duncan's fleet, viz. the Iris, Agamemnon, Ardent, and Leopard, deſerted him and came to Yarmouth, and ſoon afterwards joined the mutineers.

Meaſures now became neceſſary to be taken, on behalf of government. On June 1, his majeſty communicated to parliament the diſorders which had taken place in the fleet, and recommended ſome more effectual proviſion for the prevention and puniſhment of all traitorous attempts to excite ſedition and mutiny. This communication produced immediately an act of parliament, which was completed on the 6th of June. During that night, the Serapis, captain Duncan, made her eſcape, though damaged from the ſhot of the rebel ſhips. Two others attempted to eſcape, but were overpowered.

June the 7th, in the forenoon, the earl of Northeſk, who had ſo long been confined on board the Montague, of 74 guns, arrived in town, charged with ſeveral propoſitions, in a letter addreſſed to the king, from the mutinous committee on board the Sandwich. The following were the particulars of his miſſion.

At one o'clock P.M. on Tueſday, the two delegates of the Monmouth were rowed on board that ſhip, and informed lord Northeſk, it was the pleaſure of the committee, that he ſhould immediately accompany them on board the flag-ſhip, as they had propoſals to make leading to accommodation. His lordſhip immediately complied, attended only by one officer. He found the convention in the ſtate cabin, conſiſting of 60 delegates, with Parker ſitting at their head. Before they entered upon buſineſs, the preſident demanded of the perſon who accompanied lord Northeſk, who he was? the anſwer given, "An officer of the Monmouth, who accompanied his captain in the capacity of ſecretary, from a ſuppoſition that he might want one on the preſent occaſion." "Who knows him? ſay, delegates of the Monmouth, what kind of man is he?" The two delegates ſtated that he was a worthy good man; on which it was unanimouſly voted, that he might attend the conference. Lord Northeſk was now told by Parker, "That the committee, with one voice, had come to a declaration of the terms on which alone, without the ſmalleſt alteration, they would give up the ſhips; and that they had ſent for him, as a known

ſeamen's

ſeamen's friend, to be charged with them to the king; from whom he muſt pledge his honour to return on board, with a clear and poſitive anſwer in 54 hours." Parker here read the letter, which was ſaid to contain ſome rough compliments on his majeſty's virtues, and as many coarſe ſtrictures on the ſuppoſed demerits of his miniſters. His lordſhip ſaid, "he would certainly bear the letter as they deſired, but he could not, from the unreaſonableneſs of their demands, flatter them with any expectation of ſucceſs." They perſiſted that the whole muſt be complied with, or they would immediately put the fleet to ſea. Lord Northeſk was rowed on board the Duke of York Margate packet, under a flag of truce, with three cheers from the Sandwich, and with the following ſtate paper to ratify his credentials:

"Sandwich, June 6, 3 p. m.

"To Captain Lord Northeſk.

"You are hereby authoriſed and ordered to wait upon the king, wherever he may be, with the reſolutions of the committee of delegates, and are directed to return back, with an anſwer to the ſame, within 54 hours from the date hereof.

"R. PARKER, preſident."

Lord Northeſk arrived at Graveſend, took a little repoſe, and proceeded by land to town; when after ſtopping for a ſhort time at the Admiralty, he attended earl Spencer to the king.

To this application no anſwer was returned; and ſhortly after, diviſions took place in the rebel councils. The termination of the mutiny ſucceeded; the particulars of which are extracted from the following letter, printed in the Whitehall Evening Poſt of the 17th of June.

"Sheerneſs, June 15.

"A violent difference of opinion aroſe among the men at the Nore on Friday; and it was on that afternoon the Repulſe made for this place, and that the Leopard went up the Thames. Other veſſels, particularly the Naſſau, alſo attempted to eſcape, but they were prevented. Some men were killed in the various ſtruggles on board the ſhips, and many were wounded; but the moſt agonizing ſight was the Repulſe, which ran aground, and in that helpleſs ſituation, was fired upon by the Monmouth, the veſſel which followed her cloſe. The people of this place ſpeak with the utmoſt horror of the fight, and with the utmoſt indignation of the crew of the Monmouth, who were guilty of ſo barbarous a conduct. They naturally imagined, that the ſlaughter was great on board the Repulſe, but happily they were deceived; only a lieutenant loſt his leg, and another man was wounded by a ſplinter. This was very remarkable, as many hundred ſhot were fired at her, and they were ſeen in great numbers to ſtrike the water cloſe to the Repulſe. The Ardent afterwards, in the dark eſcaped, and in paſſing the Monmouth, fired at her, and killed or wounded ſeveral of the crew. Next day, namely, on Saturday laſt, the delegates finding it impoſſible to effect their purpoſe, various propoſitions were made, but diſcord univerſally reigned. It was then that the red flags were ſtruck, and that the trade was allowed to paſs up the Thames; a meaſure which

the delegates took in conſequence of being aſſured, that ſtopping the trade had excited the public indignation; it was then that diſtruſt of each other, and deſpair of ſucceeding in their demands, took poſſeſſion of the ſeamen's minds, and that every ſhip was ſuffered to follow her own courſe. In this ſtate they remained on Sunday, in hopes of a general pardon; but finding that government was decided in refuſing it, and that the moſt vigorous preparations were making to force them to ſubmiſſion; finding that their conduct was odious to the whole country, they reſolved to allow every ſhip to do the beſt for itſelf, and to oppoſe the deſertion no longer.

"On Monday night, the Naſſau, the Standard, and others, made off a little way up the river Thames; and early on Tueſday morning, the five ſhips already mentioned, ſailed up the river to Graveſend, with a flag of truce flying. On Tueſday afternoon, the Champion ſailed in under the guns of Sheerneſs; and on Tueſday night, the Monmouth, regarded as the moſt deſperate ſhip of all, came into the Little Nore, under the guns of the fort, to ſurrender; but ſo little faith was placed on her apparent intentions, that every preparation was made to compel her to ſubmit. The guns at the fort were ready to fire upon her, and the Ardent drew up on the oppoſite ſide, ſo that ſhe would then have been between two fires, if ſhe had attempted to reſiſt. When ſhe firſt came in, it was with difficulty the crew of the Repulſe could be reſtrained from going to fight her; ſuch was their indignation at the cruel conduct of the Monmouth.

"The ſame night, the Brilliant and ſome others came into Sheerneſs, and the Lion and a frigate went up the Thames. About three o'clock on Wedneſday morning, the Sandwich came under the guns of the fort.

"The Grampus arrived in the courſe of the forenoon, and the Director arrived off the fort about half paſt four o'clock. The Swan ſloop of war arrived in the evening. She is nick-named the Little Inflexible, to diſtinguiſh her for her violence; the Inflexible being regarded as well characterized by her name, as ſhe is the moſt outrageouſly mutinous, and the moſt obſtinate of the whole fleet. There was a deſperate ſtruggle on board the Swan, before the loyal party triumphed.

"I now come to that part of my narrative, on which you will be moſt deſirous to obtain information; I mean the arreſt of Parker, and the ſurrender of the Sandwich. On this ſubject, various falſe ſtories are in circulation even here, and no doubt the moſt abſurd of them have found their way into the London papers. The following facts may be depended upon. I have been at particular pains to aſcertain them.

"The falling to pieces of the mutiny, as I have already ſtated, made Parker as well as others deſpair of their object; and ſince Sunday, he ſeems to have refrained both from harſh conduct and intemperate language. On Tueſday morning the crews of all the ſhips were extremely deſirous of ſubmitting, provided a general pardon was granted. The crew of the Sandwich was particularly deſirous, and Parker did not oppoſe this ſpirit, a ſpirit which was rendered extremely ſtrong by the arrival on board of lieutenant

Mott,

Mott, with the proclamations, acts of parliament, &c.; of which the men complained they had been kept in ignorance till that time, Tuesday forenoon. In the course of the evening, the men resolved to submit to the king's mercy, conceiving that it would no doubt, be extended to them, who had not known to what extent they had offended. In this state, the Sandwich came up under the guns of the fort, about three o'clock on Wednesday morning; and about half past six, admiral Buckner's boat, commanded by the cockswain, and containing a piquet guard of the West York militia, went on board to bring him on shore. The service was regarded as pregnant with danger. Several of the officers of the Sandwich were on deck, and but very few of the men appeared. As soon as Parker heard a boat was come for him, he surrendered himself to four of the ship's crew, to protect him from the outrages of the other seamen, whose vengeance he feared. Admiral Buckner's cockswain told the officers on deck his business, and claimed their assistance. The lieutenant drew his sword, and the party, consisting of eight or ten, went down below, where Parker was surrendered into their hands. They tied his hands together behind, and the officers, in a very quiet manner, conducted him into the boat, which had eight or ten rowers, and a party of the West York militia, seated in the head, with their faces towards the stern, and their muskets held upright in their hands ready charged. Parker was seated in the stern part, with his face towards the head; behind him was the cockswain, with his knees upon Parker's shoulders, so that Parker seemed to be lying back between his legs; and before Parker, was seated the lieutenant of the Sandwich, holding a drawn sword over him. In this situation the boat left the ship, and the rowers pulled with such vigour, that perhaps never boat skimmed over the water more swiftly. The top of the stairs, and the surrounding parts, were crowded with spectators, principally soldiers. Parker being landed, as he passed, was much hissed by those around him. He appeared a little disconcerted, but not so much abashed as might have been expected; and he said aloud, "Do not hoot me. It is not my fault. I will clear myself!" or words to that effect. He was then marched through the dock-yard, by a party of the West York, and imprisoned in one of the cells under the chapel of the garrison. These cells, in which the other prisoners are since lodged, lay three on each side as you pass through the gateway; and overhead, forming the roof of the gateway, is the chapel of the garrison. The cells appear to be about ten feet square each, with thick doors covered with plates of iron. Not the slightest ray of light can enter them. In one of these, Parker was lodged for several hours, after which he was conducted to the commissioner's house to be examined, and committed to Maidstone gaol. The acting magistrates here, sent down by government, are Mr. Graham, of the police-office, Hatton-garden, and Mr. Williams, of the police-office, Whitechapel. No questions were put to Parker, nor did he say a single word respecting his examination.

"His person was merely identified, as the person of him who had been the principal of the mutiny; after which a warrant was made out

to commit him to Maidſtone gaol. About twelve o'clock he was ſent off for that priſon. He was ſeated in a poſt-chaiſe, between two conſtables of this town. A rope tied his elbows together behind his back, and twenty-four ſoldiers of the Weſt York guarded the chaiſe, part of whom were before and part behind. They were headed by a lieutenant, and as they all walked, the chaiſe of courſe proceeded very ſlowly. In this way they marched to Maidſtone gaol.

"The chief conſtable, who conducted him to Maidſtone, ſays, Parker appeared to be in very good ſpirits, calm and collected, and rather cheerful. When aſked what he thought of his fate, he appeared to entertain no fear of puniſhment; ſaid that what he had done was not his fault; he was perſuaded to it, and forced to it; he ſhould clear himſelf when the day of trial came, &c.

"Having now diſmiſſed the delegate, Parker, I ſhall relate a few other facts which have come to my knowledge. All the ſhips, as they have come in and ſurrendered, have been immediately cleared of their gunpowder, for fear ſome deſperate mutineer ſhould blow them up. It is a certain fact, that after the Repulſe had ſurrendered, an Iriſhman attempted to blow up the veſſel. He had reached the door of the powder room, with a lighted match in his hand, and had knocked down the ſentinel, when he was ſeized, and ſtopped from executing his infernal purpoſe. Fears were entertained, that the ſame deſperate attempt would be ſucceſsfully made in the Monmouth, and even in the Sandwich. Thoſe ſhips and all the mutineers were therefore deprived of their powder; and, as an old Iriſh invalid ſaid to me, they might throw their bullets as far as they pleaſed.

"Since Parker was ſent off, a great many more of the delegates and committee men have been brought on ſhore. Ten have been brought from the Brilliant, and ſent to Queenborough gaol. I gueſs that about twenty more have been brought on ſhore, beſides thoſe I have ſeen landed. Among that twenty whom I have not ſeen, is Davis. I have been at the ſtairs from five till eight o'clock, and in that time there have been landed three boats full of priſoners; two of them containing ſix each, and one of them two. The principal part of them have been brought from the Sandwich. Of theſe the moſt notorious are Joſeph Hughes, Brooks, a ſerjeant of marines, and Oakleſs, a quarter-maſter of the Sandwich. The ſpectators did not inſult them. They were all guarded in much the ſame manner as Parker, and lodged in the cells I have already deſcribed.

"The three ſhips of the line, the Montague, Inflexible, and Belliqueux, ſtill hold out. They are at the Great Nore, about four or five miles hence, but have no red flags flying. The union jack is hoiſted on all of them. Two of them are lying cloſe to each other, and the other is about a mile diſtant. They all have their ſails unfurled, for the purpoſe of drying them. This has given riſe to a report of their being on their way to ſurrender to the fort, but the fact is otherwiſe. I can ſee them very plainly; their ſterns are towards this place, and they are not moving. A very large ſhip looked up to the Nore this morning about

about four o'clock. She is certainly a line-of-battle ſhip, and it is ſuppoſed came to join the mutineers; for on her ſeeing only three ſhips at the Nore, and thoſe without red flags, ſhe tacked about and ſtood down the Swin towards Harwich. She appeared to come from the Downs.

"The Sandwich, that theatre of abominable ſcenes, is no longer to have exiſtence. She is very old and very leaky, and is to be broken up. There are now 1,400 men on board her; ſhe, as a receiving ſhip, contained 2,200.

"Lord Keith and ſome magiſtrates are now on board the Sandwich, inſpecting who are moſt guilty. Thoſe who are to be tried for their lives, are given over to the civil power. Thoſe on whom puniſhment of an inferior nature will be inflicted, are to be tried by a court martial.

"The captains and other officers of the various ſhips are now going through them, beating up for volunteers to man the gun-boats, for the purpoſe of attacking the three ſhips ſtill refractory at the Nore. You may rely on this fact: they will be attacked to-morrow or the next day, unleſs they ſurrender. I think they will ſurrender.

"Two boats, with ten priſoners from the Director, are come to the ſtairs in the dock-yard. The firſt boat contains ſix oars, ſix marines at the head, with their muſkets upright in their hands, and themſelves facing the ſtern, where in the middle a lieutenant of the Director is ſitting, with three priſoners on each ſide of him. They are no way bound. One of them is a ſerjeant of marines, another a private, and four ſeamen. They do not appear to be dejected, excepting one. The ſecond boat contains four ſeamen, but no lieutenant, and in other reſpects like the other boat. They are landed on the ſtairs, and there ranged two and two. Six marines are drawn up on each ſide of them. The lieutenant calls them over by name, and they each walk up into the middle of a party of the Weſt York militia, ſtationed at the top of the ſtairs, who conduct them in this manner to the priſon. The attention has been drawn from the priſoners to a very affecting circumſtance:—A reſpectable looking woman, about fifty, who has been here a fortnight, enquiring for her huſband without obtaining any account of him, has juſt ſeen him paſs, as one of the priſoners, and has fallen down in a fit. She is now recovering. Several women are round her. She weeps bitterly. Her huſband appears about fifty, and is the moſt reſpectable looking man of the party."

Order and ſubordination being thus reſtored, it became the painful taſk of government to inflict puniſhment on thoſe who had, by their atrocious conduct, diſhonoured their country and the Britiſh navy. Accordingly, the trial of Parker commenced the 22d of June. At eight o'clock a gun was fired from the Neptune of 98 guns, Captain Stanhope, at anchor off Greenhithe, when the union jack was hoiſted at the mizen-peak, as a ſignal for the trial. It was near ten before the court was formally aſſembled, and the doors were thrown open; when Richard Parker, late a ſupernumerary ſeaman on board the Sandwich guard-ſhip, lying at the Nore, was brought into court, in cuſtody of a deputy marſhall provoſt of the admiralty, and placed at the left hand of the judge advocate;

the provoſt ſtanding by his ſide with a drawn ſword. The charge was now read by the judge advocate, Mr. Benfield. It accuſed the priſoner of various acts of mutiny, committed on board his majeſty's fleet at the Nore, of diſobedience of orders, and of contempt of the authority of his officers:

Preſident vice admiral ſir Thomas Paſley, bart.; commodore ſir Eraſmus Gower, Neptune 98; capt. Stanhope, ditto; capt. Markham, Centaur, 74; capt. Williamſon, Agincourt, 64; capt. Wells, Lancaſter, 64; capt. Lane, Acaſto, 44; capt. ſir Thomas Williams, Endymion, 36; capt. King, Sirius, 36; capt. Pierrepoint, Naiad, 36; and capt. Riou, Mary yacht; were now ſworn, and the liſt of evidences was called over on both ſides. Capt. Moſs of the Sandwich, attended as proſecutor on the part of the crown. Robert Sims, gunner of the Sandwich, a witneſs for the priſoner, was excuſed from attending on account of ſevere indiſpoſition. Captain Moſs then called vice admiral Buckner, who being ſworn, his teſtimony was to this effect. That on or about the 20th ult. he had ſeen the priſoner parading about the town of Sheerneſs, with a red flag diſplayed; that on his going on board the Sandwich, for the purpoſe of announcing to the mutineers his majeſty's proclamation of pardon, provided they immediately returned to their duty, he was not received with the reſpect due to his rank; the officers of the ſhip had been deprived of their ſide arms, and of all command; after waiting for a conſiderable time on board, Parker and others went on the quarter deck, and ſaid, "that none but themſelves ſhould be preſent there." The priſoner then tendered the admiral a paper, containing what he and others called a *liſt of grievances*, ſaying that, "until they were redreſſed, they would not give up the power they held in their hands;" and that "they muſt have the attendance of the board of admiralty, to ratify the ſame."

Admiral Buckner continued thus:—On or about the 22d of May, certain troops arrived at Sheerneſs, when the mutiny began to aſſume a ſtill more formidable appearance. On the 23d, my flag was ſtruck on board the Sandwich, without any orders from me. About that time, or in the evening of the ſame day, while I was examining the complaints alleged againſt two marines, who had been brought in by a party of the military, the priſoner, and a man named Davis, with I believe, three or four others, came abruptly into the commiſſioner's houſe at Sheerneſs, and demanded, "why thoſe men (the marines) were in cuſtody?" informing me, at the ſame time, that 'my flag was ſtruck, that I had no longer any authority, and that the power was in their hands!' They then, Parker being ſpokeſman, took away the men, as they ſaid, to try them for being on ſhore, Parker telling me, on my remonſtrating with him on the outrageous nature of his conduct, 'that he was not to be intimidated.' About the 4th of June, I received a letter from the priſoner Parker, in which he ſtyled himſelf *preſident of the committee of delegates*, ſtating, 'that the adminiſtration had acted improperly in ſtopping the proviſions for the men, and that their fooliſh proclamation was calculated to inflame the minds of honeſt men.' The admiral ſtated other inſtances of diſreſpect on

on the part of the priſoner, who always acted as the ſpokeſman of the other delegates. Admiral Buckner in his croſs examination by Parker, admitted, that Parker was not in the Sandwich at the time of his going on board; that he knew not whether he was the cauſe of the diſreſpect with which he had been treated, and that the priſoner had apologized for the ſame, and imputed it to error. The priſoner, to a queſtion from the court, anſwered, that he had no obſervations to make which might invalidate that part of the admiral's evidence, relating to taking away the marines, and his aſſertion to the admiral, that his authority was at an end.

Lieutenant Juſtice, of the Sandwich, proved a general mutiny, and that his orders, he then being the commanding officer, had been diſobeyed. Captains O'Bryen, of the Naſſau; Fancourt, of the Agamemnon; Cobb, of the Clyde; Parr, of the Standard; and Harcourt, of the Leopard; were aſked if they knew the priſoner, and if the priſoner had been on board their reſpective ſhips; their anſwers were in the negative. Mr. Snipe, the ſurgeon of the Sandwich, proved having been ordered by the delegates to attend the puniſhment of a man, ſentenced to be flogged by them for drunkenneſs; and that Parker, ſtanding on the gangway, told the ſhip's company, "that whoever diſapproved of the ſentence, and did not obey the orders of the committee, migh expect to ſhare the ſame fate." He had afterwards occaſion to attend the committee, reſpecting the ſick, and on all ſuch occaſions Parker acted as ſpokeſman and preſident, and had directed the witneſs to addreſs himſelf to him.

Capt. Surridge, of the Iris, and capt. Dixon, of L'Eſpion, the latter of whom accompanied admiral Buckner on board the Sandwich, confirmed the admiral's teſtimony.

Second day, Friday, June 23.—The court met at ten o'clock; immediately after which the priſoner ſaid he did not wiſh to give lord Northeſk or capt. Knight the trouble of attending as witneſſes for him. Their evidence would only go to prove his general good behaviour; and it was not ſo neceſſary to him but that he could *diſpenſe* with it; but as he did not ſay the evidence could be of no uſe, the court held that lord Northeſk and captain Knight ſhould appear as witneſſes.

Capt. John Wood, of the Hound ſloop, ſworn.—I know the priſoner perfectly; he was on board the Hound in April laſt, and was ſent from the Hound to the Tender. I ſaw nothing of the priſoner till the 2d of June, when he came on board the Hound. On her arrival at the Nore, he then told me, "he had the honour of repreſenting the whole fleet, an honour which he ſhould never forget; that he had underſtood I had been very violent with ſome of the delegates, and he adviſed me not to be ſo violent, or I muſt take the conſequences." He then told me, "he did not like the ſhip's company; that he knew they were attached to me, for which reaſon he ſhould put the ſhip in a ſafe birth, where ſhe could not make her eſcape." He ordered the pilot "to put the ſhip under weigh, and carry her as cloſe to the Sandwich as poſſible." The pilot told him "it was an improper time of tide." He replied, "that if the pilot did not chooſe to put her under weigh immediately, he would find means

to make him;" and at the ſame time pointed to the yard-rope. The pilot got her under weigh, and laid her cloſe to the Sandwich, when the priſoner ordered the anchor to be let go. We were then hailed from the Sandwich, and told that we were too near; the priſoner ſaid, "I think we are, Mr. Davis." He immediately turned to the pilot with threatening language; "you have committed one miſtake, take care you do not commit another; if you do, I'll make a *beef-ſteak* of you at the yard-arm." He ordered him to get under weigh again, and moor the ſhip between the Sandwich and the Inflexible. This was done, and ſhe was laid under the Sandwich's quarter; when the priſoner had the hands turned up, and harangued them forward; he aſked if they had any complaints againſt their officers; that thoſe that they diſliked were to be turned on ſhore; and thoſe they liked, to be kept on board. After this, about ten o'clock, I was taken out of the ſhip; I aſked by whoſe order it was done? a man, who called himſelf a delegate from the Sandwich, ſaid, by order of Parker, the preſident. I afterwards ſaw the priſoner rowed about the fleet, with a red flag and a band of muſic, with others ſitting along with him in the ſtern ſheets, going from ſhip to ſhip, and talking to their crews, who cheered him as he paſſed. There was a man on board the Hound, put into irons by order of Parker. The priſoner did not confine me, or any of my officers; but he told me I muſt have nothing to do with the ſhip. He alſo told me and the other officers, that he pitied our ſituation; but he muſt go on for the good of the cauſe they had embarked in.

Lieut. Flatt of the Sandwich, ſworn.—My firſt knowledge of the priſoner was upon admiral Buckner's coming on board; I then ſaw him giving a paper to admiral Buckner, ſtating the grievances of the fleet, and heard him ſay, that he was preſident of the delegates of the fleet. On the 2d of June, he deſired me to go over on the ſtarboard ſide of the deck, and receive orders. "You are ordered, ſir (ſaid he), to receive 111 men from the tender, and to give a receipt for them as uſual; and we are anſwerable for what we do." He muſtered the men, and I gave the receipt. I was ſent for again, and ordered to give a receipt for 15 men from the Lynn tender, which I complied with. I was told by Davis, that it was by order of the priſoner and the committee. On or about the 9th of June, I was a priſoner in the ward room; I ſaw the priſoner paſſing under the ſtern of the ſhip in a boat, and heard three cheers given him over head. The priſoner turned round, and ſaid, "he was going on board the Director, to bring a ſpring on her cable, and would ſend her and them (meaning, I believe the Repulſe) to the Devil." The Repulſe was then aground. I ſaw the priſoner go on board the Director, and ſaw a ſpring on the cable. A very heavy fire then commenced on the Repulſe from that ſhip. I did not ſee the priſoner return. On the 14th, Parker propoſed that lieutenant Mott ſhould be ſent on ſhore for the king's proclamation, which being received and read, the priſoner gave three cheers, gave up the keys of the magazine, and ſaid, "I give up the charge of the ſhip to you." The priſoner afterwards came and deſired me to confine him. I then told him I would

would order him to the cabin, and put two ſentinels over him; he refuſed going, and ſaid he would heave at the capſtern. This was on Tueſday evening. I conſulted whether it was proper to confine him while we were under weigh, or wait till we got into the garriſon of Sheerneſs; and it was agreed upon that he ſhould be confined immediately. Lieutenant Mott and myſelf, went and met the priſoner on the quarter deck; lieutenant Mott laid hold of him by the collar, and brought him down to the lower deck, put him in a lieutenant's cabin, and placed two ſentinels over him. The morning after, I went down at four o'clock, and by admiral Buckner's orders, put him in irons. The priſoner was afterwards carried on ſhore by captain Moſs's orders. In his croſs-examination by the priſoner, lieutenant Flatt obſerved, that Parker's conduct, ſubſequent to the reading of the proclamation, was ſubmiſſive and reſpectful.

Mr. Livingſtone, boatſwain, and Samuel Hillard, carpenter, of the Director, ſwore to the priſoner's having gone on board their ſhip while the Repulſe was aground; they ſeverally depoſed, that when the priſoner came on board, he came aft on the quarter deck, and requeſted a boat to go with a flag of truce on board the Repulſe, to ſave innocent blood; but then he ordered all hands to be called. The boat was denied. He then wanted to ſlip the ſhip's cable, to go along-ſide of the Repulſe, which was denied. He upon this ordered a ſpring to be got on the cable, to bring her broad-ſide to bear upon the Repulſe at once. When the ſpring was on, he ordered it to be hoved in, and to bear away the beſt bower. As the ſhip came round, he ordered them to point her guns at the Repulſe. A gun was fired from the Repulſe. Then the priſoner gave orders to fire at the Repulſe from all the decks, as ſhe had fired firſt; and the order was repeated by one of the delegates of our ſhip, and was complied with.

Thomas Barry, a ſeaman of the Monmouth, ſworn.—When the priſoner came on board the Monmouth, at the time the Repulſe was endeavouring to eſcape into Sheerneſs harbour, he took the command of all the Monmouth's forecaſtle guns. The gun which I attended, was fired ſix times at the Repulſe; when the gun was going to be loaded the ſeventh time, he was not content with a nine pound ſhot that was in her, but took a crow bar, and put the thick end in firſt. I immediately took it out of his hand, when he gave me a ſhove, and I fell over the heel of the top-maſt. After that I was kept forwards on the forecaſtle by one Vance, a quarter-maſter, who acted as captain of the ſhip. Being there an hour and a half, I came on deck, when the priſoner was ſtanding on the heel of the topmaſt. He ordered Vance to ſlip the bower, and go along ſide the Repulſe, and ſend her to hell, where ſhe belonged to, and ſhew her no quarter. After that, he ſaid, he did not ſtay any longer on board the Monmouth.

In anſwer to a queſtion from the preſident, he ſaid, that the priſoner fired the after-maſt gun on the forecaſtle, but he did not know there were any guns fired from the Monmouth, before the priſoner came on board.

Q. from the priſoner.—Had you fired any guns yourſelf before you firſt ſaw me on board? A. No.—Q. Had

Q. Had there been any guns fired from any part of the ſhip, before the forecaſtle guns were fired? A. Yes; the quarter deck guns were fired.—Q. You have been talking about hell; I wiſh to know whether you have been promiſed any thing for advancing this helliſh account? —A. No; I have not been promiſed any thing.

The priſoner.—I will bring witneſſes to diſprove what this man has ſaid.

John Summerland, boatſwain's mate of the Monmouth, related the circumſtances which took place on board the Monmouth.—I ſaw the priſoner ſtanding on ſomething, as if he was going to make a ſpeech. Capt. Vance wanted to ſpeak firſt, but the priſoner would not allow it; he inſiſted on the ſhip ſlipping her cables. The ſhip's company would not agree to this. Parker then ſaid he would go to another ſhip, which ſhould take him along-ſide the Leopard, and ſend her to hell. In the mean time the Repulſe got off, and upon that Parker ſhook his fiſt, and ſaid, "Damn her; ſhe is off." He then went on board the Sandwich.

Here the evidence for the proſecution cloſed; and then the preſident aſked the priſoner when he would be ready to enter on his defence? The priſoner ſaying he could not be ready to-morrow, was aſked, whether he would be ready on Monday. He anſwered, that he thought he ſhould, and the defence was put off till Monday.

On Monday the 25th, the court met at nine o'clock, and the priſoner being brought in, was ordered by the preſident to make his defence, and ſupport it by evidence.

Priſoner.—"As I have been at ſea from my youth, as is well known to a number of this court, I hope it will not be expected that I ſhould dreſs up my defence in the language a lawyer would have done, if I could have employed one. Nothing ſupports me but the conſcioufneſs that what I did was in compliance with orders, for the purpoſe of rendering it leſs diſaſtrous than it would otherwiſe have been, had I not entered into the mutiny. Every thing I did was ſolely for the purpoſe of conciliation. I was on ſhore when admiral Buckner came on board; and told the admiral afterwards, that I was ſorry he had not been received with the uſual marks of reſpect, and the ſhips ſhould cheer him if he wiſhed it. The admiral had ſtated, that a buſtle was made to man the ſide; this buſtle was made at the riſk of my life. An opinion had been propagated on board the different ſhips, that admiral Buckner was not competent to ſettle the diſcontents ſubſiſting in the fleet; and the Inflexible had declared, that if any reſpect was ſhewn to the admiral, they would come alongſide of the Sandwich, and ſink her. Notwithſtanding all that had been ſaid reſpecting the Sandwich, it was not there the mutiny began: it originated in the Inflexible, and there it was always the moſt violent. Admiral Buckner's flag was hauled down without my knowledge; it was ſtruck when he was going on ſhore with the propoſitions of the committee.

"With regard to the marines who were taken from the admiral's houſe, the admiral permitted me to examine them; and upon my putting ſome queſtions, the admiral obſerved, "Now, Parker, you are coming to the point." The marines were then delivered to the delegates, and it was deſired that they ſhould

ſhould be confined when they went on board.

"When he ſaw admiral Buckner, after his flag was ſtruck, the admiral ſaid, "Parker, my flag is ſtruck; conſider my feelings." He anſwered, "I have feelings, admiral Buckner, and I do conſider your's; I am ſorry to ſee it, but it is not in my power to prevent it."

"Captain Surridge, of the Iris, ſays, he recollects my being aſhore the laſt time, and ſaw the delegates of the north-ſea fleet give me the additional articles; this evidence ſays, he never ſaw any diſreſpect in me.

"I went to captain Wood, in order to befriend him, though he was ſent out of the ſhip; I never knew it till he depoſed it, and he did not produce the men who told him that I ordered it."

Parker then recapitulated much of the evidence, without any comment. To account for his being on board the Director, he ſaid, he went to order the band to play the tunes, *God ſave the king*, *Rule Britannia*, and *Britons ſtrike home*. When he was told the Director was preparing to fire, he went directly on board to prevent it; and having firſt in vain addreſſed the crew, he aſked if ſhe would ſlip her cable, to ſee how far they would go, and was glad to find them refuſe; but they being determined to fire, he was obliged to yield to the ſtorm, and pretend to join in an act his heart deteſted. He then animadverted on a few points of Barry's evidence, declaring he muſt have miſtaken him for ſome other perſon. Perceiving that the Monmouth was very active in firing on the Repulſe, he went on board to endeavour to appeaſe the crew. It would have been an idle Quixotic adventure to attempt, at that time of the tides, to follow the Leopard. He ſhould prove that the Director and Monmouth both fired on the Repulſe before he went on board. Before the Sandwich was delivered up to her officers, a ſignal was made for the delegates to aſſemble on board the Montague, and their proceedings then were extremely violent, and he did not go.

William Livingſtone, boatſwain of the Director, and Samuel Hillard, carpenter of the Director, heard me aſk for a boat, to go with a flag of truce, to prevent innocent blood from being ſhed; they heard the guns fire, but did not hear me give the order.

"I have," ſaid he, "only a few words to add; not to remind the court that where mercy can have place, it ought to be ſhewn, being convinced, from the candid manner in which they have acted, that juſtice will be done; but to requeſt, that they would be pleaſed to ſcrutinize the evidence of Barry with the utmoſt rigour. I have ſaid this for the purpoſe of clearing my character, which is dearer to me than a thouſand lives; and however my conduct has been miſrepreſented in the public prints, I truſt my innocence will appear. My country allows me juſtice, and juſtice I am ſure I ſhall have from this honourable court."

Having finiſhed his defence, which he read from a paper, he was allowed by the Court to withdraw a little.

Lord Northeſk, captain of the Monmouth, was then called and ſworn, and being examined by the priſoner, ſtated, that he was on board the Sandwich on the 6th of June; that the ſeamen in the cabin

ſaid

ſaid they were very loyal, and that the band, by the priſoner's orders, on his entering the cabin, ſtruck up *God ſave the king*; that the priſoner appeared to his lordſhip as preſident and chief ſpokeſman of the delegates; and that the letter (inſerted in page 145) demanding a redreſs of grievances in 54 hours, was delivered to him by Parker, by direction of all the delegates, and that they declared they were neither jacobins nor traitors.

Captain Knight, of the Montague, depoſed, that when he was on board the Sandwich, he heard the band play *God ſave the king*, and *Britons ſtrike home*; and alſo heard the crew, and the priſoner himſelf, ſay, that he venerated their ſovereign; and he further heard the priſoner ſay, if there was a certainty the enemy were at ſea, they would take the fleet under their own direction, and go in ſearch of them; and if the Dutch fleet were in the Texel, he would lead the fleet in and attack them, to prove to the nation that they were neither rebels nor traitors. Captain Knight ſaid, theſe loyal expreſſions were made on the 8th, after the ſtandard was hoiſted at the fore-topmaſt head, and the red at the main; that he received a letter from the delegates of the Montague, ſtating that they felt for his ſituation, and giving him leave to go aſhore with his lady, on condition of returning in three days; directing him to tell admiral Buckner that the officers were detained as hoſtages; he was informed by the priſoner, or ſome of his aſſociates, that they wiſhed to eſtabliſh the red flag, and fight under it, as the Dutch had ſtolen it from the Britiſh. He was robbed of his authority before he went to the Sandwich, or ſaw the priſoner.

Thomas Barry, ſeaman, of the Monmouth, who had been examined on the part of the proſecution, was called in and examined by the priſoner; but his evidence only went to prove, that the time when the priſoner fired the forecaſtle guns of the Monmouth on the Repulſe, was four o'clock, and the introducing of the crow bar into the gun, with intent to be fired, was ten minutes before four.

Jacob Swainſon depoſed, that he heard the priſoner mention at the latter end of the mutiny, a wiſh that it was ſettled. He heard the priſoner ſay, when the Repulſe was aground, that he would go on board the Director, and get a ſpring on her cable; and if his father was on board that ſhip, he would ſend her to hell, for that was where ſhe belonged to. He recollected the priſoner ſaying, he thought it was a good cauſe, and he had no doubt they ſhould gain redreſs of their grievances; and alſo his having ſaid, it was a great pity the Inflexible ſhould have been in the fleet, for if it had not been for that ſhip, things would have been amicably ſettled long ſince.

Edward Allen, Matthew Holliſter, William Hobbes, George Nicholls, and Samuel Beer, ſeamen, were called in; but their evidence was of no conſequence, either for or againſt the priſoner.

Priſoner.—"I have no more witneſſes. I hope the court will recollect, that by the evidence of the proſecution I was ready and aſſiſting in giving up the Sandwich to her officers, and I hope they will conſider all the circumſtances of my caſe with liberality and candour."

Preſident.—"You may rely that the

the court will give due weight to every circumſtance in your favour. Take away the priſoner, and clear the court.

The ſtrangers withdrew, and the court proceeded, at half-paſt two o'clock, to conſider their ſentence.

At half-paſt four o'clock, the priſoner was called in again, and the court thrown open. The Judge Advocate then proceeded to ſtate, that the court having heard evidence on the charges, and the priſoner's defence, are unanimouſly of opinion, "*That the whole of the charges are fully proved, that the crime is as unprecedented as wicked, as ruinous to the navy as to the peace and proſperity of the country: the court doth therefore adjudge him to death; and he is ordered to ſuffer death accordingly, at ſuch time and place as the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, or any three of them, ſhall appoint.*"

Parker, with a degree of fortitude and undiſmayed compoſure, which excited the aſtoniſhment and admiration of every one, ſpoke as follows:

"I have heard your ſentence—I ſhall ſubmit to it without a ſtruggle—I feel thus, becauſe I am ſenſible of the rectitude of my intentions. Whatever offences may have been committed, I hope *my* life will be the *only* ſacrifice.—I truſt it will be thought a ſufficient atonement. Pardon, I beſeech you, the other men; they will return with alacrity to their duty."

The preſident addreſſed him in a ſhort ſpeech, in which he ſaid, that in conſideration of his manifold and heinous offences, the court had thought proper not to fix the time of his puniſhment, which they were authorized to do; but, in order to allow him time for repentance, had left it to the diſcretion of the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty.

The priſoner bowed, and ſaid he was obliged to them for that conſideration.

On Friday the 29th, the priſoner, who had taken his uſual repaſt in the birth allotted him in the gun-room, and paſſed the night in great compoſure, was awaked a little after ſix o'clock from a ſound ſleep by the marſhal provoſt, who, with a file of marines, compoſed his guard: he aroſe with cheerfulneſs, and requeſted permiſſion might be aſked for a barber to attend him, which was granted; he ſoon dreſſed himſelf in a neat ſuit of mourning (waiſtcoat excepted) ſent him by a friend of the name of Templar, wearing his half boots over a pair of black ſilk ſtockings; he then took his breakfaſt, talked of a will he had written, in which he bequeathed to his wife, a little eſtate he ſaid he was heir to; and after that lamented the misfortune that had been brought on the country by the mutiny, but ſolemnly denied having the leaſt connection or correſpondence with any diſaffected perſons on ſhore, and declared, that it was chiefly owing to him, that the ſhips had not been carried into the enemy's ports. At half-paſt eight he was told that the chaplain of the ſhip was ready to attend him to prayers upon the quarter-deck, which he immediately aſcended, uncovered. At his firſt entrance on the deck, he looked a little paler than common, but ſoon recovered his uſual complexion; he bowed to the officers, and a chair being allowed him, he ſat down a few moments, and ſteadily ſurveyed the military array of the marines under arms, round the deck; he then aroſe, and told the clergyman he wiſhed to attend

attend him; the chaplain informed him, that he had ſelected two pſalms appropriate to his ſituation, to which the priſoner aſſenting, ſaid, "And with your permiſſion, ſir, I will add a third," and named the 51ſt, that beautiful confeſſional of David, and imploring of forgiveneſs; —"Have mercy upon me, O God, after thy great goodneſs; according to the multitude of thy mercies, do away mine offences!" &c. He then recited each alternate verſe, in a manner peculiarly impreſſive. At nine, the preparatory gun was fired from L'Eſpion, which he heard without the ſmalleſt emotion. Prayers being ſoon after cloſed, he roſe, and aſked captain Moſs, if he might be indulged with a glaſs of white wine? which being immediately granted, he took it, and lifting up his eyes, exclaimed,—"I drink firſt to the ſalvation of my ſoul, and next to the forgiveneſs of all my enemies!" Addreſſing himſelf to captain Moſs, he ſaid, "he hoped he would ſhake hands with him," which the captain did; he then deſired, "that he might be remembered to his companions on board the Neptune, with his laſt dying intreaty to them, to prepare for their deſtiny, and to refrain from unbecoming levity." His arms being now bound, the ſolemn proceſſion moved from the quarter-deck to the forecaſtle.

Aſcending the ſcaffold, he aſked the captain, "whether he might be allowed to ſpeak?" and immediately apprehending his intention might be miſconceived, he added, "I am not going, ſir, to addreſs the ſhip's company. I wiſh only to declare, that I acknowledge the juſtice of the ſentence under which I ſuffer, and I hope my death may be deemed a ſufficient atonement, and ſave the lives of others." He now requeſted a minute to collect himſelf, and knelt down alone about that ſpace of time; then riſing up, he ſaid, "I am ready." The halter being adjuſted, and the cap being drawn over his face, he walked by firm ſteps up to the extremity of the ſcaffold; he dropped the handkerchief, put his hands in his coat-pockets with great rapidity, and at the moment as he was ſpringing off, the fatal bow-gun fired, and the reeve-rope catching him, run him up, though not with great velocity, to the yard-arm. When ſuſpended about mid-way, by the elaſticity of the rope, his body ſeemed extremely convulſed for a few ſeconds, immediately after which, no appearance of life remained. It being tide of ebb, the ſtarboard yard-arm pointed to the Iſle of Grain, where ſcaffolding was erected for ſpectators on ſhore. The whole conduct of this awful ceremony was extremely decorous and impreſſive. He ſuffered exactly at half-paſt nine, and was lowered down, after hanging at the yard-arm a full hour, when the yellow flag was ſtruck, and his body inſtantly put into a ſhell that had been prepared for it, with all his clothes on; and ſoon after it was taken in one of the Sandwich's boats, and rowed to the eaſt point of the garriſon, and there being landed, was carried to the new naval burying-ground, out of the Red Barrier gate, leading to Minſter; the coffin-lid was here taken off to the ſpectators for a few minutes; his countenance appeared not much altered, but his eyes were wide open. He was interred exactly at noon.

On the morning Parker was executed on board the Sandwich, his wife made ſeveral efforts to get on

board to take leave of him, but was prevented; ſhe had come in the night from London for the purpoſe, but all boats approaching the Sandwich were ordered to keep off. Parker's body was taken on ſhore, and buried in the church-yard of Sheerneſs, from whence Mrs. Parker, with the aſſiſtance of two women, got the coffin away in the night, and, by the help of a fiſh-cart, had it conveyed out of the garriſon, and taken to Rocheſter. At Rocheſter, ſhe agreed with the driver of a caravan to take it to town for ſix guineas, and deliver it at the Hoop and Horſe-ſhoe, Queen-ſtreet, Little Tower-Hill, where ſhe had hired a room for the purpoſe. As ſoon as the corpſe had arrived on Saturday evening, and it was known whoſe body was depoſited there, the people began at firſt to aſſemble through curioſity; but afterwards ſome, from other motives, introduced themſelves to this unfortunate woman, on the pretence of charitable ſympathy, requeſting they might be permitted to ſee her huſband interred in a manner ſuitable to his condition. The concourſe of viſitors increaſed on Sunday and Monday, to a number which called upon the magiſtrates for their interference. Mrs. Parker was deſired to attend the Police Office in Lambeth-ſtreet, where ſhe was interrogated reſpecting her intentions in removing the body of her huſband from Sheerneſs. Her anſwer was, "to take him down either to his "own family at Exeter, or to her's "in Scotland, to bury him like a "chriſtian." She was then aſked, whether it was true that ſhe had ſuffered him to be ſhewn for money? She burſt into a flood of tears, and replied, "Do I appear like a mon"ſter ſo unnatural?" It proved afterwards, that there was not the ſmalleſt foundation for ſo injurious a report. The body was, by order of the Magiſtrates, ſent to the workhouſe in Nightingale-lane, and from thence taken and buried at Whitechapel church.

Narrative of the Proceedings at Tranent, *on Tueſday the 29th of August, at the Meeting of the Deputy Lieutenants of the District of* East Lothian, *for carrying the Militia Act into execution.*

A VARIETY of falſe and unfounded reports, and groſs miſrepreſentation of facts, have gone abroad relative to the very unpleaſant affair which occurred at Tranent, at the meeting of the deputy lieutenants for carrying the militia act into execution. Perſons, it is well known, have been ſent out to collect information ſuited to their views, from the guilty agents in the tumultuous proceedings of that day, and from ſuch polluted ſources have the ſtatements been drawn which have been induſtriouſly circulated, for the obvious purpoſe of juſtifying the inſults offered to the laws, and encouraging the deluded people to attempt a repetition of them.

From theſe conſiderations it has been judged neceſſary to collect information on the ſubject from authentic ſources; and ſeveral minute details have accordingly been procured from perſons who had the beſt opportunities of acquiring information, and whoſe honour and veracity are above ſuſpicion. To the temperate, patient, and humane conduct of the military, which has, in particular, been the ſubject of the groſſeſt

groſſeſt miſrepreſention, thoſe accounts bear uniform and honourable teſtimony. It is in juſtice to them, and to the other perſons who have been thus calumniated; it is to hold up to the indignation of the country thoſe criminal attempts to diſturb its peace, which have not even the ſhadow of a pretence to juſtify them, that the following correct ſtatement is publiſhed:

The affair of Tranent, it appears, had been for ſeveral days in agitation. On the evening of the 28th of Auguſt, the day preceding the diſtrict meeting, a number of diſorderly people of Pencaitland and the neighbouring pariſhes, made a violent aſſault on the houſe and property of James Sanderſon, ſchoolmaſter, at Pencaitland; and had it not been for the humane and ſeaſonable interference of the rev. Mr. Pyper, miniſter of the pariſh, both he and his wife had been ſacrificed to the lawleſs fury of the multitude, who avowed their intention of murdering them. Mr. Pyper haſtened to the ſpot, as ſoon as he heard of what was paſſing, and ceaſed not, for ſeveral hours, to remonſtrate with the mob on the criminality of their proceedings, of which they ſeemed at laſt convinced, and diſperſed themſelves. But it appears that they were not to be diverted from the execution of their pre-conceived purpoſe on Tueſday.

Every effort had been, for ſome time, employed to inflame the minds of the people, and even the children, by the road ſide, were heard to aſk their mothers—"when the gentle-"men would be put to death?"—The colliers, in particular, were remarkably aſſiduous; on Monday parties of them went round the country, and engaged all their brethren to attend. Monday night was ſpent in making preparations for the attack. Great magazines of ſtones were collected at Tranent; the town drum was forcibly ſeized, and a large party paraded with it round the neighbouring villages, requiring the inhabitants to aſſemble next day at different appointed places, and then to march in bodies to Tranent, threatening thoſe who did not turn out as required, with having their houſes burnt, and themſelves and their families deſtroyed. Intimidated by theſe threats, the people, men and women, turned out next day in great numbers, and joined the tumultuous mob; and many, who had no miſchief in view, until collected in this unlawful manner, aſſiſted in the outrages which were committed.

The tranſactions of Tueſday are minutely and accurately detailed in the following letter, from a perſon who was an eye-witneſs of every thing that paſſed:

"*Haddington, Aug.* 31, 1797.

"I am thoroughly convinced that the unpleaſant buſineſs which took place on Tueſday at Tranent, will be extremely miſrepreſented, I ſhall therefore give you a full account, as nearly as I can recollect; and having been in the ſtreet the whole time, and moſtly oppoſite the houſe where the magiſtrates and deputy lieutenants were met, I ought to be well acquainted with the circumſtances that paſſed. The deputy lieutenants and the magiſtrates arrived at Tranent a little after eleven o'clock, eſcorted by a party of the Cinque Ports, and about twenty of the volunteer cavalry. On their arrival they were inſulted and abuſed in the groſſeſt language, by multitudes of people whom they found

aſſembled. The women were particularly clamorous, and for ſome time ſeemed to take the lead; for the men, either aſhamed of the buſineſs, or wiſhing to conceal their ſtrength, at firſt kept out of ſight.

"The deputies went into John Glen's houſe, and deſired that the cavalry ſhould be drawn up at the eaſt end of the town, as they were anxious that the conſtables only, if poſſible, ſhould be employed in keeping off the crowd from the door. In about half an hour a ſquadron of the Pembrokeſhire cavalry arrived, and ſoon after great numbers of people, chiefly colliers and ſalters, aſſembled from all parts of the country, armed with immenſe bludgeons. As ſoon as they had collected their forces, they ſent up to the deputy lieutenants a moſt infolent, rebellious, and threatening paper (which they called a petition), which the deputies received, but told the perſons who preſented it, that it would not prevent them from going through with their buſineſs, and doing their duty.

"The mob then began to preſs extremely on the houſe where the deputy lieutenants were aſſembled; and a ſhower of brick-bats ſoon demoliſhed the windows, while the concuſſion on the walls and roof was dreadful, and made them believe they would ſoon be beaten down. All attempts to remonſtrate with the mob were in vain, the inſtant any one ſhowed his face at the door or window, he was aſſailed with a violent ſhower of brick-bats and ſtones. A ſerjeant and ſix men were now ſtationed at the door, to aſſiſt the conſtables in keeping off the crowd; but before they had ſtood a quarter of an hour, they were completely overpowered and driven from their poſt.

"The officer who commanded the cavalry then turned round to the crowd, and begged them for God's ſake to deſiſt, as, if they proceeded to extremities, and the military were ordered to act, a great many of them would ſuffer: Upon this they damned the ſoldiers, and ſaid, they would ſoon do for them. By this time the tops of the houſes were covered with men, who were throwing down immenſe ſtones. A ſtronger party of the Pembrokeſhire cavalry was now brought, with an intention that they ſhould be drawn up oppoſite to the houſe in which the deputies were aſſembled; but from the quantity of ſtones which were thrown from the tops of the houſes, and from the ſtreet, it was found perfectly impoſſible to form them, and they were obliged to gallop down the ſtreet. At this time the ſoldiers received many ſevere blows from the ſtones which were thrown from the tops of the houſes, and the ſtreet. The commanding officer was in imminent danger, his horſe was knocked down, and while he was down, a ſcoundrel (who was afterwards taken priſoner, and is now in gaol) ſtruck the officer on the left arm with a bludgeon; fortunately he did not loſe his ſeat, but the horſe had ſcarcely again got on his legs, when a ſtone ſtruck him on the hand, and knocked the ſword out of it, which was picked up by one of the rioters, and carried off. Serjeant Smith, of the Cinque Ports' cavalry, at this time received a ſevere blow on the head from a ſtone, and now lies dangerouſly ill at Tranent. His recovery is deſpaired of.

"Several attempts were made to keep poſſeſſion of that part of the ſtreet which was oppoſite to the door, but they were equally ineffectual;

the men were completely driven off; and had not orders been at laſt reluctantly given to fire, not a doubt can be entertained that the military would have been defeated, and the magiſtrates and deputies ſeized and murdered. On theſe orders being given, ſome of the Pembrokeſhire cavalry were ordered to draw their piſtols, and fire at the men on the tops of the houſes, which they did, and continued to do for a conſiderable time without the ſmalleſt effect; the men on the tops of the houſes diſregarding piſtol firing moſt completely. Captain Price, of the Pembrokeſhire, obſerving this, took a party of the Cinque Ports (who had carbines) from the right, and went round to the rear of the houſes on the north ſide of the ſtreet, and diſmounted them. They here fired with a good deal of effect, which was the only thing that brought them down from the tops of the houſes, and enabled the military to get the better of them. The magiſtrates then came down, and many of the rioters were apprehended, and ſent to Haddington gaol.

"A more determined ſet of men never were aſſembled together. Their number I cannot gueſs at, but it was very great; moſt fortunately, however, there was a ſufficient force to get the better of them. I fear there were a good many killed and wounded; but, from the reſiſtance the military met with it was impoſſible to prevent it. The juſtices and ſheriffs have been very buſy, yeſterday and to-day, taking precognitions, and examining the evidences againſt thoſe perſons who were committed, and I ſuppoſe eight or nine of them will be ſent to Edinburgh gaol for trial."

The details given by other perſons agree in ſubſtance with the above, varying only as their reſpective opportunities of information were different.

Account of the Marriage of the Princeſs Royal, to the Prince of Wirtemberg.

18th. This afternoon the ceremony of the nuptials of Frederic William, hereditary prince of Wirtemberg Stutgardt, with Charlotta Auguſta Matilda, princeſs royal of Great Britain, lady of the imperial order of St. Catherine, was performed in the Chapel Royal, St. James's.

About one o'clock the proceſſion commenced. It was led by drums, trumpets, kettle-drums, the ſerjeant trumpeter, and maſter of the ceremonies.

At half-paſt one, his ſerene highneſs the bridegroom (dreſſed in a peach-coloured ſuit, richly embroidered) entered the chapel, conducted by the lord chamberlain and vice-chamberlain, ſupported by the duke of Beaufort and duke of Leeds, and attended by count Zeppelin, baron Rieger, lord Malmeſbury, and colonel Fane; the organ playing Handel's overture in Eſther.

On his ſerene highneſs taking his ſeat, the lord chamberlain, &c. returned for the bride's proceſſion.

Her royal highneſs (ſuperbly dreſſed in white and ſilver, ſcarlet mantle, crimſon velvet coronet, with a broad band, and a large plume of diamonds, decorated with the order of Saint Catherine) was ſupported by the duke of Clarence, in a dark brown ſuit, richly embroidered, and prince Erneſt, in the Hanoverian uniform; her train borne by

by the bride-maids, lady Frances Somerſet, daughter of the duke of Beaufort; lady Mary Bentinck, daughter of the duke of Portland; lady Caroline Damer, daughter of the earl of Dorcheſter; and lady Mary Howe, daughter of earl Howe, dreſſed in white. Ladies Cathcart, C. Waldegrave, C. Finch, and F. Bruce, were the attendants. During the entrance of her royal highneſs's proceſſion, Handel's overture was played in like manner as when that of the prince entered the chapel.

The next proceſſion was that of the king.—His majeſty, dreſſed in a dark brown ſuit, richly embroidered, was attended by the lords and other officers of his houſehold, lord privy ſeal, lord preſident of the council, lord chancellor, duke of Portland, archbiſhop of Canterbury, archbiſhop of York, and the duke of Norfolk, earl marſhal of England.

The queen then entered, attended by the officers of her houſehold. Her majeſty was dreſſed in white, with a profuſion of diamonds.

The prince of Wales was next in the proceſſion, attended by the officers of his eſtabliſhment. The dreſs of his royal highneſs was a ſky-blue, richly embroidered down the ſeams, and decorated with a diamond ſtar and epaulette.

The princeſs of Wales, in a ſilver tiſſue train, with purple, lilac, and green trimmings, followed her royal huſband, conducted by the earl of Cholmondeley.

The duke of York, in a full dreſs ſuit of regimentals, and his royal ducheſs in an elegant dreſs, the body and train of lilac ſilver tiſſue, and the petticoat magnificently embroidered, next appeared, and were followed by the princeſſes in white, according to their ſeniority.

The duke of Glouceſter, and prince William, were in full uniforms, and the princeſs Sophia diſplayed a neat and elegant dreſs.

The maids of honour, the peereſſes of the royal houſeholds, followed by four yeomen of the guard, cloſed the proceſſion.

Upon entering the chapel, all the perſons that were in the proceſſion retired to the ſeveral places appointed for them. The king and queen were ſeated in chairs of ſtate, on the right and left of the altar. The prince of Wales ſat next to his majeſty; the princeſs of Wales was on the left of the queen; and the princeſſes occupied ſeats arranged on each ſide for their accommodation.

The royal family having taken their ſeats, the marriage-ceremony commenced. It was performed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, aſſiſted by the archbiſhop of York; at the concluſion of which the bride and bridegroom retired to their ſeats, when the anthem was performed. The proceſſion then returned to the drawing-room in the ſame order in which it entered the chapel, the band playing the march in Scipio.

The prince received the hand of his amiable princeſs from his majeſty. Her royal highneſs was perfectly collected and unembarraſſed during the performance of the ceremony, while the princeſſes, her ſiſters, ſhed tears of ſenſibility and affection on the occaſion. Their majeſties alſo diſcovered an exceſs of parental feelings. The whole of the ceremony exhibited a ſcene highly awful and impreſſive.

The heat, owing to the immenſe

crowd, was so intense, that several ladies were overcome by it; and it was with much difficulty that one of the bride-maids was prevented from fainting away.

The stadtholder, the princess of Orange, and their attendants, were accommodated in the centre of the king's gallery, facing the altar; the other parts of which were occupied by the duchess of Leeds, duchess of Rutland, and her two daughters, lady Buckingham, lady Stopford, and several other females of distinction.

The orchestra was much better contrived on this occasion than on that of the marriage of the prince of Wales, the organ being placed directly over the altar.

After the solemnization of the marriage, the queen held a drawing-room, which was attended by the whole of the royal family, the foreign ministers, great officers of state, and a numerous and brilliant assemblage of the nobility of both sexes, who paid their respects to their serene highnesses the prince and princess of Wirtemberg.

Account of the Royal Procession to St. Paul's.

The 19th of December being the day appointed for a general thanksgiving, for the three great naval victories obtained by his majesty's fleets, under the commands of lords Howe, St. Vincent, and Duncan, a grand procession to St. Paul's, by the royal family and the two houses of parliament, took place. The foot-guards were all on duty in the Strand soon after six, the horse-guards lining the Park, Pall-mall, and Charing-cross, assisted by a detachment of the queen's regiment of light horse, and the sixth regiment of dragoon guards. At seven, the seamen and marines, with their officers, assembled in Palace-yard, and at eight the cavalcade commenced in the following order:

A division of marines from Chatham barracks, with a band of music.

Seamen, six in front, with their lieutenants and petty officers, with drawn swords.

12 Marines, 12 Seamen — An artillery waggon, with the French flags. — 12 Marines, 12 Seamen

The following officers, in their carriages:—

Vice-admiral Caldwell, 1st of June, 1794*—vice-admiral Goodall, 14th of March, 1795—rear-admiral Hamilton, 23d of June, 1795—representatives of admiral earl Howe, admiral lord Bridport, and admiral lord Hotham.

A division of seamen, with their lieutenants, &c.

12 Marines, 12 Seamen — Artillery waggon, with the Spanish flags. — 12 Marines, 12 Seamen

In carriages:—

Vice-admiral sir C. Thompson, 14th of February, 1797—captain J. Harvey, Trinidad, 17th of Feb. 1797—representatives of admiral earl St. Vincent, and rear-admiral Harvey.

A division of seamen, with their lieutenants, &c.

12 Marines, 12 Seamen — Artillery waggon, with the Dutch flags, taken from Admirals De Winter, Reintjes, and Lucas. — 12 Marines, 12 Seamen

* The dates signify the days on which the several memorable actions were fought.

In

In carriages:—

Admiral lord Duncan, 11th of October, 1797—rear-admiral Douglas, 17th of Auguſt, 1797—the laſt officer being the repreſentative of vice-admiral lord Keith, to whom admiral Lucas, with his ſquadron, capitulated in Saldanha bay.

A detachment of marines from Chatham.

The foreign miniſters in their carriages.

The earl of Aylesford, with Francis Barker, eſq.

The members of the houſe of commons; in the rear of whom came the ſpeaker, in his ſtate-carriage.

Three knights marſhalmen, clerk of the crown, maſters in chancery, and the twelve judges.

The lords ſpiritual and temporal in their robes, but not ranged (from accident perhaps) in the order of their rank or ſeniority.

Lord high chancellor in his robes of ſtate.

The royal cavalcade.

1ſt coach, houſehold officers of the duke of Glouceſter.

2. His royal highneſs the duke of Glouceſter, and princeſs Sophia of Glouceſter.

3. Houſehold officers of the duke of Clarence.

4. His royal highneſs the duke of Clarence.

A party of the life-guards.

5. Houſehold officers of the duke of York.

6. His royal highneſs the duke of York.

7. Ladies of the bedchamber to the queen.

8. Maids of honour to the queen.

9. Equerries to her majeſty.

10. Ladies of the bedchamber to the queen.

11. Maſter of the horſe to the queen.

12. Gentlemen uſhers of the privy chamber.

13. Deputy lord ſteward.

14. Lords of the bedchamber.

15. Attendants.

16. Maſter of the horſe to the king.

17. Their Majeſties.

Marſhalmen, ſtate trumpeters, and a numerous body of life-guards.

18. Miſtreſs of the robes to the queen, and the lady in waiting.

19. The princeſſes Auguſta and Elizabeth.

20. The princeſſes Sophia and Mary.

A ſtrong detachment of life-guards.

In this manner the proceſſion paraded to Temple-bar, where their majeſties were received by

The lord mayor,

dreſſed in a crimſon velvet gown, mounted on a fine grey horſe, elegantly capariſoned, and bearing the ſword of the city, which he delivered to the king, with his head uncovered. His majeſty accepted the civic compliment with the utmoſt politeneſs, and immediately returned the ſword to his lordſhip.

The two ſheriffs, and four of the common council, attended to the cathedral, where the corporation received the king.—The ſheriffs, in their gowns of office, and the ſword carried by the lord mayor, immediately before his majeſty's coach.—The four common council, in their gowns, before the Aldermen.—At the weſt door, the peers in their robes, attended by the king at arms, and other officers, met their majeſties, the gentlemen penſioners being all in waiting.

Exactly at a quarter paſt eleven, the great weſt doors of St. Paul's

were thrown open, and the royal proceſſion, being met by the biſhop of London and the dean and chapter, in their robes, entered the cathedral, and detachments from the 1st and Coldſtream regiment of guards, formed a double line from the weſt door to the dome ground-floor, which was flanked by two diviſions of marines in the rear; and circularly within, eight commanders flags, taken from our three naval enemies, the French, the Spaniards, and the Dutch, by admirals earl Howe, earl St. Vincent, and viſcount Duncan, were diſplayed on the right and left; the ſtaffs borne by the flag-officers of Great Britain. Their majeſties were preceded by the dukes of York, Clarence, and Glouceſter, and prince Erneſt, and followed by the five princeſſes, and ſaluted by the troops with reſted arms, the drums, cymbals, and other inſtruments, playing the grenadier's march. As ſoon as the king arrived at the naval circle, he ſtopped, and ſpoke for ſome time to lord Duncan, who ſupported the captive colours of the Dutch admiral De Winter. He alſo pauſed a moment to ſpeak to ſir Alan Gardner, who bore the principal French ſtandard, taken from that enemy on the 1ſt of June. At the entrance of the choir, the court of aldermen were drawn up on the right to receive them, to whom the royal viſitants paid a marked reſpect.—On entering the choir, their majeſties were ſeated under a crimſon canopy of ſtate; the king took his ſeat on the right, and her majeſty on the left; the princeſſes were in a compartment on the left. The lord chancellor was in a diſtinguiſhed ſeat alſo on the left, as was the lord mayor, near the pulpit; the biſhop of London and ſpeaker of the houſe of commons had honorary ſtations on the right.—The ſervice commenced about twelve. The vocal choir, on this occaſion, was removed into the organ loft. —At the cloſe of the firſt leſſon, a naval proceſſion commenced to choral muſic, from the body of the church to the choir, when the Britiſh admirals advanced with the colours above-mentioned, which were ſupported by junior flag-officers, and the captains of thoſe ſhips to which they were ſtruck. They paſſed through the choir, where they were received by the hands of the dean and chapter, und by them borne and ranged on both ſides the altar in conſecrated order.—The remainder of the ſervice being gone through, Dr. Prettyman, biſhop of Lincoln, as dean of St. Paul's, preached a ſermon, appropriate to the occaſion, from the ſecond book of Samuel, chapter 22d, verſes 1ſt, 2d, and 3d.—The ſervice of the day being concluded, the proceſſion returned through the choir in fuller ſtate than they had entered, being joined by all the peers, commons, &c. who were preſent in the choir. Their majeſties were preceded by the male branches of the family, in their order and collars of ſtate, viz. the dukes of York, Clarence, and Glouceſter, and prince Erneſt, the foreign ambaſſadors, &c. The biſhop of London was on his majeſty's right hand, and the biſhop of Lincoln on his left. The ſword of ſtate was borne by earl Spencer, in his robes, on the right, and that of the city by the lord mayor, on the left of the king.—The king appeared in blue and gold; the queen in mazarine blue, with a diamond

a diamond head-dreſs; the princeſſes in the ſame coloured veſts, with chained head-dreſſes of gold and white feathers.—Their majeſties were received with applauſe as they paſſed the body of the church to and fro. The gallant lord Duncan was greeted with rapturous and repeated plaudits.—Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas attended the royal proceſſion, in the Windſor dreſs uniform, and were received much more favourably within the church than they had been in their paſſage to it! The ceremony continued till half-paſt one, when their majeſties returned to their coach of ſtate, and went back to Buckingham-houſe, under a ſimilar eſcort. No material accident occurred to mar the ſplendor of the day, which cloſed with great credit to all who had the conduct of its canonical, civil, and military arrangements.

The ſervice was concluded about half-paſt two, when the proceſſion returned in the reverſe order to that in which it went; and the royal cavalcade arrived at St. James's a few minutes after four o'clock.

The ſailors and marines were univerſally cheered by the populace. The former were headed by a number of lieutenants and midſhipmen.

The ſtreets, from the palace to Temple-bar, were cloſely lined on each ſide by the horſe guards and the ſixth regiment of dragoons, and from thence to St. Paul's, by the London militia, the Eaſt India volunteers, the light horſe aſſociation, and the gentlemen of the artillery company. The regiment of dragoons and ſeveral other corps continued to parade the ſtreets of Weſtminſter for the greater part of the night, and all the other troops were under orders to attend at a minute's notice; but happily the peaceable demeanour of the people rendered their ſervices wholly unneceſſary.

Patroles of horſe guards and other cavalry paraded the principal ſtreets all night.

Mr. Pitt was very groſsly inſulted by the populace on his way to the cathedral; in conſequence of which he did not return in his own carriage, but ſtopped to dine with the ſpeaker and ſome other gentlemen, in Doctors Commons. He was eſcorted home in the evening by a party of the London light horſe.

The whole buſineſs was conducted with the utmoſt order and propriety, and the beauty and clearneſs of the day greatly increaſed the ſplendor and brilliancy of the ſpectacle.

Account of an extraordinary Suicide, committed near Briſtol. From the Monthly Magazine.

Sir,

As your uſeful and entertaining miſcellany maintains a very extenſive circulation throughout every county in the kingdom, I am induced from this conſideration. to tranſmit you the particular deſcription of a perſon unknown, found ſuffocated and drowned in Seamill-dock, about 2½ miles from the city of Briſtol, within the tything of Stoke Biſhop, and pariſh of Weſtbury-upon-Trim; which may probably meet the eye of ſome relative or acquaintance of the deceaſed.

Early in the afternoon of Friday,

the 29th day of September laſt, information was ſent me by two gentlemen, that in their walk along the banks of the river, leading from the Hotwells to Seamill-dock, they were deſirous of taking a ſurvey of the old ruins of the dock (formerly a place in great repute); when caſting their eyes over the wall, in an obſcure corner, they ſaw the body of a man above the ſurface of the water, then flowing out, requeſting the attendance of the pariſh officers to take charge of it. I immediately ſent for the overſeer of the poor, and with my ſervant, attended him to the ſpot where the man was found. In the meantime, the gentlemen had hailed a boat going down the river, it being then about half-tide out, and prevailed on them to row into the dock, to make the body faſt to an old ladder, that ſtill remains againſt the wall, under the ruins of a crane, and in this ſtate I found him.

The tide had now flowed out below the body, and afforded me an opportunity of taking a particular ſurvey of him. The attitude in which he lay drew my attention: his left leg was ſunk in the mud up to his knee, his right leg was but little immerſed, his body bent forward in a ſtooping poſture, and his arms extended forward as far as he could reach, as if in the act of ſaving himſelf from further immerſion in the mud. It appeared evident to me, that no accidental fall could poſſibly leave a man in that ſingular poſture, and I ſuſpected that he had purpoſely jumped off the dock-wall, about twenty feet high from the mud, at ebb or fall of the tide, when the water was ſhallow over the mud. With ſome difficulty the body was got out, when on the following day an inqueſt was taken: the jury returned a verdict—"Found drowned and ſuffocated, but by what means no evidence appeared before them." The perſon was well dreſſed, but nothing found in his pockets, except a ſmall miniature portrait of a lady, carefully wrapped up in a paper, tied round with ſilk; it was drawn in water-colours on a piece of ivory, about an inch and a half long, now in my poſſeſſion.

The colours are effaced by the ſea-water, but the image is viſible.—The following deſcription of his perſon I got inſerted in all the Briſtol papers:

"Saturday laſt, the 30th of September, Mr. Jayner, one of the coroners of the county of Gloucester, took an inqueſt on the body of a perſon unknown, found the day before ſuffocated and drowned in Seamill-dock, within the pariſh of Weſtbury-upon-Trim and county of Glouceſter: he appeared to be about five feet four inches high, with ſhort hair, over which he wore a wig; ſtout and well made; he had on an exceedingly good light drab cloth coat; light cotton waiſtcoat, bound round the pockets with blue ſilk rib-band; light velveteen breeches, with white metal buttons; a linen ſhirt, frilled at the boſom; brown ribbed worſted ſtockings, apparently new; and a pair of new pumps, with ties. He appeared to be about thirty years of age, and to have been drowned two or three weeks."

The foregoing deſcription brought forward two women, who called twice at a public-houſe about a quarter of a mile diſtant from the ſpot where the body was found. They

They ſaid the deſcription anſwered to a perſon that did lodge in their neighbourhood in Briſtol; that he was a ſtranger in the city, and lately come from London. That ſuppoſing him to be the perſon drowned, they ſearched his lodgings, and there found a red leather pocket-book, in which was written the name Daw or Doe, together with the addreſs of a perſon of the ſame name in London, to whom they had written on the ſubject. The women omitted telling the name of the ſtreet of their reſidence, which has hitherto prevented me from finding them out.

On Saturday, the 14th inſtant, a gentleman that formerly lived at Seamills, when the dock was in its proſperity, viſited the ruins of the warehouſes and tenements adjoining, one of which tenements has its rooms perfect and entire. In the attic ſtory he perceived much writing on the wall, which proves to be the diary of this ſtranger, found drowned. As ſoon as the report reached me, I viſited the tenement, and copied from the wall the following diary, well written with a black-lead pencil, and nearly in the following order of time:

" However ſingularly it may appear, I could not but take notice upon my entering this uninhabited tenement, of a ſmall piece of an old newſpaper, which contained an account of the unfortunate cataſtrophe which happened at Brown-hill, near Burſlem in Staffordſhire; between Mr. Oliver, apothecary, and Mr. Wood, for which the former ſuffered at Stafford this day fortnight, it ſtruck me with ſympathetic horror, having lived in that county many years. It brought many of my imprudencies to my recollection, for which I ſincerely repent.

" Sept. 11, 1797.

" We are not our own keepers; but were we to follow God's word and live to him, it would afford us comfort here, and heaven hereafter.

" Avoid drunkenneſs, for it produces poverty.

" Sept. 11, 1797.

" Never be ungrateful to God or man.

" Sept. 11, 1797.

" If my K—ſ—m acquaintance had become my friend, he might have ſaved me from an untimely death; when he was in priſon, I was his friend, at the hazard of my bread: but I forgive him, and am well aſſured that what he enjoys is by his merit and induſtry. Long may he and his partner in affection live to enjoy the fruits of his labour.

" Sept. 11, 1797.

" I ſhould not rebuke, becauſe my imprudence in ſome meaſure has brought me to poverty; but ſurely it is good to ſtrain a point to reſcue even an imprudent man, from the calamities of folly: how often does ſympathy ſoften one's ſorrows, and, with the aid of a little pecuniary aſſiſtance, reſtore an unfortunate being to induſtry and repentance.

" Sept. 11, 1797.

" Be good betimes, for evil is the grand curſe of mankind.

" Sept. 11, 1797.

" To be good is to be happy. V. one of the poets.

" Never give way to deſpair, for fear of ſuicide, which muſt be diſpleaſing to God, and therefore hazardous to the ſoul.

" Sept.

" Sept. 11, 1797.

" The God of all mercy forgive " my paſt offences; and if there is " pardon for ſuicide, may the in- " terceſſion and blood of the Lamb " procure that pardon for me, the " chief of ſinners.

" Sept. 11, 1797.

" O horror! horror! to ruſh into " the preſence of a juſtly offended " God, with a load of guilt and " iniquity; but God will have " mercy on whom he will have " mercy.

" Sept. 11, 1797.

" If theſe few thoughts ſhould be " obſerved before my unfortunate " body is found, they may inſtruct " the gentlemen of the jury to " bring in their verdict *Felo-de-ſe*, " to deter others, as well as in " ſtrict compliance with the law. " It is nothing but diſtreſs compels " me to this raſh act.

" Sept. 11, 1797.

" O my God, I have ſinned " againſt thee, and againſt light; " receive my ſoul, for Jeſus Chriſt's " ſake, or I am loſt for ever.

" Sept. 11, 1797.

" There is no reſt for the wicked " with my God.

" Sept. 11, 1797.

" Faith in Chriſt.—Forgive your " enemies.

" Sept. 11, 1797.

" May thoſe I have any way " wronged forgive me; I die in " peace with all mankind, and la- " ment that I have not lived a " better life. I die a miſerable " death, the Lord have mercy upon " my ſoul.

" Sept. 11, 1797.

" Never oppreſs the poor.—Do " as you would be done to.

" Sept. 11, 1797.

" Whoſoever belongs to theſe " premiſes, will forgive the ſcribbler " his treſpaſs; he impatiently waits " the riſing of the tide, to put an " end to his earthly misfortunes.

" Five o'clock, evening,

" Sept. 11, 1797.

" I made my bed upon the floor, " with the ſtraw for my pillow, the " tempeſtuouſneſs of the night, with " ſome inclination to ſleep, has pro- " longed my life at leaſt another tide.

" Tueſday morning,

" Sept. 12, 1797.

" O heavenly father, be pleaſed " to have mercy upon me, a miſer- " able ſinner, who turns to thee " weeping, faſting, and praying; " and O Lord Jeſus Chriſt, grant " my repentance, however late, " however imperfect, may not be in " vain.

" Sept. 12, 1797.

" O God, give peace to all na- " tions, and ſtop the calamities of " war.

" Sept. 12, 1797.

" Forgive all errors—had I fol- " lowed ſuch things, it would have " ſaved me from this unfortunate " end.

" Sept. 12, 1797.

" God be merciful to me, " ſinner.

" Sept. 12, 1797.

" My lord Mountmorres, with " an ample fortune, put an end to " his exiſtence; he did it with all " the conveniences of this life " around him, and with a dying " declaration, that the Almighty " would forgive him an act com- " pelled by oppreſſors, hinting that " ſome perſon had uſed him ill; " which wounded his feelings to " ſuch a degree, that life became a " burden to him, notwithſtanding " his learning and high rank in life.

" I, poor ſoul, loaded with guilt, " conſcious

" conſcious of an ill-ſpent life, diſ-
" treſſed in every point that this
" life can afford, (without throwing
" the leaſt reflection on his lordſhip)
" dare not preſume poſitively to
" join with his lordſhip in that
" ſentiment; but with trembling
" fear, muſt wait the awful iſſue at
" God's tremendous bar.

" God forbid I ſhould caſt any
" reflections on his lordſhip, or his
" misfortunes.

" The following is a copy of a
" note found upon lord Mount-
" morres's table, in the room he
" ſhot himſelf:—

" A wicked and unjuſt conſpiracy
" has been formed againſt my ho-
" nour, my fortune, and my life;
" the Almighty will forgive an act
" impelled by oppreſſion."

" I ſincerely hope his lordſhip found it ſo.

" To wound another man's peace of mind, is an uncharitable act.

" Indeed, myſelf inveſted with a
" ſtrong deſire of life, and dreadful
" fear of approaching God's bar,
" with my accumulated guilt; and
" I ſtedfaſtly believe, that the
" true way to be ſaved is by Jeſus
" Chriſt, who died to ſave ſinners,
" of whom I am the chief. God
" grant I may become an object of
" his mercy.

" I decline giving my name or
" profeſſion; my friends may ſurmiſe
" that ſome ill fate has befallen me;
" if any of them, by any chance,
" ſhould hear of my fate, it is not
" probable they will ever ſee theſe
" thoughts. I hope to God they
" will forgive me every injury I
" have done them.

" Jeſus Chriſt, deign to be the
" advocate with God the Father,
" for the redemption of my ſoul.

" The time is nearly arrived—
" may Jeſus pilot my diſtreſſed ſoul
" to his heavenly kingdom. Amen.

" Another tide gone.

" Sept. 12, 1797.

" It muſt be my fate—I have no
" other relief.

The following was ſcratched upon the wall with the point of a nail:—

" Wedneſday, 13th Sept.

" I have been here two days and
" two nights, faſting and praying—
" this I hope will finiſh it.

The following was again written with a black-lead pencil.

" Thurſday, Sept. 14, 1797.

" The laſt day, I hope.

" My lead is exhauſted.

" I did not know, till ſurprized by
" the little girl coming into this
" diſtreſſed apartment, whom theſe
" premiſes belonged to, but lord de
" Clifford will forgive me.

At the bottom of the ſtair-caſe is written, on the wall in front going down:—

" Redeem my ſoul from the
" water."

Thus ends the diary of this extraordinary ſtranger.

The uninhabited tenement is about ten or twelve yards diſtant from the ſpot where he launched himſelf off, and is the property of lord de Clifford.

It is very evident, that this ſtranger had received a liberal education, or that he poſſeſſed an uncommonly ſtrong mind. It is conjectured by ſome that he was inſane; but, when I conſider how well finiſhed moſt of his ſentences and periods are, and that many of them were written from the impulſe of the moment, I behold him as a man in full poſſeſſion of his intellectual faculties, and with a collected mind, calmly reſigned to his fate.

fate. He came there on the 11th, with a determined reſolution of drowning himſelf at the evening tide, conſequently all that he wrote on the 12th could not have been premeditated, but were the thoughts of the moment, that aroſe in his mind on the prolonging of his exiſtence. He certainly poſſeſſed a noble and generous mind; for where he mentioned his acquaintance, as he thought harſhly, a ſentence immediately followed to ſoften the rebuke.

I ſhall feel great ſatisfaction, Mr. Editor, to hear that the diary and perſonal deſcription of this ſtranger, may meet the eye of ſome one of his relatives or acquaintance; and I know of no publication ſo likely to procure this object as the Monthly Magazine.

I remain, ſir,
Your moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
JOSEPH JAMES.

Stoke Biſhop, near Briſtol,
October 23, 1797.

To the Editor of the Monthly Magazine.

Sir,

The extraordinary and affecting manuſcript writing of the unfortunate ſtranger found drowned in Sea-mill dock, which I tranſmitted to you laſt month, having very probably excited the attention and ſympathy of many of your numerous readers, I feel it a duty incumbent upon me, to lay before them (through the channel of your uſeful publication) ſome information, which I have ſince been enabled to procure of this unhappy and extraordinary perſon.

A few days previous to the publication of your magazine, I cauſed a paragraph to be again inſerted in the Briſtol newſpapers, requeſting the attention of the readers to the perſonal deſcription of the ſtranger found drowned at Sea-mill dock; and invited the two women who had made enquiries after a ſtranger that was miſſing, and anſwering the ſame deſcription, to come forward with their information, as the only probable means left of tracing out the name and connections of this unfortunate ſtranger. I was ſoon after waited on by two gentlemen of Briſtol, of the name of Ring, the proprietors of a large pottery, whoſe information and deſcription of a perſon lately come to Briſtol, and who worked in their manufactory, in the art of painting china, ſo exactly correſponded with the clothing and perſon of the man found drowned at Sea-mills, that there remained not a doubt of his being the perſon, the ſubject of their enquiry. Through their polite aſſiſtance, I obtained the name of the deceaſed, which is James Doe, and I alſo got an interview with the K—ſ—m acquaintance, who having viſited the tenement, and viewed the manuſcript writing there upon the wall, recognized the handwriting of his friend; he gave me likewiſe a deſcription of his perſon and dreſs, which correſponded with that already publiſhed. For particulars of the deceaſed's family and friends, I was referred to ſeveral perſons in London, one of whom, a reſpectable proprietor of a pottery there, writes thus:

"Sir,

"I received your's, and was much "affected at its contents; I ſhould

" have written ſooner, but I wiſhed " firſt to ſee his uncle, who has in- " formed me of the following par- " ticulars:—

" James Doe was born at Lam- " beth, in Surrey, of very reſpect- " able parents, and was educated " in the ſame place. He ſerved an " apprenticeſhip at Lambeth, to a " painter in the china and earthen- " ware line, and he painted in the " biſcuit before it was glazed. In " this line he was eſteemed a good " workman; and to my own know- " ledge, he worked ſome years at " Mr. Wedgwood's manufactory, in " Staffordſhire; he was there very " much reſpected by his employer, " his fellow workmen, and by all " who knew him. He was fond of " company, but I do not remember " him to neglect his buſineſs when " urgent. Having a tolerably good " education, he was fond of reading. " He was particularly generous, " and always firſt to relieve any of " the trade out of employ, or in " ſickneſs. He worked at Mr. " Bradley's, in Staffordſhire, for ſix " or ſeven years, and was at that " place very much reſpected; in " fact, I believe him to be generally " beloved and reſpected wherefo- " ever he worked. About three " years ago he came to London, " and finding little or no employ- " ment in the line in which he was " brought up, he was obliged to " leave town; and being aſſiſted by " his friends, he embarked on board " a ſhip for Newcaſtle, and from " thence went on to Glaſgow, in " Scotland, where he was a fellow " workman with one of my pre- " ſent journeyman, and ſupported " an excellent character there. " From this time I believe he met " with many diſappointments. He " then went to Ireland, and after " ſtopping there a ſhort time, he " embarked on board a veſſel bound " for Swanſea, in South Wales, " where he worked for ſome time, " and then went on to Worceſter- " ſhire china manufactory, which " was, I believe, the laſt place he " worked at."

Another of the deceaſed's friends writes thus:—

" Sir,

" Your's I received; am ſorry to " hear of the melancholy account " of James Doe. I have known " him and his relations for ſeveral " years. He has an uncle, a bro- " ther, and two ſiſters living. His " acquaintance with the perſon he " mentions in his writings upon the " wall, has been, I believe, of " eighteen or twenty years ſtanding. " He was always forward in per- " forming acts of friendſhip to his " fellow workmen, and was a truly " good man to his neighbours. I " have converſed with a particular " friend and old acquaintance of " the deceaſed, who is acquainted " with every circumſtance, and the " whole courſe of life of this extra- " ordinary man; and he is collect- " ing every information he can, " which he will ſend you in a letter, " in a few days.

" I am your's, &c."

The following is an extract from the letter alluded to:—

London, Nov. 20, 1797.

" Sir,

" You ſeem to be anxious con- " cerning the life of the unfortu- " nate ſtranger, found drowned in " Sea-mill dock; you have a right " to know it, for the kindness you " have ſhown to his unfortunate " remains.

" remains.—James Doe was born " at Lambeth, about two miles " from London, of honeſt parents, " who brought him up in as credit- " able a manner as their circum- " ſtances would admit. At the age " of fourteen years, or thereabouts, " he was put an apprentice to Mr. " Griffiths, at the delf pottery, " High-ſtreet, Lambeth. When he " was out of his time, he continued " working at his buſineſs until it " came ſlack; and the queen's ware " meeting with great encourage- " ment, he went into Stafford- " ſhire for employment, where he " remained upwards of twenty " years, working for different maſ- " ters; and then came up to Lon- " don in want of employ, and got " work at china-gilding for a few " months. He was then invited " into Staffordſhire again, where " he remained but a ſhort time; " and from that time he has been " conſidered a wanderer of the " trade. He was the moſt chari- " table man I ever knew, and he " was often known to neglect him- " ſelf, when misfortunes came on " his friends and acquaintances, to " whoſe relief he contributed both " time and money, as much as lay " in his power. Believe me, ſir, " you have beſtowed your trouble " on the remains of a very good- " hearted man. The acquaintance " he alluded to in his diary, and " another perſon, were going to " France about thirteen years ago, " with a view of carrying over and " eſtabliſhing there the queen's ware " manufactory; ſome of the maſter " potters heard of it, and had them " confined in priſon: as ſoon as " James Doe heard of it, he went " through the trade to gather mo- " ney to ſupport his friend, and to " preſerve him from want, and he, " poor ſoul, contributed all he had, " for that purpoſe. To be denied " aſſiſtance by that man whom he " had relieved in diſtreſs, was too " great for his tender heart to bear. " Sir, I do not pretend to hold my " friend up to perfection; the laſt " action of his life is againſt him; " but I believe, the denial of relief " by that man whom he had ſerved " and relieved in diſtreſs, was the " ſole cauſe of his committing the " raſh act of ſuicide. The language " of the manuſcript writing is " nearly the ſame as his laſt con- " verſation with me, as far as this " friend is mentioned.

" I perfectly agree with you, " that he was in his ſenſes as much " as he ever was in his life, when " he committed the act of ſuicide. " He was acquainted with a Mr. " Greenwood, in Staffordſhire, for " ſome years, a man remarkable for " fine knowledge; to that man the " unfortunate Doe owed a great " deal of his knowledge; and al- " though Mr. Greenwood was a " very ſenſible man, yet he held " it juſt for a man to deſtroy him- " ſelf. Had James Doe written " to his friends in London, he " would have had money ſent him; " for his friends in London would " have thought it a happineſs to " relieve him. He was a very uſe- " ful man in the Staffordſhire-ware " manufactory, as he had ſtudied " the chemical ſecrets of that buſi- " neſs. He was fond of reading. " I ſhall be happy in communicat- " ing any further particulars you " may require; and am, ſir,

" Your's, &c. &c."

To the information contained in the foregoing letters, I beg leave to add,

add, that I have lately converſed with ſeveral perſons that knew the deceaſed in Dublin, in Staffordſhire, at Worceſter, in Swanſea, and near Exeter; they all unite in one general opinion; viz. that he was an excellent workman, was univerſally beloved by all ranks of his fellow workmen, that he poſſeſſed a charitable and humane heart, and was ever ready in aſſiſting his fellow-creatures in diſtreſs. He came to Briſtol early in Auguſt, and immediately viſited his friend, mentioned in his writings; I have traced him to his friend's houſe, where he ſpent three or four days and nights immediately before drowning himſelf. From a very particular and circumſtantial enquiry into the conduct and deportment of the deceaſed, even to Sept. 11, I do not find there was any the leaſt mark of inſanity about him; neither was he involved in debt, excepting ten or twelve ſhillings at his lodgings. It may then be aſked, what motive could induce this perſon to deſtroy himſelf? Enjoying full health, and poſſeſſing an art by which he could obtain a competent and perhaps genteel livelihood, he had the means of providing for himſelf, and riſing ſuperior to want. We muſt therefore let him ſpeak for himſelf. He ſays, "if my acquaintance had be-"come my friend, he might have "ſaved me from an untimely death." And again, "how often does ſym-"pathy ſoften one's ſorrow, and "with the aid of a little pecuniary "aſſiſtance, reſtore an unfortunate "being to induſtry and repentance." To ſhow alſo how much this friend engroſſed the ſecret thoughts of his heart, even in his dying moments, after quitting the tenement to drown himſelf, he firſt ſtepped in the ground floor of another tenement, and wrote the following lines. "O Lord! "how weary I am of life! if my "acquaintance ſhould happen to ſee "this writing, he will remember, "perhaps, the hand of an *old former* "acquaintance."

"Deſpair pervades my ſoul—to "death I fly for relief."

There then is the teſtimony that this unfortunate perſon has fallen a victim to diſappointed friendſhip and deſpair. The ſweeteſt and moſt engaging pleaſures of life, are thoſe which ſpring from our ſocial connections; and let thoſe who are joined in the bonds of particular friendſhip, be ſolicitous not to break off ſo delightful an union. A true friend is one of the moſt valuable bleſſings this life can beſtow, and what greater ſatisfaction can we experience, than which ariſes from our being connected with one to whom we can ſafely diſcloſe the moſt ſecret thoughts of our hearts. Yielding then to the benign propenſity of returning a generous and a good action, and beſtowing a ſmall bounty on an old friend in diſtreſs, might have been the means (in the preſent caſe) of ſaving a ſoul from death; whereas, on the other hand, if the baſe and unfriendly conduct of perſons whom we have once loved, diſſolve all the bonds of amity and friendſhip, and ſhow our confidence has been abuſed, then are opened ſome of the deepeſt ſprings of bitterneſs in the human heart. If the unſuſpecting friend be deſerted in the hour of diſtreſs, by the friend in whom he truſted; or in the midſt of his misfortunes meets with cold indifference, where he expected to find the kindeſt ſympathy, and where the heart is ſickened and wounded by the ingratitude or faithleſſneſs

faithleſſneſs of one, on whom it had leaned the whole weight of affection, where ſhall it turn for relief?

I hope, Mr. Editor, there is not to be found an advocate for ſuicide. A heart impreſſed with a religious fear will ſay, "how can I commit this great evil, and ſin againſt God?" The chriſtian religion teaches us to ſupport ourſelves with fortitude, under all our misfortunes and trials.

From hardſhips and difficulties we derive an experience and ſteadineſs, which teach us to act with propriety in the ſtations wherein Providence has placed us. It is our duty to acquieſce in what is allotted us; and our ſole concern to acquit ourſelves well in our reſpective ſtations, and ſuſtain well our characters in this ſtage of life. Every one, therefore, ought to be ſatisfied with his portion, and inſtead of repining at the more liberal allotments of his neighbour, ſhould be grateful for his own; for the wiſdom of the Supreme Ruler of the world, alone knows what is moſt conducive to the well being of the general ſyſtem, and to the particular welfare of individuals. He aſſigns our ſtations, as it is ours to conform to it.

I remain, Mr. Editor,
Your moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
JOSEPH JAMES.

Stoke Biſhop, near Briſtol,
Nov. 22, 1797.

Tranſactions in Parliament, relative to the Stoppage of Payment in Specie of the Bank of England.

Copies of all Communications between the Directors of the Bank and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, reſpecting Advances to Government ſince the firſt of November, 1794.

(No. 1.)

Copy of a Reſolution of the Court of Directors, the 15th of January, 1795.

Reſolved,

That the governor and deputy governor do take an early opportunity of informing the chancellor of the exchequer, that the court of directors, deſirous at all times to give every aſſiſtance and accommodation to the public ſervice, think it proper at the preſent period, when a loan, under the guarantee of this country, for a foreign ſtate, of the large amount of ſix millions ſterling, and alſo one for our own national wants of eighteen millions ſterling, are about to be raiſed, to bring to his conſideration, that it is their wiſh that he would ſettle his arrangements of finances for the preſent year, in ſuch a manner as not to depend on any farther aſſiſtance from them beyond what is already agreed for; and particularly, that the ſtipulation for the future advances to be made by them, if neceſſary, for payment of treaſury bills of exchange, be ſtrictly adhered to, as they cannot allow that advance at any time to exceed the ſum of five hundred thouſand pounds.

(No. 2.)

In the Court of Directors, on the 16th of April, 1795.

The governor and deputy governor were directed by the court to wait upon the chancellor of the exchequer, and to mention to him the uneaſineſs which they have felt on being left, during ſo long a period,

period, in an advance of one and an half, to upwards of two millions of money, for the bills accepted by the treaſury. That this mode of paying the treaſury bills in advance was never meant to be carried to any great extent, at the moſt to 500,000l. and that only as a temporary accommodation.

The chancellor of the exchequer did promiſe to the governor and deputy governor in December laſt, and particularly in a converſation on the 17th of January, that the amount of theſe bills paid at the bank, then exceeding the ſum of 500,000l. ſhould certainly be paid off after the receipt of the firſt payment on the new loan; which promiſe hath not yet taken place. The court have therefore come to a reſolution, that they cannot in future allow of any diſburſement on this account, exceeding the ſum of 500,000l.; and they do requeſt, that the chancellor of the exchequer will be pleaſed to order the ſame to be paid.

(No. 3.)

Copy of a Note from the Governor and Deputy Governor, to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Bank, 5th June, 1795.

The governor and deputy governor of the bank preſent their reſpectful compliments to Mr. Pitt; and take the liberty of ſtating to him, that though he was pleaſed to promiſe, the laſt time they had the honour of an interview, that the amount of the treaſury bills paid by the bank, ſhould immediately be reduced to the ſum of 500,000l. (beyond which ſum, by a reſolution of the court, it was not to paſs); the bank are now in advance on that account 1,210,015l. 17s. 5d., and before the end of next week it will be increaſed to 1,658,467l. They at the ſame time beg to expreſs their concern at being ſo repeatedly obliged to trouble him on the ſubject; hoping he will give ſuch directions as may in future prevent it.

To the right hon. Wm. Pitt, &c. &c. &c.

(No. 4.)

Reſolution of the Court of Directors, 30th of July, 1795.

Reſolved,

That the governor and deputy governor of the bank be deſired to inform the chancellor of the exchequer, that it is the requeſt of this court, that he will either adopt ſome other mode of paying the treaſury bills of exchange, than by directing them for payment at the bank; or ſo arrange the furniſhing of money for the payment of theſe bills, that the amount for which the bank ſhould be in advance, ſhall not at any time exceed the ſum of 500,000l. as this court is determined to give orders to the caſhiers, to refuſe payment of all bills whenever the advance ſhall amount to ſuch ſum of 500,000l. That previouſly the court is deſirous of fixing on a certain day with Mr. Pitt, when ſuch order ſhall take place; but in the meantime depend on his former and repeated promiſe to reduce the preſent advance as ſpeedily as poſſible.

(No. 5.)

Report of the Governor, and Reſolution of the Court of Directors, 6th of Auguſt, 1795.

The governor having laid before

the court a letter from the chancellor of the exchequer, which was received yeſterday at four o'clock in the afternoon, containing a requeſt for a farther accommodation on the credit of the growing ſurplus of the conſolidated fund:

Reſolved, That the conſideration of this letter be poſtponed; and that the governor and deputy governor be deſired to wait on Mr. Pitt, and inform him, that this court cannot take his letter into conſideration, until it has received ſatisfaction reſpecting the repayment of the monies already advanced for payment of treaſury bills of exchange, to reduce that account under the ſtipulated ſum of 500,000l., above which the bank was never to be in advance; and until it has had ſufficient ſecurity held out, that it ſhall not be called upon to make farther advances in future: and that they do requeſt Mr. Pitt to enter into full explanations on this ſubject, which is not even touched upon in his letter.

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 7th of Auguſt, 1797.

THE governor and deputy governor this day waited on Mr. Pitt at the hour he had appointed:—When the governor firſt obſerved to him, that his letter did not arrive in time to be taken into conſideration by the committee on Wedneſday; and that it was therefore of neceſſity laid before the court on Thurſday, without much previous conſultation on it in the committee:—And the governor then read to Mr. Pitt the following note, as containing the ſubſtance of what paſſed upon it in the court:

The governor having laid before the court a letter received yeſterday afternoon from the chancellor of the exchequer, containing a requeſt for a farther accommodation of two millions and an half, on the growing produce of the conſolidated fund:

Reſolved, That the conſideration of this letter be poſtponed; and that the governor and deputy governor be deſired to wait on Mr. Pitt, and inform him, that this court cannot fully take his letter into conſideration until he has finally ſettled the arrangement, notified to him laſt week, relative to the reduction of the amount of the treaſury bills paid by the bank, ſo that the ſum advanced may never exceed 500,000l. of which his letter makes not the leaſt mention.

(No. 6.)

Copy of a Letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Reſolution of the Court of Directors, 13th Auguſt, 1795.

Downing-ſtreet, Aug. 12, 1795.

I have to requeſt the favour of you to ſtate to your court, that if they think proper to afford the accommodation which I have requeſted in my letter of the 5th inſtant, by taking exchequer bills payable out of the growing produce of the conſolidated fund, they may depend upon meaſures being immediately taken for the payment of one million of the ſum they have advanced for the payment of bills; and farther payments to the amount in the whole of another million may be made in the courſe of September, October, and November, in ſuch proportions as may be found convenient. But as freſh bills may be expected to arrive, I am under the neceſſity of requeſting, that

that a latitude ſhould be allowed for the payment of ſuch bills to an amount not exceeding one million; in addition for which ſum, payment ſhall be provided before the end of February, or, if the court materially prefer it, of January. In order to guard againſt any freſh diſappointment, I beg leave to ſuggeſt, that it may be uſeful, if from time to time you ſend me notice, whenever the amount advanced comes within fifty thouſand pounds of the limit fixed, that warrants may be prepared without delay.

I am, &c.

(Signed) WM. PITT.

Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank.

In the court held this day, after reading Mr. Pitt's letter of the 12th of Auguſt, it was reſolved, That this court do not accede to the propoſal contained in the ſaid letter. It was farther reſolved, That the court do conſent to Mr. Pitt's requeſt, in his letter of the 5th inſtant; namely, to advance two millions five hundred thouſand pounds on exchequer bills, on the ſecurity of the ſurplus of the conſolidated fund, to be repaid, as follows:

> About eleven hundred thouſand pounds from the produce of the quarter ending the 10th of October next; and for the remainder they are willing to wait till the ending of the quarter of the 5th April 1796.

And that the governor and deputy governor be deſired to inform Mr. Pitt, that the court ſtill adhere to their former reſolution, of inſiſting that the credit on the treaſury bills be reſtrained to 500,000l., but that the court will wait for the repayment of one million of the money already advanced beyond the ſaid ſum of 500,000l. until the latter end of November (if it is of eſſential ſervice to the government of the country that it ſhould do ſo), provided poſitive aſſurance is given by the chancellor of the exchequer, that this additional million ſhall punctually be repaid at that time; and that in no caſe, if this propoſition is acceded to, the bank is to be in advance beyond one million and an half for payment of the treaſury bills, which by the end of November are to be reduced to 500,000l.

The court alſo requeſt, that the governor and deputy governor will expreſs to Mr. Pitt, the earneſt deſire they have, that ſome other means may be adopted, in the next ſeſſion of parliament, for the future payment of bills of exchange drawn on the treaſury. When the laſt reſolution was propoſed, Mr. Winthrop moved the following amendment, and was ſeconded by Mr. Simeon, to be added after the words "conſolidated fund," and to leave out all the remainder;

> "Provided at leaſt two millions of the ſame ſhall be applied to the diſcharge of the ſum for which the bank is now in advance, on account of bills accepted by the treaſury; it being the intention of this court, to reſtrain the amount of ſuch advance to the ſum of 500,000l., agreeably to their former reſolutions."

The ſaid amendment being put to the vote, was negatived; and the reſolution as firſt moved was carried in the affirmative.

Auguſt 14, 1795.

The governor and deputy gover-

nor, in compliance with the desire of the court held yesterday, waited this day on the chancellor of the exchequer, to signify to him, that his letter of the 12th instant had been duly considered; and it was resolved, that the proposals which it contained could not be acceded to; and to communicate to him the farther resolution of the court, respecting his request in his letter of the 5th instant, as minuted in this book yesterday. The governor put into his hands a copy of the two resolutions, which Mr. Pitt read attentively, and returned soon after, with a letter, written by himself, at the request of the governor and deputy governor, signifying his acquiescence in the said resolution, and promising punctually to comply with the conditions stipulated therein.

Downing-street, 14*th Aug.* 1795.

Gentlemen,

I have to request the favour of you to inform your court, that I agree to the conditions specified in their resolution of yesterday, (see the note of the 13th of August,) for the advance of two millions and an half, on the credit of the consolidated fund; and will take care that they shall be punctually complied with. I return the paper containing the resolution; and am, gentlemen, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) Wm. Pitt.

Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank.

(No. 7.)

Copy of a written Paper delivered to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Bank of England, Oct. 8, 1795.

The very large and continued drain of bullion and specie which the bank has lately experienced, arising from the effects of the loan to the emperor, and other subsidies, together with the prospect of the demand for gold not appearing likely soon to cease, has excited such apprehensions in the court of directors, that, on the most serious deliberation, they deem it right to communicate to the chancellor of the exchequer, the absolute necessity they conceive to exist for diminishing the sum of their present advances to government—the last having been granted with extreme reluctance on their part, on his pressing solicitations and statement, that serious embarrassments would arise to the public service, if the bank refused.

It must occur to Mr. Pitt's recollection, that last January the governor and deputy governor of the bank did, by instructions from their court, formally announce to him their apprehensions of the consequences that were likely to ensue from the emperor's loan taking place; the events seem fully to justify their fears, and to render every measure of caution absolutely necessary for their future safety.

In addition to the above causes, it may be proper to state, that large sums are likely soon to be called for by the claimants of the cargoes and freights of the neutral ships taken, and about to be reimbursed; many of whom, as they are credibly informed, are instructed by their owners and proprietors, to take back their returns in specie or bullion.

The present price of gold being from 4l. 3s. to 4l. 4s. per ounce, and our guineas being to be purchased at 3l. 17s. 10½d. clearly demonstrates the grounds of our fears; it

it being only neceſſary to ſtate thoſe facts to the chancellor of the exchequer.

Ever ready as the court of directors have been to accommodate and give their aſſiſtance in the ſervice of the public, they muſt now expreſs their hopes, that Mr. Pitt will, on the meeting of parliament, ſo arrange his plans of finance, as not to depend upon the immediate advance of the duties on land and malt, 1796; and that he will be pleaſed to provide the means of reimburſement to the bank, conformably to his agreement, of the million on account of the treaſury bills, and the one million one hundred thouſand, part of the advance on the product of the conſolidated fund, in caſe it ſhall not have been previouſly paid, and alſo to reimburſe the remaining 1,400,000l. on the ſame product in January or February, inſtead of April.

(No. 8.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 23d of October, 1795.

The governor mentioned his having heard, that there might be annexed to the enſuing loan, one of 1,400,000l. for the emperor of Germany; and ſtated, that in ſuch a caſe it would be highly proper for the bank to have ſome intimation of it, that they might adopt ſuch arrangements as the meaſure would render abſolutely neceſſary:—The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that he had not at preſent the moſt diſtant idea of it; though he did not pledge himſelf that on no occaſion ſuch a thing might happen. The governor thanked him for his anſwer, which he told Mr. Pitt he received with pleaſure, thinking as he did, that another loan of that ſort would go nigh to ruin the country. The governor alſo acquainted him, that the drain of caſh continued; and was likely to do ſo, while the bills from abroad continued to be drawn on the treaſury. Mr. Pitt ſaid, they might laſt two months longer, but he believed not longer.

(No. 9.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 18th November 1795.

The governor informed Mr. Pitt, that the preſent price of gold was 4l. 2s. per ounce, and that the daily large drains of ſpecie from the bank filled the minds of the directors with ſerious apprehenſions; and that in the preſent ſituation of their affairs, he muſt not rely on any aids from them, not even the vote of credit and ſupply bills.

The chancellor of the exchequer apologized for the warrants that were deſigned to be applied to the reduction of the amount of the treaſury bills paid by the bank, having, from the moſt urgent neceſſity, been otherwiſe applied to the payment of the troops going abroad. With reſpect to the million which he had promiſed ſhould be paid in the courſe of this month, in farther reduction of the treaſury bills, he ſaid his intention was, to take out that ſum in part of the land and malt for 1796, and to pay it on this account, having no other means to do it by. The governor then hinted to Mr. Pitt, his apprehenſions, from a rumour that a further loan to the emperor was in agitation, notwithſtanding the aſſurances which Mr. Pitt gave him ſome time back, that he had not then the moſt diſtant idea of ſuch a meaſure. The chancellor replied, that he then had not ſuch a thought,

from the tardy and ſlow operations of the Auſtrians; but the face of things having ſince changed, and the Auſtrian army having been of late very active and ſucceſsful, he confeſſed it was his opinion, that a continuance of ſuch exertions was the ſureſt way of diſtreſſing the French, and bringing them to proper terms of peace; and on this ground, miniſtry now had it in contemplation to let the emperor have another loan, not exceeding two millions, truſting that it might be done with ſafety, and on the conſideration that the ſubſidies of about 900,000 l. per annum, which had been paid to different ſtates in Germany, for troops, would ceaſe, and alſo the bills drawn for the ſupport of our army on the continent, which had laſt year amounted to near three millions ſterling: beſide, that ſhould the loan take place, he had no objection to modify the ſtated times for the remittance thereof, ſo as to cauſe the leaſt bad effect on the courſe of exchange. And he farther added, That ſhould the ſituation of the bank be ſuch, as to make this meaſure a very hazardous one, he would, in compliance with our requeſt, overlook every other conſideration, and abandon the loan. The governor and deputy governor then told Mr. Pitt, that they would take the ſenſe of their court to-morrow on the advances, which he wiſhed to have on the land and malt of 1796, and wait upon him with the determination of the court as ſoon as it ſhould break up.

(No. 19.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 20th of November, 1795.

The court of directors having, on a conſideration of the advances propoſed by the chancellor of the exchequer on the land and malt, 1796, reſolved to let him have the ſum of one million, under the reſtriction that it be immediately applied to the diſcharge of ſo much of the bank's advance on the treaſury bills: and alſo a farther advance of 500,000 l. for his preſent accommodation: — The governor and deputy governor went, as ſoon as the court was over, to wait on the chancellor of the exchequer, to acquaint him thereof. But that at the ſame time the governor mentioned to him, that it was the expectation of the court, that he ſhould not take up any more on this fund until about February next, and then gradually, as the advance on the former year would be coming in. The governor alſo ſaid, that from the preſent ſituation of matters at the bank, and from appearances for the future, it would be abſolutely out of the power of the court to make the advance, which had been done before, of 2,500,000 l. on the vote of credit which might be paſſed this ſeſſion; and he felt it right to announce this in time to Mr. Pitt, before the loan, that he might make his arrangements accordingly; which Mr. Pitt thanked him for having mentioned; ſaid he ſuppoſed he might venture to iſſue about 1,500,000 l. of ſuch exchequer bills to the public; and that he muſt provide for the other million by an addition to the loan. The governor then repeated to Mr. Pitt, the abſolute determination of the court, to have the advance on the treaſury bills quite cleared off, by an early payment out of the monies received in part of the loan.

(No.

(No. 11.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 12th of December, 1795.

In conſequence of a meſſage from the chancellor of the exchequer, the governor and deputy governor waited upon him this day; when he returned to them the paper which contained the copy of the court's reſolution made on the 3d inſtant.

The governor renewed the ſubject of the payment of the treaſury bills to Mr. Pitt, which amount now to 2,670,000l.; but Mr. Pitt ſaid, the money hitherto received on account of the preſent loan, ſhould be applied to the payment thereof, and a farther ſum out of the payments in full, until that advance was reduced to 500,000 l.

(No. 12.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 8th of January, 1796.

The governor and deputy governor this day waited on the chancellor of the exchequer, by his deſire. When he mentioned to them his requeſt that the bank would accommodate him with an advance of 500,000 l. which he wanted for the purpoſe of paying off ſums due to the army agents, and for which he would pledge exchequer bills on the land and malt of the preſent year; and if the payments made upon the loan for this year ſhould amount in all, before the end of this month, to above 5,800,000l. the exceſs beyond that ſum, as far as 500,000 l. ſhould be employed in repaying the bank's advance on the exchequer bills on the credit of the growing produce of the conſolidated fund, for the ſervice of the laſt year. The governor told Mr. Pitt, that he did not think the court would object to ſuch an advance, and deſired him to write an official letter in time, to be laid before the next court for that purpoſe.

Mr. Pitt ſaid, he had an immediate neceſſity for 200,000l.; which the governor ſaid he might take up directly; not doubting that it would be approved of by the court of directors.

(No. 13.)

The Governor's Report, and Reſolution of the Court of Directors, 28th of January, 1796.

The governor having informed the court, that a notice was brought this morning from the treaſury, that certain bills drawn on the commiſſioners of the treaſury, amounting to the ſum of 201,000l. would fall due on Wedneſday the 3d of February, and were directed for payment at the bank; and that the ſum now in advance on treaſury bills is 1,157,000 l.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That the governor do give directions to the caſhiers not to advance any money for the payment of theſe bills, nor to diſcharge any part of the ſame, unleſs money ſhall be ſent down for the purpoſe; in which caſe ſuch money is to be appropriated excluſively for the diſcharge of theſe bills.

Reſolved, That the governor, deputy governor, and a deputation from this court, do wait on the chancellor of the exchequer, with a copy of the above reſolution; and do farther reſpectfully lay before him, the determination of the court not to continue any longer the mode of advancing the

payment of treasury bills, than to such time as shall be fixed on between Mr. Pitt and the deputation beforementioned, which time the court hopes will not be fixed for a distant day.

(No. 14.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 29th of January, 1796.

The governor and deputy governor, with Mr. Peters and Mr. Bosanquet, waited on Mr. Pitt this day with the resolution of the court, as stated in the foregoing minute. He dwelt much on the inconvenience which it would put him to, to comply with it; but after some conversation, said he would arrange his affairs, so as to provide the money in time for the payment of the treasury bills due on the 3d of February, by applying to that purpose money which he had destined for other services.

As to fixing a period when the payment of the treasury bills shall no longer be referred to the bank, Mr. Pitt declared himself unable to settle that at such a short notice; but that he would look into the situation of his payments, and endeavour to form such a plan as soon as possible; and hoped to be able to conclude it by Friday the 5th of February, when he would expect to see the deputation again.

(No. 15.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 5th of February 1796.

The governor, deputy governor, Mr. Peters, and Mr. Bosanquet, this day waited upon Mr. Pitt again, according to appointment, to hear his determination about the latter part of the court's resolution, on the 28th ultimo, as to fixing a time when the present mode of paying the treasury bills in advance should be brought to a period. Mr. Pitt, after much conversation on the subject, said, That measures were now taking for a payment of 500,000 l. more on this account, to the bank, which would reduce their advance on this score to under 200,000 l.; but that, as matters were situated, he could not foresee a possibility of paying the remainder, and quite finishing the account, till May or June next; for that, as some part of our cavalry had not been brought home from Germany, there must still be some monies drawn for their charges, but he did not think it could amount to above 300,000 l. more in the whole. Mr. Pitt, however, said, he would digest his ideas on this subject more particularly, and send a letter with a proposal to the bank court against next Thursday.

Mr. Pitt dwelt much on the necessity of some farther support to be given to the emperor, to enable him to continue his efforts against the French, as the most probable means of bringing the war to an end; but knowing the sentiments of the directors of the bank to be against any such assistance in money, he promised that he would not commit himself to any engagement for a farther loan to the emperor, without a previous communication on the subject with the gentlemen of the bank.

Mr. Pitt read some extracts of letters from the British resident and others at Hamburgh, which mentioned that large quantities of English guineas were imported thither by the packets from Yarmouth; and one mentioned that the guineas

were melted down on arrival there. Mr. Pitt ſaid, that attention ſhould be paid to this circumſtance at the ports from which the packets ſailed.

(No. 16.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 12th of February, 1796.

The governor told Mr. Pitt, That the court had received his letter of the 11th inſtant, and would comply with his deſire of continuing to pay the treaſury bills as uſual till May, when he hoped it would be totally done away; and that he might look to a temporary accommodation of 500,000l. in the interval; but abſolutely required, that it ſhould never exceed that ſum.

Mr. Pitt ſaid, That as far as lay in his power, it ſhould not exceed it; but that demands did ariſe occaſionally which he could not foreſee, but which the public ſervice required to be provided for; and if the money from the loan did not flow in faſt enough, he might be obliged to have recourſe for temporary aſſiſtance to the bank; and that it lay with the court of directors to judge whether they choſe to accommodate the public or not.

(No. 17.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 11th April, 1796.

The governor and deputy governor this day waited on the chancellor of the exchequer at his deſire; when he informed them, that he meant to propoſe in parliament a farther loan of about ſix millions and a half, in order to fund the four millions of exchequer bills, which the bank holds on the ſupply and vote of credit of 1795; two millions of exchequer bills which have iſſued to the public, and about half a million, the amount of navy bills held by the bank, due in the months when he means to fund them, but which the governor had informed Mr. Pitt that the bank choſe to have the payment of. Mr. Pitt ſaid, he hoped to be able to bring this matter before the houſe on Monday next the 18th inſtant; and would deſire the governor and deputy governor to come on ſome day this week, to a previous meeting with the parties who were to be concerned in this buſineſs.

(No. 18.)

The Governor's Report, and Reſolution of the Court of Directors, 19th of May, 1796.

The governor having informed the court, That the preſent advance on treaſury bills of exchange is 835,000l. beyond which there is a notice now lying in the houſe, of a farther ſum of about 200,000l. which will ſhortly become due; and that a notice was brought on Monday laſt from the treaſury, containing a liſt of bills drawn on the commiſſioners to the ſum of 900,000l. more, of which the principal part would fall due on the 29th inſtant, which were directed for payment at the bank: the court reſolved, That a repreſentation in writing ſhould be made to the chancellor of the exchequer on the ſubject.

(No. 19.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 24th May, 1796.

In conſequence of an appointment from the chancellor of the exchequer, the governor and deputy governor waited upon him this day, with a view to lay before him the

reſolution

reſolution entered into by the court on the 19th inſtant; but they found him ſo impreſſed with the neceſſity of providing the funds to pay off the treaſury bills for 900,000 l. and that he had formed his plan for the liquidation thereof, that they thought it prudent to withhold the reſolution from him.

Mr. Pitt explained his meaſure in the following letter to the governor and deputy governor, which he wrote while they were with him.

Downing-ſtreet, 25th May, 1796.

Gentlemen,

I beg leave to acquaint you, for the information of your court, that a warrant is directed for the iſſue of 900,000 l. for the payment of the bills to become due to that amount in the courſe of the preſent week. I muſt at the ſame time deſire you to requeſt of the court, in conſequence of the preſſure ariſing from this unexpected payment, that they will accommodate government by advancing a ſum of 200,000 l. to the account of the paymaſter general, to be repaid out of the caſh to be received on the next payment of the loan of 7,500,000 l.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Wm. Pitt.

Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank.

The governor afterwards mentioned in converſation the deſire of the court to have the new arrangements made, which ſhould eaſe the bank from the payment of the treaſury bills. The promiſe to which point Mr. Pitt acknowledged to have made; but being exceſſively hurried with a variety of buſineſs, and about to ſet off to attend the election at Cambridge, he deſired leave to defer this object until ſome time next week, after his return, when he would reſume it.

(No. 20.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 14th June, 1796.

The governor and deputy governor this day waited on Mr. Pitt, with a ſtatement of the treaſury bills paid by the bank, which advance now to the ſum of

£. 1,002,555 6 4

and of bills already adviſed, but not yet due 230,093 16 1

£. 1,232,649 2 5

and requeſted that ſpeedy meaſures might be taken to pay off the ſame. Mr. Pitt told them, That he had made arrangements to pay off the 200,000 l. which he had borrowed (as by his letter of the 25th of May, copied in the private minute book of the court), and alſo for the payment of 800,000 l. out of the monies received on the laſt loan, for which he would take up exchequer bills to that amount on the vote of credit of 1795; and in conſequence of theſe payments, he hoped the bank would have patience to wait for the diſcharge of the advance on the treaſury bills abovementioned, until the quarter ending the 5th of July, of the conſolidated fund, when the ſurplus thereof ſhould be applied to that purpoſe; which the governor ſaid he ſhould refer to the court for their opinion.

(No. 21.)

Copy of a Letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Reſolution

ſolution of the Court of Directors, 21ſt of July, 1796.

Downing-ſtreet,
Wedneſday, *July* 20, 1796.

Gentlemen,

As the preſſure of demands for the public ſervice, at the preſent moment, prevents the payment in caſh of the ſum advanced by the bank on treaſury bills, I ſhould conſider it as a great accommodation, if the court would accept of exchequer bills on the vote of credit, to the amount of the ſum now due beyond five hundred thouſand pounds. I would alſo beg the favour of you to propoſe to the court, in order to guard againſt any farther exceſs on that point, that any farther ſums to be advanced for treaſury bills ſhould be paid in exchequer bills, on the credit of the conſolidated fund, at the end of each month. I am alſo under the indiſpenſable neceſſity of expreſſing my earneſt hope, that the court will be induced to make a preſent advance of eight hundred thouſand pounds, on the credit of the conſolidated fund, which will enable me to make proviſion for the preſent demands, and to pay immediately the four hundred thouſand pounds lately advanced by the bank, and the navy bills now due. I ſhall alſo be obliged to requeſt a farther advance of the like ſum of eight hundred thouſand pounds, on the ſame ſecurity, towards the end of the month of Auguſt. It gives me much concern to be obliged to apply for an accommodation to ſo large an extent; but I cannot too ſtrongly repreſent, how neceſſary it is for the public ſervice; and I truſt, the very large repayments which are ſecured to the bank in the courſe of the preſent year, will admit of their making theſe temporary advances at a period when they are peculiarly important.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) WM. PITT.

Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank.

P. S. In caſe the bank ſhould find it neceſſary (which I hope will not be the caſe) to diſpoſe of any of the exchequer bills on the vote of credit, before proviſion is made for their diſcharge, and any loſs ſhould ariſe from their being at a diſcount in the market, I ſhould of courſe propoſe, that ſuch a loſs ſhould be made good by the public.

After a debate on the ſubject of this letter, the court came to the following reſolution thereon:

Reſolved, That this court do conſent to receive payment for the amount of advances on the treaſury bills which have been and ſhall be paid before the firſt of Auguſt, beyond the ſum of 500,000 l. and which will be 867,700 l. in exchequer bills iſſued on the vote of credit of the preſent year, under the ſtipulation of indemnity from loſs on the ſale propoſed by Mr. Pitt, and to waive their claim of repayment of the 500,000 l. till the meeting of parliament; when the court will expect that this mode of paying treaſury bills ſhall be totally done away.

Reſolved, That the court do not conſent to advance any more money for the payment of ſuch bills which fall due after the firſt of Auguſt.

Reſolved, That the court do conſent to the other part of the letter, to advance the ſum of eight hundred thouſand pounds on the credit of exchequer bills on the conſolidated

conſolidated fund, on condition of being paid off the 400,000l. lately advanced to government, and the navy bills due and coming due; but they do not conſent to advance the ſecond ſum of eight hundred thouſand pounds in the month of Auguſt.

The governor, deputy governor, with Mr. Darell and Mr. Samuel Thornton, were deſired by the court to carry up theſe reſolutions to the chancellor of the exchequer; which they did as ſoon as the court broke up. And being admitted, they gave a copy of the reſolutions to Mr. Pitt, who having read them attentively over, ſaid, "He was "obliged to the court for what "they did grant, which he ſhould "accept of; but added, that it "would be of no material uſe, in "the preſent circumſtances of the "nation, unleſs the other requi- "ſitions which he had made were "complied with. That he muſt "refer the affair again in a more "pointed manner to the re-con- "ſideration of the court, which he "would do in a letter to be ſent "to the bank next Tueſday morn- "ing, for the previous deliberation "of the committee; and that he "would be glad to ſee the gover- "nor and deputy governor again "before the next court ſhould "meet."

(No. 22.)

Copy of a Letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Reſolution of the Court of Directors, 28th July, 1796.

Downing-ſtreet, Wedneſday, *July* 27.

Gentlemen,

After attentively conſidering the reſolutions of your court, which I received from you on Thurſday laſt, I feel it an indiſpenſable duty, however unwilling I am to urge any requeſt which appears to them liable to any difficulty or objection, to repreſent to you, in the moſt earneſt manner, that it will be impoſſible to avoid the moſt ſerious and diſtreſſing embarraſſments to the public ſervice, unleſs in addition to the accommodation which has been already agreed to for the preſent month, the court can conſent to advance the ſecond ſum of 800,000l. in the month of Auguſt, and can alſo make proviſion for the payment of ſuch farther treaſury bills as may fall due in the next month, or as may be drawn payable in September and October. With reſpect to thoſe for the two latter months, as none ſuch have yet been accepted, I ſhould hope an arrangement may be made for accepting them, payable at a period ſubſequent to October, by which means the inconvenience of the advance may poſſibly be in a great degree obviated. I muſt requeſt you to take the firſt opportunity of laying this application before your court, and to ſtate to them, that objects of the utmoſt importance to the public are involved in their determination upon it. I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your obedient humble ſervant,

(Signed) WM. PITT.

Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank.

Reſolved, That this court do agree to advance, for the ſervice of the public, the ſum of 800,000l. towards the end of the month of Auguſt, on the ſecurity of exchequer bills to be iſſued under the act of parliament on the ſurplus of the

the conſolidated fund; and that ſuch treaſury bills as have been accepted, and ſhall fall due during the month of Auguſt, be likewiſe diſcharged on a depoſit of like exchequer bills, to be iſſued on the conſolidated fund to an equal amount, which bills have been ſtated by the chancellor of the exchequer to be about the ſum of 300,000 l.

That this court do not engage to advance for any ſum of treaſury bills which may be drawn, and ſhall fall due after the month of Auguſt.

That this court do expect, that the chancellor of the exchequer will give a promiſe, that a new mode of paying the treaſury bills ſhall be adopted immediately on the meeting of parliament, as this court will not continue the mode of diſcharging them any longer.

Reſolved, That the court having granted this accommodation with great reluctance, and contrary to their wiſhes, the governor be deſired to preſent to Mr. Pitt, a copy of the following memorial; and requeſt of him, that, for the juſtification of the court of directors, the ſame may be laid before his majeſty's cabinet:

"The court of directors of the bank of England, fully ſenſible of the alarming and dangerous ſituation of the public credit of this kingdom, and deeply impreſſed with the communication lately made to them by the right honourable William Pitt, both by letter and in a conference with the governor and deputy governor, are very willing and deſirous to do every thing in their power to ſupport the national credit, and to enable his majeſty's miniſters to carry on the public ſervice; but in complying with the requeſt made to them by the right honourable William Pitt, in his letter of the 27th inſtant, they think that they ſhould be wanting in their duty to their proprietors, and to the public, if that compliance was not accompanied with the following moſt ſerious and ſolemn remonſtrance; which, for the juſtification of their court, they deſire may be laid before his majeſty's cabinet.

"They beg leave to declare, that nothing could induce them, under the preſent circumſtances, to comply with the demand now made upon them, but the dread that their refuſal might be productive of a greater evil, and nothing but the extreme preſſure and exigency of the caſe can in any ſhape juſtify them for acceding to this meaſure; and they apprehend, that in ſo doing they render themſelves totally incapable of granting any farther aſſiſtance to government, during the remainder of this year, and unable even to make the uſual advances on the land and malt for the enſuing year, ſhould thoſe bills be paſſed before Chriſtmas.

"They likewiſe conſent to this meaſure, in a firm reliance that the repeated promiſes ſo frequently made to them, that the advances on the treaſury bills ſhould be completely done away, may be actually fulfilled at the next meeting of parliament, and the neceſſary arrangements taken to prevent the ſame from ever happening again, as they conceive it to be an unconſtitutional mode of raiſing money, what they are not warranted by their charter to conſent to, and an advance always extremely inconvenient to themſelves."

(No.

(No. 23.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 9th Aug. 1796.

Some lifts of treafury bills accepted, payable at the bank, of which about 37,000 l. fall due in September and October, being brought down to the bank, the governor and deputy governor this day waited on Mr. Pitt, to mention this matter to him; and to remind him, that the court had refolved not to pay any bills on the treafury due in thofe months, unlefs provifion was made for the fame by the treafury. Mr. Pitt thanked them for the attention, and told them, that it was meant to prepare money at the bank for the difcharge of thofe bills.

(No. 24.)

At a Court of Directors at the Bank, on Thurfday the 3d of November, 1796.

The following Letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, addreffed to the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank of England, having been read, viz.

Downing ftreet, Nov. 3, 1796.

Gentlemen,

I have to requeft you to repreſent to your court, that it will contribute eſſentially to the public ſervice, if they think proper, to advance the amount (as it may be wanted) of exchequer bills uſually raiſed on the land and malt; and that I ſhall, in that caſe, be enabled to make proviſion for the payment of the balance now due on treaſury bills, at ſuch time and in ſuch proportions as may be agreed upon by them.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your obedient humble ſervant,
(Signed) Wm. Pitt.

Reſolved, That the lords of the treaſury be accommodated with the ſum of 2,750,000 l. on the land and malt taxes, 1797, on the following conditions: That the ſum of 1,513,345 l. 19 s. 7 d. already advanced by the bank on treaſury bills of exchange, be paid thereout; and that all the treaſury bills directed to be paid at the bank, which ſhall fall due in the months of November and December, ſhall be diſcharged and ſatisfied by money to be ſent down for the purpoſe; and that from the firſt day of January, 1797, proviſion ſhall be made, on notice that bills have been accepted to the amount of 100,000 l. that money or exchequer bills to that amount, ſhall be iſſued to the bank three days before the whole ſum becomes due. The governor was deſired to inform the chancellor of the exchequer with the above reſolution, and at the ſame time mention to him, that the court intended to adhere ſtrictly to theſe terms, and hoped he would give directions that no alteration ſhould take place reſpecting them.

(No. 25.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1ſt of February, 1797.

The governor and deputy governor yeſterday waited upon the chancellor of the exchequer, to repreſent to him how uneaſy the court were at their large advances for government, and eſpecially on the treaſury bills paid, which now amounted to 1,554,635 l. and would in a few days be augmented to 1,819,818 l. and required that ſome effective meaſure ſhould be immediately taken for the payment of the

the whole of this ſum, as had been ſo ſeriouſly promiſed them ſhould be done at the opening of this year.

Mr. Pitt acknowledged his intentions and wiſh to have done it; but ſaid, that he had been prevented by the very preſſing calls for various other ſervices. He ſaid, however, he would conſider over his payments and reſources, and would endeavour to form ſome plan for the repayment of the treaſury bills againſt the next day, when the governor and deputy governor were to wait upon him again about the buſineſs of the national ſtock. Accordingly, this day Mr. Pitt reſumed the ſubject, and ſaid, that he was endeavouring to ſell exchequer bills; out of which he hoped to be able to pay about 300,000l. at preſent; which the governor wiſhed him to do, that the bank might be provided for the bills now falling due. Mr. Pitt ſaid, as to future payment, he believed he could propoſe to pay every week about 150,000l. or in that proportion, until the whole ſum now due was paid off. Mr. Pitt, however, hinted in converſation, that another large ſum of bills had appeared from St. Domingo. The governor begged he would give us an idea to what amount they were. He ſaid about 700,000l.; on which the governor expreſſed great apprehenſion about ſuch an acceſs to the preſent advance; and begged of Mr. Pitt to put off the acceptance of theſe freſh bills, or, at leaſt, to protract the acceptance of them to a term of two months beyond their tenor; which, he ſaid, he would conſider about, and take his reſolution.

The governor then deſired Mr. Pitt to write a letter officially to him, and he would lay it before the court, and take their reſolutions upon it. Mr. Pitt then hinted, that he ſhould want ſome money to ſend to Ireland, that he had been applied to for a large ſum, but that 200,000l. in ſpecie would be neceſſary. The governor and deputy governor told him, that any farther drain of caſh from the bank would, in theſe times, be very dangerous, as they acknowledged that the caſh had been very materially leſſened of late, and they therefore begged of him to try if 100,000l. would not be ſufficient.

(No. 26.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 3d of February, 1797.

The governor and deputy governor this day waited on Mr. Pitt, to mention to him that his letter, which contained the engagement to liquidate the preſent advance on treaſury bills, was yeſterday laid before the court; who, after a long debate on the ſubject, had ſubmitted to the plan as propoſed by him; but that, by the direction of the court, they recommended a punctual performance of the payments promiſed; which Mr. Pitt ſaid ſhould certainly be obſerved; and that he had hopes of being able to pay it off, even quicker that he had propoſed.

(No. 27.)

Reſolution of the Court of Directors, and Deputation's Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 10th February, 1797.

The committee met this day, and taking into their moſt ſerious conſideration the certainty, which now threatens us, that Mr. Pitt will be obliged to bring forward here a loan

loan for Ireland, to the amount of 1,500,000l., and the evils which will probably follow on such a measure to this house, by the sending over to that country a great part of the sum in specie; they resolved to ask of Mr. Pitt, a considerable reduction of the bank's present advances to government, to be raised, as he hinted, by a new loan; and they made out a statement for that purpose, to be presented to him, which was as follows:

Arrears of advance on land and malt, 1794 - - - -	£. 337,000
Ditto ditto 1795 -	491,000
Ditto ditto 1796 -	2,392,000
Exchequer bills on vote of credit	968,800
Ditto on consolidated fund 1796	1,323,000
Treasury bills paid - -	1,674,645
	£. 7,186,445
Besides arrears of interest due, &c.	400,000

They desired that a deputation of the governor, deputy governor, Mr. Bosanquet, and Mr. S. Thornton, would go up to Mr. Pitt; and request, that if the Irish loan must take place, he would undertake first to arrange the repayment of the above sum to the bank, as the only means which the committee can propose for the defence of the bank, against the mischiefs they dread from the Irish loan.

And the committee also desired, that, if necessary, a special court of directors might be summoned to meet, on this business, on Monday next, at twelve o'clock, that the business may be brought before the court.

In consequence of the above resolution, the governor and other gentlemen deputed, went to Mr. Pitt, shewed him the statement of the bank's demands on government, which they wished to have paid off, or so arranged before the settlement of the Irish loan. Mr. Pitt, on the article of the treasury bills, said, that he had already laid his plan for the discharge of that article, which he meant to adhere to, and that therefore this article might be left out of the present agreement; and that he would lay his plan for the liquidation of the rest, by an addition to the late voluntary loan, or by some other measure, as might be most forcible. The deputation pressed on him the necessity of attending, in his plans, to the point of making the payments to the bank precede those which might be fixed for the Irish loan. They also informed him of their intention to call a special court of directors, to impart their business to them, which might be held on Monday or Tuesday next, as might best suit Mr. Pitt. He begged it might be called on Monday, as he said that Mr. Pelham, the secretary of state for Ireland, had been here some days on this business, and that it was of the utmost consequence that the matter should be fixed, and advice sent over to that country of it as soon as possible. On which the governor told Mr. Pitt, that a court of directors should be summoned for Monday; and requested, that he would furnish him with a letter, explanatory of the business to be laid before the court; which Mr. Pitt promised should be sent to the bank either to-morrow, or on Sunday.

(No. 28.)

Letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Opinions of the Court of Directors.

Downing-street, Feb. 15, 1797.

Gentlemen,

Since our last conversation, I have turned

turned my attention to an idea, which has been ſuggeſted to me, of raiſing the money wanted for Ireland, as part of one loan, together with that which may be requiſite here, and of leaving the time and mode of remittance to be ſettled between the Engliſh and Iriſh governments, according to circumſtances. Such a meaſure might poſſibly prevent ſome inconvenience, which would ariſe from there being otherwiſe two loans in the market at the ſame time, and might alſo give better means of regulating the remittance in the manner leaſt inconvenient. It would at the ſame time hardly fail to be acceptable to Ireland, as it would probably procure money for them at a much cheaper rate than they could otherwiſe borrow it. I have to requeſt the favour of you to learn the ſentiments of your court on this point, and to communicate to me the reſult.

I have the honour to be,
&c. &c. &c.
(Signed) WILLIAM PITT.
Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank.

After a debate on the ſubject of this letter, it was the opinion of the court, that it might be better for the miniſter of this country to have the controul over the remittance of the ſum intended for Ireland, than, by an open loan for Ireland, to leave in the power of that government to draw the money away, without any conſideration of the caſe of the bank. And the governor and deputy governor, and Mr. S. Thornton, were deſired to wait on Mr. Pitt with the following obſervation on his letter, as dictated by the court:

"It is the opinion of this court, that the plan of adding to the intended Engliſh loan, the ſum that has been propoſed to be raiſed here for the government of Ireland, and of making the remittances at ſuch periods, and in ſuch manner, as may be leaſt inconvenient, is preferable to the raiſing an Iriſh loan in England by itſelf, and fixing the payments and remittances in a manner, which cannot be varied according to circumſtances.

"But the court muſt repeat their apprehenſions, that any meaſure which tends to carry money out of the country, is replete with alarming conſequences to the bank of England."

The paper containing the above, was accordingly carried up to Mr. Pitt, who read it with attention, and then returned it.

(No. 29.)

Reſolution of the Court of Directors, 23d February, 1797.

"Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this court, that the treaſury bills of exchange ſhall be paid, which will become due in the courſe of next week, to the amount of about 150,000l.; but that no other treaſury bills of exchange ſhall be paid by this houſe, until money be iſſued to the bank to pay the ſame."

The governor and deputy governor were deſired to go and wait upon Mr. Pitt with the above reſolution, as ſoon as the court broke up.

(No. 30.)

Addition to (No. 26.)

The governor mentioned to Mr. Pitt, the great diſtreſs and inconvenience which the bank, the bankers, and the public, ſuffered for want of a freſh coinage of ſilver, and requeſted the chancellor of the exchequer to take ſome early

measures for a redress thereof, by a new coinage, at least of some part of what would be wanted.

(No. 31.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 8th of February, 1797.

The governor and deputy governor this day waited upon the chancellor of the exchequer, by his appointment; when he mentioned to them, that he was exceedingly pressed by the government of Ireland, to allow them to raise a loan in this country; and he thought that about 1,500,000l. would be the sum. He knew it would be a difficult and unpleasant measure to be carried through, but thought it right to speak to the governor of the bank about it. The governor immediately told Mr. Pitt, that such a scheme must have the worst effect possible; that it would cause the ruin of the bank; for that such a loan raised here would all be sent over in money to Ireland, and would drain much of our specie from us. Mr. Pitt desired that the matter might at present be only communicated to the committee of treasury, but not to the court of directors: which the governor promised to do, and to wait upon him again to-morrow, with Mr. Puget, as Mr. Pitt wished to speak with him also on the subject.

(No. 32.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 9th of February, 1797.

The governor this day communicated to the committee, the circumstance mentioned by Mr. Pitt yesterday, about a farther loan for Ireland, which struck them all as likely to produce the most disastrous consequences to the house. And the committee joined in opinion fully, that the governor in his interview with Mr. Pitt to-day, should tell him, that under the present state of the bank's advances to government here, such a measure would threaten ruin to the house, and most probably bring us under the necessity to shut up our doors.

After the court this day, the governor, with Mr. S. Thornton (as the deputy could not attend) and Mr. Puget, waited on Mr. Pitt; who told them, that notwithstanding the difficulties and dangers which they foresaw by his carrying into execution a farther loan for Ireland, he found it to be a measure of government absolutely necessary; but that he would do every thing he could to obviate the difficulties, by making the bank more easy in other points; and he proposed to raise, by an addition to the present voluntary loan, or by other means, with the consent of the subscribers to that loan, whatever sum the bank might desire to be paid off from its advances to government. He proposed this, from an opinion that it was possibly in the power of the bank to render itself safe by the diminution of its outstanding notes; and he added, that he wished this reduction of their notes to be effected by a diminution of their advances to government, rather than by lessening their commercial discounts.

On the governor's stating, that in the event of the measure of an Irish loan being effected here, the bank would probably think it necessary to restrain their advances, both to government and to the public, by way of discount:—Mr. Pitt answered, he had rather pay back five

millions to the bank, than that they ſhould reſtrain their diſcounts three millions; or to that effect. Mr. Pitt expreſſed an opinion, that a great deal of the money that had been taken from this country laſt year was returned; and perhaps, kept back in London, or in other parts of the kingdom, from whence he hoped to draw the reſources he wants by a loan under the propoſed circumſtances. Some diſcuſſion took place with Mr. Puget, whether a part at leaſt of the Iriſh loan might not be negociated in Ireland; and reaſon was given to think that a trial for this would be made. Mr. Puget ſuggeſted, that a pecuniary aſſiſtance given by this government to the Iriſh government might be preferable to a loan, as the money might be demanded back when there was preſſing occaſion for it: but Mr. Pitt was of opinion, that if the neceſſity to call it back ſhould ariſe, Ireland would not be able to pay it; whereas he hoped the ſpecie would find its way back, by the regular courſe of trade, as ſoon as the internal ſtate of that country would permit.

Mr. Pitt propoſed that the repayment to the bank ſhould be made proportionate to the inſtalments on the Iriſh loan, or to exceed them conſiderably, if deſired; alſo, that no diſcount for prompt payment ſhould be made on the Iriſh loan.

On their return from Mr. Pitt, the governor ordered a committee to be ſummoned to meet to-morrow, on very ſpecial affairs, at twelve o'clock.

(No. 33.)

Letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Reſolution of the Court of Directors, 13th of February, 1797.

At a court of directors held this day on ſpecial affairs, the governor laid before the court the matter which had been propoſed to the committee of the treaſury, by Mr. Pitt, and which had been the ſubject of the ſeveral minutes of the committee on the 8th, 9th, and 10th inſtant, in their private book: and the governor then read to the court the following letter, which he had received from the chancellor of the exchequer, viz.

Downing-ſtreet, Feb. 10, 1797.

Gentlemen,

I have to requeſt you to acquaint your court, that from the repreſentations received from Ireland, it appears indiſpenſable, for the public ſervice, that a loan ſhould be raiſed here, for the uſe of that government, to the amount of 1,500,000l. on which I underſtand a conſiderable depoſit will be requiſite about the end of March. I am fully ſenſible, that in the preſent ſituation, ſuch a loan might produce great temporary inconvenience here; and unleſs ſome meaſures were adopted to guard againſt its poſſible effects, might make it appear neceſſary for the bank, from prudence and precaution, to reſtrain the accommodation which they now give to the commerce of the country, within much narrower limits than is deſirable. In order to avoid this great inconvenience, and at the ſame time to be enabled to provide for the urgent demands from Ireland, which are connected with the greateſt intereſts and ſafety, to prevent farther embarraſſments in the vigorous exertions which the preſent criſis may require; it may, I think, be expedient to propoſe to

parliament to raiſe money ſufficient for paying off ſix (or if it ſhould be thought neceſſary) ſeven millions (including the treaſury bills) of the ſum now outſtanding due from the public to the bank. So great a reduction of their advances muſt, I truſt, render them much more at eaſe, as to the effect of other operations. I wiſh alſo to have it underſtood, that I ſhould propoſe the repayments to be received by the bank, to take place by inſtalments, at leaſt as early, and to as great an amount, as any remittance that could be made to Ireland, under the inſtalments to be fixed for that loan. I ſhall be extremely glad to know the ſentiments of the court on that ſubject, and to confer with you, and any other gentlemen of the court, on any point which may require explanation, and on the beſt means of carrying the meaſure into execution, if it meets with the concurrence of the court.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) WM. PITT.

Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank.

The court received this communication with great uneaſineſs, from an apprehenſion of the bad conſequences which would, in all probability, ariſe to the bank from the remittance of ſuch a ſum to Ireland, and the great drain of caſh which it would occaſion; and after a very ſerious debate upon the ſubject, they came to the following reſolution, viz.

"Reſolved, That the court is of an opinion, that the repayment of ſeven millions of the money advanced by the bank to government, will be of very eſſential ſervice to this houſe; but the court is nevertheleſs extremely apprehenſive, that the negotiating the propoſed loan for Ireland in this country, will neceſſarily endanger the ſafety of the bank of England, by the large drains of caſh which it muſt occaſion for the remittance of that ſum to Ireland.

The governor and deputy governor, with Mr. Darell and Mr. Boſanquet, were deputed by the court to wait upon the chancellor of the exchequer with this reſolution; and they took with them a copy of it in a paper ſealed up, that in caſe Mr. Pitt ſhould require it to be left with him, to ſhew it to the cabinet, it might be in a ſituation guarded from the eyes of the people in office. The deputation waited on Mr. Pitt when the court broke up, and waited till he came home; when, being admitted, the governor told him, that a ſpecial court had been held on the ſubject, and that he and the other gentlemen were deputed to bring him the reſolution of the court upon it; which Mr. Pitt read attentively; and deſiring to have a copy left with him, the one ſealed up was given to him, which he was deſired by the governor to return to him when he had communicated it to the cabinet. In the converſation which took place afterwards, the governor aſked, if it was not poſſible that a part of the 1,500,000l. could be raiſed in Ireland for its own uſe? Mr. Pitt ſaid, that the ſum mentioned was all expected from this country—that a farther ſum was wanted in the whole; but that the Iriſh government hoped to raiſe the remainder in that country. On the ſubject of the loan to be raiſed here to pay off the above ſum to the bank, Mr. Pitt ſaid, he meant to make it equal, not only to that purpoſe,

purpoſe, but to ſet him at his eaſe for other parts of the public ſervice, which he had not been able to calculate with ſufficient exactitude on bringing out the laſt loan. That he meant to raiſe this additional ſum in the ſame funds, and, if poſſible, by the ſame ſubſcribers, to whom propoſals would be made, with an allowance for their loſs on the former engagement: and that if he was diſappointed in this expectation, he muſt take other meaſures, as uſual.

After this, the governor aſked of Mr. Pitt, if it could not be made compatible with the forms of office, that when the payments ſhould come to be made on this propoſed loan, the money might be retained at once by the bank, as far as was intended for the liquidation of their advances, without being ſent up to the exchequer, as was hitherto practiſed, which mode had often cauſed a delay of many days; and once laſt year a total diſappointment of the ſum? Mr. Pitt ſaid, that he ſaw no reaſon why this routine of office ſhould not be altered; that he would think of it, and order another arrangement.

(No. 34.)

Reſolution of the Court of Directors, and Deputation's Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 21ſt Feb. 1797.

The committee obſerving, with great uneaſineſs, the large and conſtant decreaſe in the caſh, held a particular conſultation on that ſubject this day; and on examination into the ſtate of the caſh ſince the beginning of this year, they found that in the courſe of the month of January there had been a decreaſe of £. and ſince the beginning of this month a farther loſs of £. and that the caſh was now reduced to between and about £. value, in bullion and foreign coin, and about the value of £. in ſilver bullion. Perceiving alſo, by the conſtant calls of the bankers from all parts of the town for caſh, that there muſt be ſome extraordinary reaſons for this drain, ariſing probably from the alarms of an expected invaſion; the committee, after maturely conſidering the matter, reſolved to ſend a notice to the chancellor of the exchequer, of the ſituation of matters at the bank; and to explain exactly to him how the caſh is circumſtanced, that he may, if poſſible and proper, ſtrike out ſome means of alleviating the public alarms, and ſtopping this apparent diſpoſition in people's minds, for having a large depoſit of caſh in their houſes. The governor, deputy governor, with Mr. Darell and Mr. Boſanquet, were deputed to wait upon Mr. Pitt; who went to him; and after deſcribing to him the anxiety of mind which all the directors were under on this ſubject, they explained to Mr. Pitt the exact particulars above-mentioned. Mr. Pitt ſeemed aware that this unuſual drain of caſh from the bank muſt ariſe from the alarm of an invaſion, which he obſerved was now become much more general than he could think neceſſary. He ſaid, that by all his informations, he could not learn of any hoſtile preparations of conſequence making in France to invade this country, except the fleet which was refitting at Breſt, after being driven off from the coaſt of Ireland; but that he could not anſwer, that no partial attack on this country would be made by ſuch a

mad and desperate enemy as we had to deal with. The deputation pressed Mr. Pitt to declare something of this kind in parliament, in order to ease the public mind.

The deputation then mentioned to him the necessity of bringing forward the new loan, out of which the repayment of the seven millions to the bank was to be made, as in the present emergency it was of the utmost consequence that our advances should be contracted as soon as possible. He said, he was occupied on that point, and hoped, in a couple of days, to have his plan so arranged as to be able to call the gentlemen together, with whom it might be necessary to negotiate for a new loan. Mr. Pitt also mentioned, that he hoped the committee would, in the present situation of matters, think it necessary to endeavour at obtaining a supply of gold from foreign countries, which the governor told him they were considering about, and should do what they could therein.

(No. 35.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 22d Feb. 1797.

Messrs. Goldsmid and Ellison attended the committee this day, and were directed to give farther orders to Hamburgh for the purchase of gold; and were told that an application would immediately be made to the minister, to order a frigate or armed sloop to go to Hamburgh to take in such gold as might be bought, and also to desire that the restriction on the captains of the packets, not to take any gold on board at Hamburgh for this country, might be taken off. The governor and deputy governor waited on Mr. Pitt on this subject, who promised to apply to the admiralty for directions about sending out a frigate or armed sloop; and that he would apply to the postmaster general to give the orders to the captains of the packets.

The governor pressed Mr. Pitt again on the subject of the treasury bills, and told him, that he feared the court would not agree to pay the treasury bills which fall due next week.

Mr. Pitt said, he would send 50,000 l. to the bank in part provision thereof, but that he did not think he could raise the money to the full amount of the bills due.

(No. 36.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 24th February, 1797.

At a committee of the whole court, held this day, it appeared that the loss of cash yesterday was above £. and that about £. were already drawn out this day, which gave such an alarm for the safety of the house, that the deputy governor and Mr. Bosanquet were desired to wait on Mr. Pitt, to mention to him these circumstances, and to ask him how far he thought the bank might venture to go on paying cash, and when he would think it necessary to interfere, before our cash was so reduced as might be detrimental to the immediate service of the state. Mr. Pitt said, this was a matter of great importance, and that he must be prepared with some resolution to bring forward in the council, for a proclamation to stop the issue of cash from the bank, and to give the security of parliament to the notes of the bank. In consequence of which, he should think it might

be

be proper to appoint a ſecret committee of the houſe of commons, to look into the ſtate of the bank affairs; which they aſſured him the bank were well prepared for, and would produce to ſuch a committee. Mr. Pitt alſo obſerved, that he ſhould have no objection to propoſe to parliament, in caſe of a proclamation, to give parliamentary ſecurity for bank notes. The governor and deputy governor this day waited on Mr. Pitt, to mention to him, that it would, in the preſent circumſtances, be highly requiſite that ſome general meeting of the bankers and chief merchants of London ſhould be held, in order to bring on ſome reſolution for the ſupport of the public credit in this alarming criſis; and they took the liberty to recommend to Mr. Pitt, to have a private meeting of ſome of the chief bankers at his houſe to-morrow, at three o'clock, in which the plan for a more general meeting on Tueſday or Wedneſday next might be laid; in the propriety of which Mr. Pitt agreed, and ſaid he would ſummon a previous meeting for to-morrow accordingly. This was communicated by the governor to the committee.

ANSWER to (No. 1.)

On the communication of the reſolution (No. 1.) on the 17th of January 1795, the chancellor of the exchequer expreſſed his thanks for the communication; and ſaid, he ſhould arrange his meaſures in conformity; but that though he was going to reduce immediately the ſum of the treaſury bills, it might not be in his power to bring them down to the ſum ſtipulated, till after the firſt payment of the loan.

ANSWER to (No. 2.)

The chancellor of the exchequer having read the paper, ſeemed fully convinced of the propriety of the repreſentation; and declared, that it ſhould have been attended to on his part before, but that in the multiplicity of public affairs it had been forgotten. He, however, ſaid, that it ſhould be complied with out of hand, and that he would order 1,200,000 l. to be paid to the bank, on that account, immediately.

ANSWER to (No. 4.)

On preſenting this paper, Mr. Pitt ſaid, it was not his fault that the account had not been diminiſhed, for he had ordered, ſome time ſince, two warrants to be made out, amounting to above 600,000 l. which were now completing, and would ſoon come down to us; ſhewing, at the ſame time, the preparatory parts thereof. The governor then replied, that 600,000 l. would not nearly reduce the amount to the agreed ſum; that our calls had lately been ſo great, with large drains of caſh and bullion, as made us earneſtly wiſh to leſſen our credits, as much as poſſible; and then he wiſhed Mr. Pitt would, without particular inconvenience to himſelf, name a day from whence the reſolution of the court ſhould take place. The deputy-governor aſked, if Mr. Pitt could do this next Monday (when the chairs were to meet him on the national-ſtock buſineſs)? He replied, he could not, he believed, be ready to do it by that time; but he might probably then inform us farther about it; and added his hope, that the bank did not, for this year, mean to reſtrict him from the credit of 500,000 l. on treaſury bills.

ANSWER to (No. 5.)

Mr. Pitt acknowledged, That he had not, in his note of Wedneſday laſt, entered into any particulars about the payment of the treaſury bills; but that if the bank aſſiſted him with the two millions and an half in queſtion, on exchequer bills, payable out of the growing produce of the conſolidated fund, in the quarters for October next and the April following, he did mean to pay part of the bank's advance on the treaſury bills out of that money; but he hoped that the whole of it would not be required, but that it ſhould be provided for out of other funds.—The governor then obſerved to him, how frequent promiſes had been given to reduce this advance to the limit of 500,000 l. which had never yet been carried into effect; and begged leave to repreſent, how deſirous the bank court was, to have the payment of the treaſury acceptances otherwiſe arranged than at the bank; which Mr. Pitt ſaid, ſhould be taken up on a future occaſion. The governor ſaid, he could not engage for any thing; but he knew how deſirous the court always was to aſſiſt the government; though a provident care for their eſtabliſhment muſt precede all other objects. Mr. Pitt obſerved on this, that the welfare of the bank, we muſt ſuppoſe, was an object of equal importance to him as to us. The governor then added, that though he did not engage for the court, if Mr. Pitt could promiſe that two millions of the ſum now aſked for, ſhould be applied to extinguiſh ſo much of the advance on the treaſury bills, he believed it might be acceded to. Mr. Pitt replied, that he could not anſwer for ſo large a part being paid immediately; but that he would, on this information, draw up a new letter to the court, to be conſidered next Thurſday; and he wiſhed to ſee the two governors at twelve o'clock on Tueſday next, to ſubmit to them the plan of his letter; and the governor and deputy promiſed to wait on him at that time accordingly.

ANSWERS to (No. 7.)

After Mr. Pitt had read this paper, with great attention, twice, he began by expreſſing his ſatisfaction and approbation of the meaſure of communicating ſuch matters to him; ſaying, that he would moſt certainly frame his arrangements in a manner that might enable him to remove our fears, and prevent unpleaſant conſequences; and that he would endeavour to do this in ſuch a manner as ſhould produce no alarm; ſtrongly recommending to the court of directors to uſe every poſſible precaution to prevent that alſo.

The governor then ſaid, That he hoped Mr. Pitt did not conceive it to be the intention of the court to refuſe the advance of the land and malt, 1796; but only that it was their wiſh to protract it for ſome time. Mr. Pitt ſaid, he underſtood it ſo, and ſhould avoid applying for it until it might be more ſuitable to the bank. He alſo ſaid, he ſhould certainly reimburſe a million of the treaſury bills, and repay the 1,100,000 l. as ſoon as the accounts were made up; and, if neceſſary, the 1,400,000 l. remaining ſhould be reimburſed.

The governor mentioned to him, the drain of caſh to Ireland, the calls for the Weſt-India armament, and the probability of ſoon perceiving thoſe

thoſe that may be occaſioned by the claimants of the neutral ſhips being reimburſed: in all which he ſeemed to concur. Then the governor ſtated to him, that the price of gold being ſo much above the value of our guineas, muſt neceſſarily impreſs his mind with the unavoidable conſequences. The chancellor of the exchequer viewed this in a moſt ſerious light.

The governor then mentioned the probability of the claims of the American ſhips taken in the Weſt Indies ſoon coming to a hearing, and which he ſaid, from report, would amount to near four millions. Mr. Pitt agreed that appeals were ſoon to be made, but he did not think the amount would come up to ſuch a ſum. The governor then reſumed the ſubject of the treaſury bills; and hoped, that after the meeting of parliament, Mr. Pitt would ſo arrange matters, as to prevent their continuing to be paid by the bank in the manner lately adopted. His reply was, that this object would ſoon ceaſe; their amount ſeemed to have impreſſed his mind with a deſign to diſcontinue the ſervice that occaſioned them; the troops were about to return home. He candidly acknowledged, that the expenſe of our troops on the continent had been enormous; and intimated, that the bent and operation of the war, as long as it did ſtill continue, would be naval, and in the Weſt Indies.

The governor then made his acknowledgments to Mr. Pitt, for the indulgence of ſo much time as he had given to him and the deputy-governor. The chancellor of the exchequer ſaid, he was going out of town to-morrow, for a week, and at his return would be glad to ſee the governors again, if any thing material ſhould occur.

No. I.—Copy of a Reſolution of the Court of Directors of the Bank of England, dated December the 3d, 1795. Moved for by Mr. Sheridan.

Reſolved, That the following reſolution of the court be communicated to the chancellor of the exchequer.

That the court of directors, after a very ſolemn deliberation, adequate to the importance of the ſubject, are unanimouſly of opinion, that ſhould ſuch a loan * take place, they are but too well grounded in declaring (from the actual effects of the emperor's laſt loan, and the continued drains of ſpecie and bullion they ſtill experience) that they have the moſt cogent reaſons to apprehend very momentous and alarming conſequences. They are, therefore, led to hope, (after expreſſing their acknowledgments to the chancellor of the exchequer, for having hinted that the welfare and ſafety of the bank ſhould in this matter ſuperſede every other conſideration), that he will be pleaſed to lay aſide the adoption of ſuch a meaſure, which, they beg leave to repeat, would be, in their opinion, moſt fatal in its conſequences.

No. II.—Copy of an Opinion of the Committee of the Treaſury, January the 14th, 1796.

It is the opinion of the committee of the treaſury, that the governor and deputy governor ſhould repreſent to the chancellor of the exchequer, That they cannot look upon the ſcheme of aſſiſting the

* Viz. A loan of 3,000,000 l. to the emperor.

emperor

emperor to raiſe a loan in Germany, by the guarantee of the parliament of Great Britain, in any light which will not, one way or other, be detrimental to this country, even if a law were paſſed by parliament to prevent Britiſh ſubjects from taking any ſhare therein. That ſuch a call for money in Germany will occaſion demands of it from hence: Germans, Italians, and other foreign capitaliſts, who have property here, will be induced to draw it away. People in Holland, who, by the late acts, have money locked up here, may go to Germany and draw for it from thence. That funds, which would otherwiſe be employed in ſpeculations of trade with England, may, by ſuch an opportunity of inveſtment at home, be diverted from the one to the other purpoſe: that the exchange between this country and Hamburgh may be much affected by it: that, in ſpite of legal prohibitions, it is to be apprehended that ſome people here would take ſhares in ſuch a negotiation, under the names of their foreign correſpondents. From theſe and other cauſes, they are fully of opinion, that the governor and deputy governor can give no advice to Mr. Pitt in favour of ſuch a meaſure; which is indeed of a wide political extent, and beyond the line of their duty to judge of.

No. III.—Copy of a Reſolution, dated the 11th of February, 1796.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this court, founded upon its experience of the effects of the late imperial loan, that if any further loan or advance of money to the emperor, or to any other foreign ſtate, ſhould, in the preſent ſtate of affairs take place, it will, in all probability, prove fatal to the bank of England.—The court of directors do therefore moſt earneſtly deprecate the adoption of any ſuch meaſure; and they ſolemnly proteſt againſt any reſponſibility for the calamitous conſequences that may follow thereupon.—Reſolved, That the governor and deputy governor do communicate theſe reſolutions to the chancellor of his majeſty's exchequer.

Anſwers of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to the two Reſolutions of the Court of Directors of the Bank, of the 3d of December, 1795, and 11th of February, 1796, on the ſubject of an Imperial Loan.

Anſwer to the firſt.—The chancellor of the exchequer having peruſed the reſolution with great attention, repeatedly ſaid, that certainly, as matters were there ſtated, he ſhould not think at preſent of bringing forward ſuch a meaſure; adding, that though he ſhould, in opening the budget, make it known that he made reſerve with the preſent contractors for the loan, to permit the emperor's raiſing three millions, ſhould circumſtances require it, he ſhould lay aſide all thoughts of it, unleſs the ſituation of things, relative to the bank, ſhould ſo alter as to render ſuch a loan of no importance or inconvenience to them in perſpective. The governor promiſed him, that ſhould ſuch a change take place, and he ſhould wiſh for the adoption of ſuch a meaſure, he certainly would communicate it to him with pleaſure. — Mr. Pitt wiſhed very much to have the paper left with him, for the purpoſe of communicating its contents to the cabinet, if he found it neceſſary; promiſing, that

that no one ſhould have a ſight of it elſewhere, and that if the governor would call upon him in two or three days, he would return it to him.

Anſwer to the ſecond.—Mr. Pitt replied, That after the repeated intimations which he had given to the governor and deputy governor of the bank, that no further loan to the emperor would be reſolved on without previous communication with the bank, and due conſideration of the ſtate of their circumſtances, he did not ſee any reaſon for theſe reſolutions; that he did ſuppoſe they were adopted in a moment of alarm, and that he ſhould conſider them in that light.

Report from the Committee of Secrecy, appointed by the Houſe of Lords to examine and ſtate the total Amount of outſtanding Demands on the Bank of England, and likewiſe of the Funds for diſcharging the ſame, and to report the Reſult thereof to the Houſe; together with their Opinion on the Neceſſity of providing for the Confirmation and Continuance of Meaſures taken in purſuance of the Minute of Council on the 26th of February laſt.

Ordered to report,

That the committee having, in purſuance of the order of the houſe, proceeded to take into their conſideration the ſeveral matters referred to them, have agreed to report thereon as follows:

With reſpect to the firſt part of the order of the houſe, by which they are directed to examine and report the total amount of outſtanding demands on the bank of England, and likewiſe of the funds for diſcharging the ſame, they called upon the governor of the bank, and upon Mr. Boſanquet, one of the directors of the bank (who attended them in the abſence of the deputy governor), for an account to that effect; which account having, by them, been produced to the committee, was verified by the deputy accountant of the bank; and the ſame having been examined by the committee, it was agreed to report the reſult thereof to the houſe, as follows:

That the total amount of outſtanding demands on the bank, on the 25th day of February laſt, was 13,770,390 l.; and that the total amount of the funds for diſcharging thoſe demands, over and above the permanent debt due from government, of 11,686,800 l. was, on the ſame day of February laſt, 17,597,280 l.; and that the reſult is, that there was, on the 25th day of February laſt, a ſurplus of effects belonging to the bank, beyond the total of their debts, amounting to the ſum of 3,826,890 l. over and above the before-mentioned permanent debt of 11,686,800 l. due from government.

The committee think it right to obſerve, that this account is made up to the 25th of February inclusive; and that ſince that day, ſeveral conſiderable iſſues have been made by the bank in bank-notes, both upon government ſecurities, and in diſcounting bills, the particulars of which could not immediately be made up; but that, as thoſe iſſues were upon correſponding ſecurities, taken with the uſual care and attention, the actual balance in favour of the

the bank, has not been materially varied, but, if at all, has been rather increaſed.

In proceeding to the conſideration of the ſecond part of the order of reference, in which the committee are directed to report to the houſe, their opinion on the neceſſity of providing for the confirmation and continuance of the meaſures taken in purſuance of the minute of council of the 26th of February, the committee have thought it right to confine their inquiries to thoſe points only, on which that neceſſity appeared to them principally to depend; and having examined to theſe points the governor of the bank, and the ſaid Mr. Boſanquet (one of the directors thereof), the committee find,

That the bank of England has lately experienced an unuſual drain of caſh.

That this drain was owing, in great part, to demands for caſh, from the country; ſuch demands being made upon the bank indirectly from the country, but directly from the bankers of London, who are to ſupply the country.

That by the effect of this drain, the caſh of the bank has been of late very conſiderably reduced; that it has, however, been known, by thoſe converſant in the affairs of the bank, to be a great deal lower; but that on this occaſion the rapidity of the demands has been unparalleled.

That thoſe demands have been of late progreſſively increaſing, but particularly in the laſt week; and that in the laſt two days of that week, the demands exceeded thoſe of the four preceding days.

That there was every reaſon to apprehend that theſe demands, and the conſequent progreſſive reduction of caſh, would continue, and even increaſe.

That by the effect of ſuch reduction, if it were to continue in the ſame, or in a ſtill farther increaſed proportion, the bank of England would be deprived of the means of ſupplying the caſh which might be neceſſary for preſſing exigencies of public ſervice; and this led the bank to make the communication they did to his majeſty's miniſters.

And laſtly, that ſince the date of the minute of council above mentioned, no ſuch alteration has occurred, as materially to vary the ſituation of the bank in this reſpect.

On this view of the preſent ſtate of the important queſtion referred to them, the committee have agreed to report it to the houſe as their opinion, that it is neceſſary to continue and confirm the meaſures already taken, for ſuch time, and under ſuch limitations and reſtrictions, and with ſuch power of diſcontinuing the ſame, as to the wiſdom of parliament may ſeem expedient.

The Lords of the Committee Think proper to conclude their report, with a ſummary of the chief points which have occurred in their inquiry, reſpecting the cauſes that produced the order of council of the 26th of February laſt, as reſulting from the evidence taken by them, and from the accounts laid before them.

In order to render the ſubſequent details relative to this important ſubject more intelligible, the committee think it right to begin with

with taking a general view of the ſtate of the circulation of the kingdom.

It appears by the evidence, that the circulation of this kingdom, by which its immenſe commerce is carried on, conſiſts, principally, in the metropolis and its neighbourhood, either of the notes of the bank of England, or of coin chiefly made of gold.—In the country (where the notes of the bank of England did not circulate to any great amount), it conſiſts of the bills of country bankers, or of the banking companies in Scotland, payable to bearer on demand; and of coin of the deſcription before mentioned.

Inland bills of exchange are thought, by many, to be a part of the circulation of the kingdom. They are not ſtrictly ſo, in the ſame ſenſe as the two ſorts of paper before mentioned. They are rather transfers of debts, from the drawers to the perſons on whom the bills are drawn. They are generally made payable at diſtant periods; and as they are not payable at all times on demand, they cannot, like the former, anſwer all the purpoſes of caſh.

In the metropolis, the quantity of paper much exceeds the quantity of coin in circulation. The committee have no ſufficient means before them, to judge of the proportion of caſh and paper, in the metropolis, except as far as any inference can be drawn from the quantity of caſh paid at the bank, compared with the amount of the notes iſſued by that corporate body, as ſtated in the evidence of Mr. Newland, principal caſhier of the bank; and particularly from the proportion of caſh paid quarterly at the bank, in diſcharge of the dividends of the public ſtocks, a part of which only is received by bankers, the remainder by perſons of every deſcription.

But in the country, and particularly in thoſe parts of it where no conſiderable manufactures are eſtabliſhed, and no great commercial enterpriſe is carried on, there is reaſon to conclude, that the quantity of paper exceeds in a leſs proportion the coin in circulation, than in the metropolis. It muſt vary according to circumſtances of time or place; and the committee have no information which enables them to form a judgment on this ſubject. It can hardly, however, be doubted, that there is too little of Britiſh coin, particularly of ſilver, current in the kingdom, from a cauſe which will be hereafter ſtated.

The bank of England is at the head of all circulation. It is the great repoſitory of the ſpare caſh of the nation, and alone carries bullion to the mint to be coined. It is ſubject, on that account, to be called on for caſh, directly or indirectly, by thoſe who are in want of it, and is neceſſarily ſenſible of every material failure or diſtreſs, which ariſes from any deficiency or want of coin, in every part of this kingdom or Ireland.

It appears that the circulation of paper was carried to its greateſt height, a ſhort time previous to the beginning of the year 1793.

But early in that year, a great diminution took place, in the circulation of country bank bills, from the ſudden failure of many of the country banks. Mr. Elliſon ſtates, that previous to this period there were

were about two hundred and eighty country banks in England and Wales, and that he does not believe they exceed at preſent two hundred and thirty; the buſineſs of which has by no means increaſed, in proportion to the reduction of the number—and that the iſſue of country bank bills has conſiderably diminiſhed—that the quantity of ſpecie actually kept by the preſent country bankers, is at this time larger than it was before the year 1793, and that they have leſſened their balances with the London bankers.

Mr. Thornton's evidence confirms the account given by Mr. Elliſon, of the failure of the country banks in 1793, and of the conſequent diminution of the circulation of country bank bills at that time; ſubſequent to this event, theſe country bank bills increaſed again in ſome degree, but never to their former extent. Both Mr. Thornton and Mr. Elliſon are of opinion, that conſiderable quantities of caſh muſt have been drawn from the metropolis into the country, in order to ſupply the deficiency of theſe country bank bills.

In the beginning of the year 1793, when, from the cauſes before mentioned, the circulation of this kingdom began to be ſo much diminiſhed, the preſent war commenced. A ſtate of war always requires a more ample circulation, even within the kingdom. The public loans, which in all wars are neceſſary, and in the preſent war have been particularly great, employ a conſiderable proportion of the circulating capital. The preſent increaſed value of money, which is ſufficiently proved by the high rate of intereſt, clearly ſhows what muſt be the demand for it, and conſequently, the ſcarcity of it. But during the preſent war, it is worthy of remark, that expenſive enterpriſes of a private nature have not diminiſhed, as in all former wars, but even augmented. It appears, by an account inſerted in this report, that the number of bills of incloſure which paſſed in the four years preceding the preſent war, was one hundred and thirty-eight, and that the number which have paſſed during the four years of the war, was two hundred and eighty-three. That the number of bills for navigations and canals, which paſſed in the four years preceding the preſent war was thirty, and that the number which have paſſed during the four years of the war was ſixty-nine. And farther, that the ſum authoriſed to be borrowed for the making thoſe canals and navigations, was in the firſt four years 2,377,200 l.; and in the laſt period of four years 7,415,100 l.

But the demand of money for public expenſes abroad, more particularly applies to the preſent ſubject: the loan made to the emperor in the year 1795 of 4,600,000 l.—The ſubſidies paid to foreign princes, —the money remitted for the pay of Britiſh troops, or foreign troops in Britiſh pay, while this kingdom had an army on the continent; and the advances made to the court of Vienna; together with the money ſent to the Weſt Indies and the Cape of Good Hope, for the pay of Britiſh troops there; if they did not all together draw Britiſh coin out of the country, in any great amount, muſt at leaſt have prevented that influx of coin or

bullion

bullion which, in conſequence of a favourable balance of commerce, would have otherwiſe ſupplied the circulation of the kingdom. Mr. Boyd, however, in his evidence, ſtates, that in remitting the imperial loan, as well as the late advances to the emperor, he never ſent any Britiſh coin out of the kingdom (which could not indeed legally be done); and that in remitting the ſaid loan, he ſent in foreign coin or bullion, to the amount only of about 1,200,000l. That the remainder of the loan, and the whole of the advances, were remitted in bills of exchange. It is obvious, however, that the drains occaſioned by expenditure abroad, for the purpoſes before mentioned (large as the amount of them may have been), are nothing more than what has happened in all former wars, in which the government of Great Britain has found it eſſential for its intereſts, to maintain armies on the European continent, or at any great diſtance from the kingdom.

It appears, by an account inſerted in this report, that all the remittances made for the ſervices of the war in the Weſt Indies, on the continent of Europe, in the iſland of Corſica, and other diſtant parts of the world, amounted, during the four laſt years, to (vide Account No. 24.) 33,510,779l. os. 7¾d.

It appears by another account (No. 23.) inſerted in this report, which has diſtinguiſhed the ſums expended on the European continent, from what were expended in other diſtant parts of the world, that the total of the money expended on the continent of Europe during the ſaid four years, including the imperial loan, and the advances made to the emperor, amounted to 14,988,422l. os. 8¾d.

It appears laſtly, by a third account (No. 22.) inſerted in this report, that the ſums paid for all ſorts of military ſervices on the continent, during the war ending in 1763, amounted to 20,626,997l. os. 7d.

To the ſums ſent, during the preſent war, to the European continent, to the Weſt Indies, and the Cape of Good Hope, for military purpoſes, ſhould be added, the ſums drawn for by the commanders of our fleets on foreign ſervice, in every part of the world.

It appears, on the other hand, by the accounts of the value of the imports and exports for the laſt twenty years, produced by Mr. Irving, inſpector-general of imports and exports, that the demand for caſh to be ſent abroad, for the purpoſes before mentioned, was greatly compenſated by a very large balance of commerce in favour of this kingdom, greater than was ever known in any preceding period. The value of the exports of the laſt year amounted, according to the valuation on which the accounts of the inſpector-general are founded, to 30,424,184l.; which is more than double what it was in any year of the American war, and one third more than it was on an average during the laſt peace, previous to the year 1792; and though the value of the imports to this country has, during the ſame period, greatly increaſed, the exceſs of the value of the exports above that of the imports, which conſtitutes the balance of trade, has augmented even in a greater proportion.

It is particularly obſervable, that the exports to Germany alone, for the

the two laſt years, have amounted to more than 8,000,000l. annually; when, in time of peace, they did not uſually amount to more than 1,900,000l. And thoſe exports to Germany exceed in amount, by at leaſt 2,600,000l. the whole that was annually exported in time of peace, to France, Flanders, Holland, and Germany.

The houſe will ſee in the evidence of Mr. Irving, much information, for the purpoſe of ſhewing that all our principal articles of export, particularly thoſe which conſiſt of Britiſh manufactures, are greatly under-rated in their value, as well as many capital articles of import. Coffee is the only material article which appears to be over-rated in the books of the inſpector-general; it is more over-rated on exportation than on importation. The valuation upon which the accounts of the inſpector-general are founded, was ſettled in the year 1696 or 1697, when the prices of all theſe articles were greatly inferior to what they are at preſent, and before our manufactures had received the improvements which have been made in them of late years, ſo that the real value of both our imports and exports, particularly of the latter, is certainly conſiderably higher than is ſtated in his accounts. The houſe will alſo ſee many excellent obſervations, in the evidence of this gentleman, for the purpoſe of correcting the manner of taking the true balance of our trade. He obſerves, that in forming this balance, many articles of import are ſtated as unfavourable to this country, when they are in fact acceſſions of wealth, ſuch as the produce of our various fiſheries, and a conſiderable part of the imports from our poſſeſſions in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. The whole of the produce of theſe fiſheries is certainly an acceſſion of national wealth. So much thereof as is imported directly into this country, muſt be conſidered as an increaſe of ſtock to it: the value of ſuch parts as are ſent directly from the fiſhing places to foreign countries, and ſold there, is either remitted in bills of exchange, which is wealth; or it is laid out in the purchaſe of commodities, to be imported into this country, which is an increaſe of ſtock. This produce is procured, not by any wealth ſent from this country, but by the adventurous enterpriſe of our fiſhermen; and the value of ſuch produce, when it is ſent directly from the fiſhing places to foreign countries, cannot appear in any cuſtom-houſe account. In like manner, a conſiderable part of the imports from the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, ought not to be ſtated, in the balance of our commerce, as unfavourable to this country, particularly ſuch parts of the inveſtments in the Eaſt Indies, as are purchaſed by the revenues of the Britiſh ſettlements there; as well as thoſe parts, which are imported either from the Eaſt or Weſt Indies, for the purpoſe of remitting private fortunes acquired there, or as the incomes of perſons, who, having eſtates or mortgages in the Weſt Indies, reſide and ſpend their incomes in Great Britain. The value of ſuch part of theſe imports, as is re-exported, will appear on the export ſide of the account, and ſerves to balance the value of the ſame articles, as ſtated on the import ſide; and the whole of the mercantile profit, which they leave behind, is in itſelf a conſiderable

a conſiderable acceſſion of wealth to this kingdom, that cannot appear in the cuſtom-houſe accounts.

Mr. Irving has delivered it as his opinion, that the true balance of our trade amounted, on a medium of the four years preceding January 1796, to upwards of 6,500,000 l. per annum, excluſive of the profits ariſing from our Eaſt and Weſt India trade, which he eſtimates at upwards of 4,000,000 l. per annum; and excluſive of the profits derived from our fiſheries.

But whatever uncertainty may ſtill remain, in forming an eſtimate of the true balance of our commerce in any particular year, the accounts of the inſpector-general of imports and exports, ſerve at leaſt to afford a good comparative ſtate of the amount of our commerce in different years; for it is fair to preſume, that the defects are not greater in the accounts of one year than of another.

Great, however, as this balance of commerce may appear, it would have been ſtill greater in a very conſiderable degree, but from the unuſual ſcarcity of grain, which made it neceſſary both for government and individuals, to import large quantities of grain, for the relief of the inhabitants of this kingdom. In an account delivered by Mr. Claude Scott, an eminent corn factor, it appears, that for the three years preceding the 5th of January 1797, there were paid to foreign countries, for grain imported into this kingdom, the following ſums, viz.

In 1794 - - -	£. 1,983,856
In 1795 - - -	1,535,672
In 1796 - - -	3,926,484
	7,446,012
Add, imported in 1793, as eſtimated by Mr. Scott, in his evidence before the committee - - - - -	1,500,000
Total - -	£. 8,946,012

This balance of commerce was alſo rendered leſs favourable, by the great ſums paid for naval ſtores during the war, beyond what are uſually paid in time of peace. It appears by an account preſented by the commiſſioners of his majeſty's navy, that the value of naval ſtores imported on account of his majeſty's navy, in the four years previous to 1797, amounted to - - - - - - - £. 7,825,876

And in the four years preceding 1793, amounted only to - - - - -	2,500,139	Exceſs
		£. 5,325,737
And it appears by an account preſented, of the amount of bills drawn on the commiſſioners for victualling, from foreign parts, in the four years ending the 5th of January 1797, that they amounted to -	£. 1,368,921	
And in the four years ending the 5th of January 1793, to - - - - -	134,629	
		1,234,292
Total Exceſs - -		£. 6,560,029

Though it cannot be doubted that the balance of our trade, even with theſe deductions, muſt have brought great wealth, in various articles of commerce, into this kingdom, and that unuſual quantities of foreign merchandiſe muſt, in conſequence thereof, have been depoſited in it; yet it may be doubted, whether it brought ſo great a quantity of the precious metals, to be converted into coin, as in former periods; for it appears in the evidence of ſir John Hort, who was his majeſty's conſul general in Portugal for twenty-nine years, and of Mr. Whitmore, an eminent Portugal merchant, that the importation of gold and ſilver bullion, from Liſbon into this kingdom, has been leſs than it was formerly; and that the exchange between Liſbon and London, which uſed formerly to be greatly in favour of London, has of late, from a variety of circumſtances, been ſometimes in favour of, and ſometimes againſt, this country; and, for the laſt three years, more againſt this country than in its favour, from cauſes which are fully explained in the evidence of thoſe gentlemen. Mr. Whitmore adds, that the quantity of ſilver which has of late been imported, has greatly exceeded the quantity of gold. But as the mint price of ſilver bullion has been, during nearly the whole of the preſent century, conſiderably leſs than the market price of this precious metal, the ſilver bullion ſo imported could not be converted into coin, but after having left a quantity ſufficient for the uſe of our manufactures, muſt have again been exported, and did not contribute in the ſmalleſt degree to augment the coin of this kingdom.

The accounts preſented by the officers of the mint, of the quantity of bullion coined in the laſt four years, ſhow that the quantity coined at the mint in 1795, amounted only to 493,416l. and in 1796, to 464,680l. which is not more than a ſixth of what was brought to the mint to be coined in the two preceding years, and greatly inferior to what had been coined, upon an average of the former years of his majeſty's reign.

By an account preſented by Mr. Irving, of the quantity of bullion exported from this country from the year 1790 to 1796, both inclusive, it appears that the quantity of gold bullion exported on an average, in the four laſt years, being years of war, is not a third of what was annually exported on an average in the three preceding years of peace; and that the quantity of ſilver bullion exported in the four laſt years, being years of war, is alſo not a third of what was annually exported on an average in the three preceding years of peace; and this account receives a certain degree of confirmation, from the accounts delivered in by the Eaſt India company, of the amount of Spaniſh dollars exported by the company, or permitted by the company to be exported by private perſons, which prove that in the laſt three years the amount of Spaniſh dollars exported, has been leſs than uſual.

The committee wiſhed to throw farther light on this ſubject, by obtaining an account of the amount of gold and ſilver coin or bullion imported into this kingdom, in the before-mentioned periods; but they find, that by a law paſſed in the 15th year of the reign of his

majeſty

majeſty Charles II. ch. 7. ſec. 12. coin and bullion are exempted from entry at the cuſtom-houſe, on importation into this kingdom; ſo that the officers of the cuſtoms could not produce an account of any ſuch importation.

There are, however, other circumſtances in evidence before the committee, which may have contributed to render leſs perceptible, hitherto at leaſt, the advantages ariſing from the influx of wealth into this kingdom, in conſequence of a favourable balance of trade.

It was obſerved by Henry Thornton, eſq. (and it is indeed ſelf-evident), that in proportion as the commerce of this country increaſes, a greater capital is neceſſary for carrying it on; and alſo, that any given quantity of commerce, in time of war, by the increaſed expenſes of freight, inſurance, and mercantile charges, requires a greater capital than the ſame quantity of commerce in time of peace. Theſe two circumſtances muſt have had conſiderable influence, in the courſe of the laſt three years, upon the circulating caſh and paper of the kingdom, eſpecially when it is conſidered, that, from cauſes already aſſigned, the circulation of paper was conſiderably diminiſhed; and Mr. Boſanquet, a bank director, in aſſigning the cauſes of the great preſſure on the bank, for want of caſh, in the year 1783, is of opinion, that the drain of caſh at that time proceeded from the great extenſion of commerce which followed the peace, and which occaſioned ſo large an export of the commodities of this country, that the circulation was hardly ſufficient to ſupport it.

It appears laſtly, by the evidence of the bank directors, that in conſequence of the long credit given by our merchants, the payments for the great quantities of our manufactures, produce, and other merchandiſe exported, do not take place till a conſiderable time after their exportation, though a great additional capital has been previouſly employed in providing the articles ſo exported. The balance of payments, which ariſes out of the balance of trade, is neceſſarily poſterior to it, and in countries like Great Britain, where long credits are given, it may not produce its full effect upon our circulation, for a conſiderable time.

The reſult of all the various circumſtances before ſtated, does not appear, on the whole, to have produced any permanent diſadvantageous effect on the caſh of the bank, till the month of September 1795; the caſh of the bank had, indeed, been much lower than uſual in March and June 1793; but it roſe in the September of that year nearly to its uſual average. From September 1795, however, it continued progreſſively declining, ſo as to be, during the whole of the year 1796, conſiderably leſs than in the year 1795, but not lower at the end of 1796 than in the middle of that year; and in the commencement of the preſent year, ſtill leſs than in the year 1796; and in the week preceding the iſſuing of the order of council, it diminiſhed rapidly; it was not, however, even at that period, in any degree ſo low as in the year 1783, and particularly in the month of October of that year.

The conferences between the chancellor of the exchequer, and the governor and deputy governor of the bank, on the apprehenſions

they entertained of the diminution of their caſh, and the repreſentations made by them, from time to time, on the effect which foreign loans and remittances had on the ſtate of their caſh, will appear by the evidence of the ſaid governor and deputy governor, and other directors of the bank, when they attended the committee, either as a deputation, or in their individual capacity, as well as from the minutes of thoſe conferences, and the copies of the reſolutions delivered by them to the chancellor of the exchequer:—It will appear alſo, from the evidence of the chancellor of the exchequer, and from the letters written by him to the governor of the bank; all which are inſerted in this report, and to which the committee think it more proper to refer the houſe, than to give a ſummary of them.

The accounts before inſerted and the evidence juſt referred to, will alſo ſhow, what was the nature of the advances made by the bank to government—upon what funds or credit they were made—what was their amount at different periods—how far the amount of thoſe advances, during the preſent war, have exceeded thoſe made in time of peace—how far they have exceeded thoſe made in the laſt war—and whether they were greater or leſs, immediately previous to the iſſuing the order in council of the 26th of February, than at any preceding period.

The committee were deſirous of throwing farther light on this ſubject, by laying before the houſe ſome accurate account of the exchanges between Great Britain and other countries; as theſe, when they can be correctly aſcertained, afford a good criterion of the balance of payments between Great Britain and other countries, and thereby ſhow, whether there is reaſon to conclude, that any coin or bullion have been exported or imported. At preſent, the only places with which there ſubſiſts any regular courſe of exchange with Great Britain, are Liſbon and Hamburgh. At this laſt place, a great proportion of the accounts between Great Britain and the northern parts of Europe, is now ſettled and paid. The par of exchange with Liſbon can be accurately ſtated; it is 67½. It has already been ſhown, from the evidence of ſir John Hort and Mr. Whitmore, how far the exchange between London and Liſbon has been of late to the diſadvantage of this country; and their account of it is fully confirmed by a ſtatement of the courſe of exchange taken from Caſtaing's papers, inſerted in this report.

With reſpect to the exchange between Great Britain and Hamburgh, the committee have not been able to decide, to their ſatisfaction, what is the actual par of exchange between London and Hamburgh. The witneſſes they have examined have widely differed, with reſpect to the par of exchange between thoſe places. The committee, however, have inſerted in the minutes of the evidence, the anſwers of Mr. Boyd to two queſtions put to him, and a paper preſented to this committee by one of the members of it, which throw conſiderable light on this intricate ſubject, and will account, in ſome degree, for the difficulty the committee had experienced in determining, with ſufficient accuracy, the par of this exchange.

The mercantile accounts in Hamburgh

burgh and London have a reference to different metals. Silver appears to be the common coin of Hamburgh, and gold is, in that place, rather to be conſidered as a commodity. Gold is the mercantile coin of Great Britain, and ſilver has been for many years only a commodity, which has no fixed price, and is very rarely carried to the mint to be coined, but varies according to the demand for it at the market. The market price of theſe precious metals appears alſo to have an influence on the Banco money of Hamburgh, in which the exchanges are reckoned. It is probable, that to theſe circumſtances is to be imputed the difficulty of determining the par of exchange between London and Hamburgh. On the preſent ſubject, therefore, all that the committee can ſay with certainty is, that according to the evidence of the governor of the bank of England (which is confirmed by a paper annexed) the exchange with Hamburgh ceaſed to be unfavourable to this country, in March 1796, became more favourable in the month of October laſt; and that it continued favourable till the 26th of February, when the order of council was iſſued; and that it continues ſo ſtill.

The committee have hitherto ſtated the ſeveral points relating to the more remote cauſes, by which the circulation of the kingdom, and the general ſtate of the bank, may have been affected. They proceed now, to thoſe which immediately preceded the 26th of February laſt, and more directly contributed to the neceſſity of the order of council, which was iſſued on that day.

It appears from the evidence of Mr. Elliſon, that a few weeks previous to the 26th of February, two great mercantile banks at Newcaſtle ſtopped payment in caſh, owing to the effect of a local alarm, ſimilar, as ſtated by this gentleman, to that in 1793, which occaſioned moſt of the country bankers to draw large ſums of money from the metropolis, and induced them to keep in ſtore larger quantities of ſpecie, than before the year 1793, in order to make their payments, if ſuch ſhould be required of them. Mr. Thornton confirms in general this account given by Mr. Elliſon. He agrees alſo with Mr. Elliſon, with reſpect to the demand for caſh made on the metropolis by the country bankers, for the purpoſe of being ſent to different parts of the kingdom, where it is partly kept by the country bankers, for the uſes before mentioned, and partly drawn out of their hands by individuals, to be hoarded.

It appears by the evidence of Mr. Thornton, that there was, at this time, alſo a demand of caſh to be ſent from the metropolis to Scotland.

But thoſe demands for caſh from the diſtant parts of the kingdom, were not the only cauſes of the embarraſſments of the bank of England, at this period. It is ſtated in an account delivered by Mr. Puget, one of the directors of the bank of England, and agent for the bank of Ireland, that in the commencement of the year 1797, there was an unuſual demand of caſh made on the bank of England, to be ſent to Ireland; and that there was an expectation of a loan being intended to be raiſed in Great Britain for the ſervice of Ireland, which would have neceſſarily occaſioned the exportation of a conſiderable quantity of coin from the metropolis to the latter kingdom. It is proper to

add, that the kingdom of Ireland appears, for ſome weeks previous to the iſſuing the order of council of the 26th of February, to have experienced a great want of caſh, ſimilar to that which was experienced in Great Britain.

There is a circumſtance that throws a conſiderable light on one at leaſt of the cauſes which produced this great demand for caſh on the bank. It appears by the account of the ſtate of the caſh at the bank, at different periods, as laid before the committee, that the greateſt drain of caſh which the bank has experienced, ſubſequent to the year 1783, was in March and June 1793, that is, a ſhort time after the failure of the country banks in that year; and in the commencement of the month of February of this year, that is, a ſhort time after the Newcaſtle banks ſtopped payment in caſh, and when the alarms before ſtated, produced great demands for caſh, from different parts of the country; ſo that, in both thoſe periods, the ſame cauſe appears to have produced an effect nearly ſimilar, that is, a very unuſual drain of caſh from the bank.

The increaſed demand for caſh muſt bear a proportion to the decreaſe of any other ſort of circulation that is a ſubſtitute for it. The committee will preſently ſhow, to what degree the circulation of the notes of the bank of England had been diminiſhed, immediately previous to the 26th of February laſt. With reſpect to the decreaſe of country bank bills in circulation, Mr. Thornton, who appears to have collected his evidence from ſeveral parts of the kingdom with great accuracy, was deſired by the committee to deliver in an account of the proportion in which, according to his information, country bank bills circulated in different parts of the kingdom, before the failures in 1793; at a period ſubſequent to that year, and at the preſent time. This account may be ſeen at large in the evidence; but the reſult is, that at the preſent time, the circulation of theſe bills is in one part of the kingdom not more than about a third; in another, not more than half; and in a third, but a ſixth, of what was in circulation before the year 1793; and the committee have already endeavoured to ſhow, in a former part of this ſummary, to what degree the means of coining, and, in conſequence thereof, the regular ſupply of new coin (which alone could fill up the void occaſioned by this decreaſe of circulating paper) had diminiſhed of late years.

From the evidence of the governor of the bank, and from the report of the laſt ſecret committee, which has been laid before this committee, it appears, that it was not ſingly the diminiſhed ſtate of their caſh, which gave the directors any great alarm; the governor and Mr. Boſanquet rather impute this alarm to the progreſſively increaſing demands for caſh upon them, particularly in the week preceding the 26th of February, and to the reaſons they had to apprehend that theſe demands, and the conſequent progreſſive reduction of caſh, would continue, and even increaſe; and they add, that this drain was in great part owing to demands for caſh from the country, ſuch demands being made upon the bank indirectly from the country, but directly from the bankers of London, who were to ſupply the country.

The

The directors of the bank, under the impreſſion which theſe alarms and embarraſſments had occaſioned, appear to have judged it prudent to diminiſh their notes in circulation, and the conſequent demands that might come upon them, ſo as to make the demands more nearly correſpond with the ſtate of their caſh. It will be ſeen, in the accounts preſented to the committee, of the amount of bank notes in circulation, at different periods, that the average amount of theſe notes in circulation, for ſeveral years previous to the end of the year 1796, may be ſtated at between 10,000,000l. and 11,000,000l. hardly ever falling below 9,000,000l. and not often exceeding, to any great amount, 11,000,000 l. It will appear, by one of the afore-mentioned accounts, that in the latter end of the year 1796, and in the beginning of 1797, the amount of the bank notes in circulation was leſs than the average before ſtated; and on the 25th of February laſt, it was reduced to 8,640,250 l.

It is true, that in an account preſented to the committee, of the amount of bank notes in circulation in the years 1782, 1783, and 1784, the quantity was then generally even leſs than the ſum laſt mentioned; but at that time the foreign commerce of the kingdom was not even one half of what it is at preſent, as will be ſeen in the account of imports and exports inſerted in this report.

It is not probable that the reduction of bank notes to 8,640,250 l. immediately previous to the iſſuing the order in council of the 26th February, was owing to any diminution of the demands for them; for at that time the merchants of London were ſubject to difficulties, from not being able to get their bills diſcounted.

The directors of the bank had, on the 31ſt December, 1795, come to a reſolution to diminiſh their diſcounts; but notwithſtanding that reſolution, they did not diminiſh the amount of their diſcounts in the courſe of the year 1796, compared with what they were in 1795, but had rather increaſed them, not however to ſuch an extent, as to make them correſpond with the wants of the commercial world. A conſiderable degree of diſtreſs conſequently enſued, which diſtreſs may alſo be imputed to another cauſe, in evidence before the committee. By law, no man is to take more than 5 l. per cent. intereſt for money lent or advanced by him; and this reſtriction is underſtood to apply to bankers in the buſineſs of diſcounting; ſo that in time of war, when a much greater intereſt than 5 l. per cent. can be made of money, upon government ſecurities, the diſcounts which merchants obtain from bankers and other individuals, are neceſſarily much diminiſhed, and they are forced, on that account, to reſort directly to the bank.

Some of the perſons whom the committee examined on this part of the ſubject, have expreſſed a ſtrong opinion of the inconvenience produced by the conduct of the bank, in diminiſhing their notes in circulation, and in reſtricting their diſcounts.

One of theſe perſons is of opinion, that an increaſed quantity of bank notes, proportioned to the increaſed occaſion for them, muſt tend to prevent a demand for guineas rather than to promote it;

and that if the quantity of notes iſſued is very conſiderably leſs than the occaſions of the mercantile world require, a run upon the bank will be the conſequence. He is of opinion alſo, that the directors of the bank do not avail themſelves of the full extent of their credit; and that the caution neceſſary to be obſerved by private bankers in the amount of their bills, does not apply to the caſe of the bank of England, for ſeveral reaſons which he aſſigns. A great quantity of bank notes, in his opinion, is abſolutely neceſſary for the circulation of the metropolis; and that in this reſpect, it is immaterial whether theſe notes are iſſued for advances made to government, or in diſcounts to private perſons, except that in the laſt caſe, thoſe whoſe bills are diſcounted to a greater extent, may ſuppoſe that more relief is granted to them. He allows, however, that as the bank diſcounts, even in time of war, at 5l. per cent. there may be a greater diſpoſition to borrow of the bank at 5l. per cent. than it may be prudent always for the bank to comply with.

Another of thoſe gentlemen is of opinion, that the reſolution of the bank to reſtrict their diſcounts, excited an alarm and diſtruſt that led to an increaſe of the drain of their caſh; that it has contributed alſo to the forced ſale and depreciation of public ſecurities, and to other embarraſſments occaſioned by an inſufficient ſupply of bank notes and caſh; which ſupply has not kept pace with the demand ariſing from the employment and circulation of active capital, particularly for the laſt fifteen months: and he alſo is of opinion, that it would not ſignify materially to the public, whether the quantum of bank notes introduced into circulation, was created by diſcounting bills for the merchants, or by advances to government.

The committee have judged it right to ſtate the cauſes aſſigned by theſe gentlemen, of the diſtreſs that has lately prevailed from the want of ſufficient means of circulation in commercial tranſactions: the committee, however, do not mean to decide, whether the bank directors might not have ſolid reaſons for their conduct in this reſpect, or to convey any opinion on this doubtful and delicate queſtion; but conceive it their duty to call the attention of the houſe to a point of ſo great importance, and refer the houſe to the arguments ſtated more at large in the evidence.

The committee have thus gone through the chief points which have occurred in their inquiry reſpecting the cauſes which produced the order in council of the 26th of February laſt, as reſulting from the evidence taken by them, and the accounts laid before them. They ſubmit the ſame to the conſideration of the houſe; but as the minutes of their proceedings are inſerted in the former part of this report, and as the houſe is thereby poſſeſſed of the evidence on the whole of this ſubject, in great detail, the members of it will be enabled to ſupply any omiſſions, and to correct any defects which may be found in this ſummary.

The committee being deſirous of confining themſelves to thoſe matters on which they have thought proper to call evidence, and ſenſible of the difficulty (even at all times) of appreciating the extent and influence of alarm, forbear from adverting

adverting to the effects produced upon the ſtate of pecuniary tranſactions and circulation, by the apprehenſions of invaſion generally prevalent towards the cloſe of the laſt year, and in the beginning of the preſent, but of which the operation muſt doubtleſs have been conſiderable. Nor will they attempt to eſtimate how far the interruption given to the banking operations of many great commercial cities, by the troubles and calamities which have agitated Europe, and the entire ruin of many commercial houſes and eſtabliſhments, may have tended to derange the accuſtomed courſe and confidence of general circulation.

The committee think it ſufficient merely to enumerate conſiderations of ſuch general notoriety, and to ſubmit them, without farther obſervation, to the wiſdom of the houſe.

Copy of Reſolutions moved by the Duke of Bedford, *May* 15, 1797, *in conſequence of the above Report.—The previous queſtion was carried on the whole Series.*

1. "THAT it appears to this houſe, that ſubſequent to the month of June, 1795, and during the year 1796, a great diminution was experienced in the ſpecie of the bank of England.

2. That the governor and deputy governor of the bank did, at various times, repreſent to the chancellor of the exchequer, the danger to the bank, from the diminution of its ſpecie, particularly at the following periods:

11th December, 1794;
10th October, 1795;
23d October, 1795;
18th November, 1795;
3d December, 1795;
15th and 16th January, 1796;
28th January, 1796;
5th and 8th February, 1796;
11th February, 1796;
8th, 10th, and 21ſt February, 1797.

3. That it appears, that during theſe periods the directors of the bank frequently remonſtrated with the chancellor of the exchequer, on the magnitude of their advances to government, anxiouſly requiring payment, or a conſiderable reduction of the ſame; but that nevertheleſs, the chancellor of the exchequer not only neglected to comply with the object of thoſe remonſtrances, but uſually, under pretence of the neceſſity of the public ſervice, renewed his demands for farther aid; and that under the exigency of the caſe, as ſtated to them by the chancellor of the exchequer, the directors of the bank were, from time to time, induced to conſent to farther accommodation.

4. That it appears, that the chancellor of the exchequer frequently ſolicited ſuch farther accommodation in the moſt anxious and preſſing terms; declaring, that it was impoſſible to avoid the moſt ſerious embarraſſments to the public ſervice, unleſs the bank directors afforded the aſſiſtance he required.

5. That it appears, that although by theſe means the directors of the bank were induced to comply with his demands, they generally expreſſed their reluctance in ſtrong language; and that they at laſt, that is to ſay, on the 28th of July, 1796, thought it neceſſary for their own juſtification, to requeſt the chancellor of the exchequer to lay

before

before his majeſty's cabinet, their moſt ſerious and ſolemn remonſtrance; in which they declare, that, "ſenſible of the alarming and dangerous ſtate of public credit, nothing could induce them to comply with the demand then made upon them, but the dread that this refuſal might be productive of a greater evil."

6. That it appears, that during the above period, a conſiderable portion of the bank advances was occaſioned by payments of bills of exchange drawn on the treaſury from abroad.

7. That it appears, that it had ſeldom been the cuſtom of the bank of England to advance, on the account of ſuch bills, more than from 20,000 l. to 30,000 l.; and that even during the American war, ſuch bills never exceeded at any one time the ſum of 150,000 l.; the wiſdom of our anceſtors having foreſeen and provided againſt the miſchief of ſimilar advances, by a clauſe in an act paſſed in the 5th year of William and Mary, by which the governor and company of the bank of England were reſtrained from advancing any ſums of money, other than on ſuch funds on which a credit is granted by parliament.

8. That it appears, that from and after the year 1793, at which time an act of parliament paſſed, containing a clauſe, by which the directors of the bank are indemnified for the advances they had made on bills drawn from abroad, and exempted in future from the penalties of the ſaid act of William and Mary, reſpecting ſuch advances to government, the amount of treaſury bills paid at the bank continued progreſſively to increaſe; and that between the 1ſt of January 1795, and the 25th of February 1797, ſums to the amount of upwards of 15,000,000 l. were at different periods advanced to government upon this head.

9. That it appears, that the directors of the bank did, at various times during the years 1795, 1796, and 1797, apply to the chancellor of the exchequer for repayment of ſuch advances, and repreſent to him the ruinous conſequences to themſelves and to the public, of continuing the ſyſtem of making treaſury bills payable at the bank; and that they even declared they conceived it to be "an unconſtitutional mode of raiſing money, and what they were not warranted by their charter to conſent to."

10. That it appears, that the chancellor of the exchequer did, at various times in that period, undertake to reduce the advances on that head within the ſum of 500,000 l. and likewiſe ſo to arrange his payments as to put an end to the account; but that nevertheleſs the ſaid promiſes never were kept by him, and that the advances on treaſury bills, on the 28th of February, 1797, amounted to 1,619,049 l.

11. That it appears to this houſe, that foreign remittances to a much larger amount than ever were known in the moſt expenſive wars in which this country has been involved, have taken place ſince the year 1793.

12. That the extent of ſuch remittances occaſioned, at ſo early a period as the end of the year 1794, and the beginning of the year 1795, great alarm in the minds of the directors, which they at various periods communicated to the chancellor of the exchequer; and that

on

on the 3d of December, 1795, the court of directors, under the apprehenſion that it was intended to grant a farther loan to the emperor, came to a reſolution, by which they declared their unanimous opinion, that ſhould ſuch a loan take place, it would be moſt fatal in its conſequences to the bank of England. "That they communicated ſuch reſolution to the chancellor of the exchequer, who aſſured them he ſhould lay aſide all thoughts of it, unleſs the ſituation of things relative to the bank ſhould ſo alter, as to render ſuch a loan of no importance or inconvenience to them."

13. That on the 5th of February, 1796, the chancellor of the exchequer, after ſtating, in converſation with the governor and deputations from the bank of England, his opinion of the neceſſity of farther aſſiſting the emperor, promiſed to take no ſtep in that buſineſs without previouſly communicating to them his intention.

14. That on the 11th of February, 1796, the directors of the bank paſſed unanimouſly the following reſolution:

"Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this court, founded upon the experience of the effects of the late imperial loan, that if any farther loan, or advance of money, to the emperor, or to any other foreign ſtate, ſhould, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, take place, it will in all probability prove fatal to the bank of England.

"The court of directors, therefore, do moſt earneſtly deprecate the adoption of any ſuch meaſure, and they ſolemnly proteſt againſt any reſponſibility for the calamitous conſequences that may follow thereupon."

To which reſolution, when communicated to him, the chancellor of the exchequer returned for anſwer, "That after the repeated intimations which he had given to the governor, &c. of the bank, that no farther loan to the emperor would be reſolved on without previous communication with the bank, he did not ſee any reaſon for theſe reſolutions; that he did ſuppoſe they were adopted in a moment of alarm, and that he ſhould conſider them in that light."

15. That both from the general tenor of the ſaid anſwer, and from its particular reference to the ſubſtance and matter of the reſolution then communicated to him, he gave the governor, &c. of the bank to underſtand, that he was bound by promiſe to them, to negotiate no loan for the ſervice of his imperial majeſty, nor to make any remittance either to his ſaid imperial majeſty, or any foreign prince, under any pretences whatever, without previouſly communicating ſuch his intention to the bank of England; that the directors ſo underſtood him; and that, impreſſed with that belief, they abſtained from making any further remonſtrance on this ſubject.

16. That nevertheleſs, the chancellor of the exchequer, for ſome time prior to February 11, 1796, clandeſtinely remitted, and did for ſeveral months ſubſequent, clandeſtinely remit, to his ſaid imperial majeſty, and other foreign princes, large ſums of money, in defiance of his repeated promiſes, and in violation of his ſolemn engagement with the bank of England, and conſequent

conſequent upon their reſolution of the 11th of February.

17. That it appears, that if the ſaid advances of the bank to government had been paid off when required, or conſiderably reduced, the bank would have been enabled to reduce, if expedient, the amount of its outſtanding notes; and that ſuch option would have been of eſſential ſervice to its intereſts.

18. That it appears, from the evidence of the governor and deputy governor of the bank, that if the ſaid advances had been paid off when required, or conſiderably reduced, the bank would have been enabled to give more extended aid to the mercantile intereſt of Great Britain, in the way of diſcount.

19. That it appears, that if the advances on the treaſury bills had been paid off when required, and as the chancellor of the exchequer had promiſed, and the foreign remittances abſtained from, as the chancellor of the exchequer had likewiſe promiſed, there would have exiſted no neceſſity for ſuſpending the due and ordinary courſe of the bank payments in caſh.

20. That it appears to this houſe, upon an attentive examination of the evidence reported by the ſecret committee, upon a minute peruſal of the correſpondence between the governor and directors of the bank of England and the chancellor of the exchequer, during the years 1795, 1796, and 1797, and after a thorough review of the whole circumſtances of the caſe, that the neglect of the chancellor of the exchequer in diſcharging, or ſufficiently diminiſhing, the amount of the ſums advanced to government by the bank of England; his perſeverance in directing treaſury bills of exchange to an amount unexampled to be paid at the bank; his frequent promiſes, and conſtant breach of thoſe promiſes, to reduce their amount within the ſum of 500,000 l.; and the enormous amount of his remittances to foreign princes in loans and ſubſidies, were the principal and leading cauſes which produced the neceſſity for ſuſpending the due and ordinary courſe of the bank payments in caſh."

Report of the Secret Committee, appointed to enquire into the Financial State of the Nation.

I.—The public Funded Debt.

THE total amount of the public debts, as they ſtood upon the 5th of January, 1793, appears to have been, in funded capital, £. 238,231,248 5. $2\frac{1}{4}$.

And the total of the annual intereſt and charge of the public funded debt at that period amounted to £. 9,325,866. 4. $3\frac{1}{4}$.

The public debts which aroſe between the 5th day of January, 1793, and the 5th of January, 1797, appear to have been created by the raiſing of 59,000,000l. ſterling upon loans, and by the funding of navy, victualling, and tranſport bills, to the amount of 7,624,896l. 6s. 1d. ſterling; amounting in the whole to the ſum of £. 66,624,896. 6. 1.

And it appears that, in conſequence thereof, the total amount of the public debts created between the 5th of January, 1793, and the 5th of January, 1797, was in funded capital £. 88,840,122. 14. 0.

And

And the total of the annual intereſt and charges upon the above increaſe of debt, was

£. 3,181,623. 13. 8.

The total funded capital of the public debt was therefore, upon the 5th of January, 1797,

£. 327,071,370. 19. 2¼.

And the total annual intereſt and charge of the public funded debt, was - £. 12.507,489. 0. 11¼.

Your committee think it neceſſary further to ſtate, that in order to ſhew correctly the complete amount of the annual charge, the ſum of 1,000,000 l. iſſued to the commiſſioners for reducing the national debt, ſhould be added to the intereſt and charges of the debt exiſting on the 5th of January, 1793; and that a further annual ſum, in reſpect of the 1 l. per centum per annum, on capital funded ſince the 5th of January, 1793, payable to the ſaid commiſſioners, amounting to 923,154 l. 19 s. 4 d. ſhould be added alſo to the intereſt and charges of the debt created ſince that period.

Theſe being taken together, viz. 1,923,154l. 19s. 4d. and added to the former ſums, viz. 12,507,489l. 17s. 11¼d. the total annual charge of the public funded debt, including the ſums applicable to the reduction thereof, as it ſtood upon the 5th of January, 1797, was - £. 14,430,644. 17. 3¼.

Your committee alſo beg leave to obſerve, that neither the amount of the ſtock created by funding certain navy, victualling, tranſport, and exchequer bills, in the courſe of the preſent ſeſſion, nor by the loan of eighteen millions for the ſervice of the year 1797, are noticed in the ſtatement; as they neither are, nor, by the courſe of the exchequer, could be included in the account made up to the period marked out by the inſtructions to your committee.

It appears, however, that the capital ſtock, created by funding the bills amounting to 13,029,399 l. 8 s. was - £. 21,575,774 0 0
The loan - 20,250,000 0 0

Total £. 41,825,774 0 0

The total of the annual intereſt and charges, and 1 l. per cent. upon the above additional debt, amounts to £. 2,151,250. 1. 0.

Your committee, in concluding this part of their enquiries, think it right to obſerve, upon the total of the capital ſtock ſo created and ſo conſtituting the public funded debt, 1ſt, That its amount is not to be conſidered as if it could only be extinguiſhed by a redemption at par; inaſmuch as the progreſſive reduction of the national debt by the preſent ſinking fund conſtantly operates, by buying up the debt according to the current price of the ſtocks; the effect of which they have entered into more fully in a ſubſequent part of this report.

2dly, That the funded capital of the public debt includes in it the amount of the capital purchaſed by the commiſſioners for reducing the national debt.

And, 3dly, That the annual charge upon the public, by way of intereſt and annuities for terms, includes in it the intereſt of the ſtock purchaſed by the commiſſioners, and alſo of the annuities which have expired.

Your committee think it alſo proper to ſtate here, that by ſtatute 35 George III, chapter 93, proviſion was made for guaranteeing the payment

payment of the dividends on a loan of 4,600,000 l., on account of the emperor; under the authority of which ſtatute there has been created In capital ſtock, 3 l. per cents.

£. 3,833,333. 6. 8.

And in annuities for twenty-five years, from the 1ſt of May, 1794,

£. 230,000. 0. 0.

Taxes.

The committee proceed firſt to ſtate the produce of each of the four years, preceding the 5th of January, 1797, of the permanent taxes which exiſted previous to the 5th of January, 1793.

Upon the reſult of their examination, the committee find the actual average produce of the permanent taxes, for theſe four years, to be about 13,780,000 l. without adding the deficiency occaſioned by the ſtoppage of diſtilleries.

The ſelect committee of 1791 eſtimated the probable produce of the permanent taxes to be

£. 13,472,000.

From this ſum muſt be deducted the average produce of the taxes repealed in 1792, amounting, as appears by papers laid before the Houſe of Commons, on the 10th and 15th of February, 1792, to about 223,000 l. leaving a ſum of

£. 13,249,000.

Your committee have alſo thought it proper to aſcertain the average produce of the permanent taxes during the four years which immediately preceded the preſent war; and they find the ſame to have been, after allowing for the deduction of the ſhop-tax, and the duties repealed in 1792, about

£. 13,831,000.

Your committee have the ſatisfaction of obſerving, that the actual produce of the ſame taxes, on the average of the four years of war (without making any allowance for the ſtoppage of the diſtilleries) exceeds the eſtimate formed in 1791, by above 530,000 l.; and is below their average produce in the four preceding years of peace only, by - £. 50,000.

Your committee have next proceeded to examine the produce of the ſeveral taxes provided for defraying the increaſed charge of the public debt, from the 5th of January, 1793, to the 5th of January, 1797; diſtinguiſhing the produce of each year.

Upon this examination they find that the duties continued in 1793, produced

In 1793	-	£. 247,638	0	0
1794	-	248,858	10	6
1795	-	202,385	0	0
1796	-	966,813	0	0

That the duties continued and impoſed in 1794, produced

In 1794	-	£. 618,040	13	4½
1795	-	822,122	9	0¼
1796	-	818,868	4	7¼

That the duties impoſed in 1795, produced

In 1795	-	£. 1,373,000	9	7
1796	-	1,332,794	19	4¼

And they find that the duties impoſed in 1796, had produced, on the 5th of January, 1797,

£. 604,644 9 2½

In ſtating the produce of theſe ſeveral taxes, your committee think it neceſſary to obſerve, that the produce of new duties within the firſt year of their being impoſed, can ſeldom afford correct means of eſtimating their real productiveneſs. In ſome inſtances the firſt year has been

been more productive than subsequent years; but, in general, the first year has been less productive, the collection of most duties not taking place before a considerable part of the current year has elapsed, and a considerable part of the produce of the fraction of the current year not being paid into the exchequer till after the termination of that year, and the modes of collection not being brought at their beginning to their greatest degree of efficacy, an accurate estimate of it cannot be made from the amount of its produce which appears upon the exchequer account.

Your committee were, however, desirous of examining how far the produce of the taxes, imposed in the three first years of the war (of which alone, at present, your committee have been enabled to form any adequate judgment) appears sufficient to defray the charges of such part of the public debt as has been funded during the same period. For this purpose they have looked to the year most distant from their commencement, as affording, for the reasons above given, the best means to judge of their productiveness.

In 1793, they find that the annual charge upon the public, on account of the interest, management, and 1l. per cent. upon the debt funded in 1793, was £. 252,812

The produce of the duties answerable for this charge was, in the year 1796, only - £. 166,813

But your committee think it their duty to observe, that this produce must have been materially affected by the stoppage of the distilleries, which prevailed from June 1795 to November 1796.

In 1794, the annual charge upon the public, on account of the interest, management, and 1l. per cent. on the debt funded in 1794, appears to be - £. 773,824

The produce of the duties continued and imposed in that year, appears to have been, in the year 1796 - - £. 818,868

In 1795, the annual charge upon the public, on account of the interest, management, and 1l. per cent. upon the debt funded in 1795, was - £. 1,227,415

The produce of the duties answerable for this charge was, in the year 1796 - £. 1,332,794

In 1796, the charge upon the public, for the interest, management, and 1l. per cent. upon the debt created, was - £. 1,851,226

The actual receipt at the exchequer, of the duties imposed in that year was, on the 5th of January, 1797 - £. 604,644

Your committee, for many of the reasons above assigned, do not think it possible for them at present to form, upon similar grounds, an estimate of a whole year's produce of the duties imposed in 1796; neither do they think it advisable to delay this their first report, by entering into any detailed examination of the particulars; they feel it, however, their duty to observe, that no adequate judgment can be formed of the future produce of these taxes, from the actual receipt at the exchequer at the abovementioned period.

III.—Unfunded Debt and Demands outstanding.

Your committee have next proceeded to examine and state the amount

amount of the unfunded debt and demands outſtanding on the 5th of January 1797, under the heads of Exchequer, Treaſury, Army, Barracks, Ordnance, and Navy, as ſtated by the reſpective offices in the ſeveral accounts annexed, reſerving to themſelves the liberty of ſtating in any future report any further information or obſervations thereupon, which a more detailed inveſtigation may enable them to lay before the houſe. They have diſtinguiſhed under each head: 1ſt, What part of the unfunded debt has been provided for; 2d, What part, although provided for by the grants of former years, had not been paid on the 5th of January, 1797, by reaſon of the conſolidated fund not having produced the ſurplus at which it was eſtimated; and, 3dly, What part appears at preſent to be unprovided for.

Totals of the Unfunded Debt.

1. Charged on funds which were inſufficient on the 5th of January, 1797 - £. 3,284,012 6 1¾
2. Unprovided for 12,736,900 0 3½

£. 16,020,912 6 5¼

3. Provided for, being the anticipation, in the uſual form, upon the land and malt taxes, £. 5,682,000. 0. 0.

Your committee think proper to obſerve in this place, that (beſides what may be due to the public upon monies impreſted, and balances from public accountants) the following ſums have been advanced by way of loan, and now remain due to the public:

Advanced by way of loan to the emperor - £. 1,420,000.

Ditto for relief of the iſlands of Grenada and St. Vincent, £. 910,000.

Ditto paid on bills drawn by the treaſurers of the ſaid iſlands, for the purchaſe of proviſions, &c. £. 140,000.

Remitted in ſpecie to Ireland 52,500.

And a further ſum of 600,000 l. is propoſed to be advanced to the planters of Grenada and St. Vincent, included in the ſtatement of the ſupply for the preſent year, £. 600,000.

IV.—Eſtimates.

Your committee have next proceeded to examine and ſtate the expected total amount of the public expences for the year ending the 5th of January, 1798, as far as the ſame can now be aſcertained or eſtimated by the ſeveral offices; and they find the eſtimates are as follow; viz.

1. Navy - - - - - - - - - £.	12,935,496	0	0
In this eſtimate no future charge is included for neutral cargoes, as the value has not yet been aſcertained by the aſſeſſors appointed by the Admiralty Court.			
2. Army.			
Ordinary expences - - £. 6,897,958 5			
Extraordinaries for 1797 - - 4,137,000 0	11,034,958	5	0
The extraordinaries of the army for the current year appear now to be brought forward, for the firſt time, by way of eſtimate, having always conſtituted a part of the charge of the ſucceeding year.	23,970,454	5	0

Brought

	Brought forward	£.23,970,454	5 0
3. Barracks		449,076	0 0
4. Ordnance		1,321,024	9 2
5. Miſcellaneous ſervices		1,149,843	17 6
In this ſum are included 600,000l. propoſed to be lent to perſons connected with and trading to the iſlands of Grenada and St. Vincent, and alſo a further ſum of 464,920l. 17s. 6d. for articles which it has been uſual to pay, in the firſt inſtance, out of the civil liſt, and to propoſe afterwards to parliament to vote a ſum ſufficient to repay what has been ſo advanced.			
6. A ſum, upon account, for making temporary advances, by way of loan, for the ſervice of the emperor		500,000	0 0
The following articles were ſtated by the chancellor of the exchequer, as part of the ſupply for the year 1797; viz.			
7. Deficiency of land and malt		350,000	0 0
8. Commiſſioners for national debt		200,000	0 0
Add to theſe a vote of credit, which your committee are informed is intended to be propoſed to parliament		2,500,000	0 0
		£.30,440,398	11 3

The repayments to the bank of 1,023,000l. ſtated by the chancellor of the exchequer, as part of the ſupply for 1797, are omitted here, as having been included in the ſum of 1,154,000l. ſtated to be a part of the unfunded debt of the exchequer, not ſufficiently provided for on the 5th of January, 1797.

V.—Ways and Means.

Your committee find, that the ways and means already propoſed for the year 1797, conſiſt of

Articles voted; viz.	
Land and malt -	£. 2,750,000
Loan - - -	18,000,000
Surplus of grants -	420,000
	£. 21,170,000
And of articles eſtimated; viz.	
Growing produce of the conſolidated fund	1,075,000
Exchequer bills - -	5,500,000
Lottery - - -	200,000
Total -	£. 27,945,000

VI.—Reduction of Public Debt.

Your committee have further proceeded to ſtate an account of the progreſs that has been made in the reduction of the public debt, ſince the 5th of July, 1789, of the ſums now annually applicable thereto, and of the further progreſs which may be expected to be made, as far as the ſame can be at preſent aſcertained, in the reduction of the debt now exiſting. Your committee have great ſatisfaction upon this ſubject, in contemplating the large means which are now annually employed for the reduction of the public debt, and the conſiderable progreſs which has been already made towards that important end.

The annual ſum now applicable to that purpoſe, appears to amount to - £. 3,359,790. 6. 2.

The capital ſtock purchaſed by the application of the ſeveral ſums, appears to have been, on the 16th of March, 1797, £. 23,334,200. 0. 0.

The further progreſs to be made in the reduction of the debt has been calculated, by order of the commiſſioners, according to the operation of the annual million, the intereſt of the ſtock redeemed by it, the amount of expired and unclaimed annuities, and an annual ſum of two hundred thouſand pounds in aid of this fund, granted by parliament, as applied to the reduction of the debt which exiſted before the war, and conſidered as then amounting to the ſum of two hundred and forty millions.

Theſe calculations, of courſe, depend upon the different prices at which the ſeveral ſtocks in which the public debt conſiſts, may happen to be purchaſed.

The earlieſt date, according to theſe calculations, at which the whole of the debt that exiſted prior to 1793, and taken at two hundred and forty millions, would be cancelled, is thirty-three years, from the 1ſt of February, 1797; and even the moſt remote date at which it would be cancelled, does not exceed fifty-four years.

Your committee obſerve, that the ſaid calculations relate only to the progreſs which will be made, upon different data, in the reduction of the debt exiſting before the war, by the application of the funds provided for that purpoſe.

The reduction of the debt which has been incurred during the war, depends upon different conſiderations. The amount of the ſinking fund applicable thereto, including the 1 l. per cent. on account of the loan and bills funded in the preſent ſeſſions, amount to - £. 1,341,411.

The dividend on the ſtock, purchaſed thereby, is - £. 77,068.

The total amount of the new ſinking fund was - £. 1,418,479.

The capital of the new debt, to the reduction of which this ſum is applicable, is £. 130,665,896.

In order to give the houſe fuller information upon this part of the ſubject, your committee have called for further calculations; but in the meantime they think it neceſſary to obſerve, that the new ſinking fund appears to bear a much larger proportion to the new debt than the old ſinking fund, with its accumulations, the annual grant of 200,000 l. and the annuities expired, does at the preſent moment to the old debt: and that the old ſinking fund, after reaching the ſum of four millions, is no longer made applicable by law to the diſcharge at compound intereſt of what may then remain of the old debt: but the operation of the new ſinking fund is to continue at compound intereſt till the new debt ſhall be totally extinguiſhed.

Summary of the Report of the Secret Committee, appointed to conſider of the Papers ſeized in Belfaſt. *Preſented in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, by Mr.* Pelham.

THE committee began by ſtating, that they conſidered it to be a proper diſcharge of their duty to examine into the principles and motives of the Society of United Iriſhmen at its firſt formation: they aſſert, that in conſequence of this examination they find, that the ſociety, under the pretext of promoting a parliamentary reform, and what they called emancipation of the catholics, harboured a deſign to diſunite this country from Great Britain,

Britain, to overthrow the preſent conſtitution, and eſtabliſh in its ſtead a republican form of government. The Committee reſt this opinion, in a great meaſure, on a letter written by Theobald Wolfe Tone, a very active member of that ſociety, to his friends in Belfaſt; in which there appears a number of expreſſions which ſeem to indicate that Mr. Tone conſidered the Britiſh connection as the bane of Iriſh proſperity. Another ground of the opinion of this committee is, the declaration publiſhed by the ſociety of United Iriſhmen in Dublin, in the year 1791, when Mr. Rowan and Dr. Drennan were chairman and ſecretary, in which the prominent principle is, that "none but the people can ſpeak the will of the people." The committee then proceed to the papers. They ſtate the manner in which theſe papers had been ſeized in the houſe of a John Alexander, at Belfaſt, by captain Barber and Mr. Fox; they recite in what rooms and in what company they had been found, and infer that they were the papers of two committees of United Iriſhmen. By one it appears that the ſociety is organized in a very perfect manner; the loweſt conſtituent part is the baronial committee, or the committee of the members who live in one barony. When this committee becomes numerous, it is ſplit into two committees. When a certain number of theſe committees are formed in a county, they elect a county committee; when a certain number of county committees are formed, they elect a provincial committee; and again, when two or more of theſe committees are created, they elect members who form the higheſt member of the ſociety, a national committee.—They are, among other things, impowered to raiſe money in certain proportions, and to diſtribute it in certain ways; ſuch as providing arms and ammunition; ſupplying the members who ſuffer for the cauſe with neceſſaries, and with the means of defence; providing for the families of thoſe who may fall in any way for the common ſervice; and they are enabled to regulate the election of military officers. There is a particular proviſion, which fixes the manner in which the tribunal ſhall be choſen, who, when a revolution begins, ſhall decide on the property, and even the lives of accuſed individuals; and there is another proviſion, which declares what deſcription of ſuſpected perſons ſhall not be ſuffered to enter the ranks when the conflict ſhall begin. The other papers are minutes of the proceedings of the ſub-committees of United Iriſhmen, and reports on a variety of ſubjects. They contain, in the firſt place, accurate returns of the numbers of men who have at different periods become members of the body; alſo returns of the ſums ſubſcribed by each reſpective place, and the purpoſes for which the money has been expended. The returns of guns, bayonets, ſwords, pikes, cannon, powder, ball-cartridges, and of bullets, are all reported with equal accuracy, and always accompany the returns of men and money. The ſociety has riſen to a number truly formidable—not leſs at this moment than one hundred thouſand men. The amount of their arms appears to be very conſiderable; and they reckon among their ordnance, eight pieces of cannon and one mortar.

In their money accounts are found accurate ſtatements of their expenditure, for aſſiſting priſoners and purchaſing arms; and in one return it is remarkable that the officer who remits it, ſays, "This money has been paid ſomewhat before the uſual time, becauſe it is expected our friends will ſoon arrive at Bantry," or words to that effect; and ſeveral inſtances occur in the papers, of alluſions to the expected arrival of theſe friends. In ſome papers, the committees earneſtly exhort the people to temperance, to ſobriety, and to peace, obſerving, that the wiſh of government was to goad them into inſurrection, by which the hopes of the people would be defeated, not only now, but perhaps for ever; and in one place occurs the remarkable advice, "to have nothing to do with the father or his ſon." That the ſociety exerciſe a judicial authority over their members, appears alſo by theſe papers; for in more than one of them there is mention made of certain perſons who had been charged with offences having been tried and acquitted; and one inſtance is found, of the executive committee having been purged by another branch of the body, for an abuſe of their truſt; three-fourths of them were removed, and men of acknowledged merit ſubſtituted in their room. In ſome of the minutes are to be found the names or the initials of perſons reported to be bad, or unſound and dangerous members; exhortations are frequent to avoid communicating on the affairs of the ſociety with perſons who had not taken the teſt; and in one caſe, it is ſaid, that the old paſs-word of the body was obliged to be changed, in conſequence of ſome negligence of this kind: it is ſtrongly inculcated on the committees, to take care that the men ſhould be regularly and judiciouſly formed into companies and battalions; that the men ſhould be well known to their officers, and the officers to the men; and that all ſhould hold themſelves in readineſs to appear at a moment's warning, as it was not known how ſoon they might be called out.

The committee again take occaſion to obſerve, that it appeared from theſe papers, the United Iriſhmen made a pretext of reform and emancipation to cover a deſign to ſubvert, inſtead of amending the conſtitution; to confiſcate property, and extinguiſh the poſſeſſors of it; and this they infer from the circumſtance that the two former objects have not been mentioned in their later papers as the end of their inſtitution. In further corroboration of the opinion, they tranſcribe a paper called the Donaghadee Reſolutions, in which it is emphatically ſtated to have been the opinion of the beſt ſtateſmen, philoſophers, and divines, that all power originated with the people —that when tyrants uſurp power, or governors (legitimately conſtituted) degenerate into tyrants, it becomes the right and duty of the people to take arms to wreſt that power from the hands which abuſe it, and reſtore it to thoſe to whom it of right belongs." &c. &c.— The report goes on to ſtate, that it has appeared to the committee, though they are not at liberty to diſcloſe the evidence, partly becauſe it was merely oral, and partly becauſe it might be neceſſary hereafter to produce it before a court of juſtice, that aſſaſſinations had

been

been encouraged by the ſociety, and that great pains had been taken to ſeduce the fidelity of the ſoldiery.—But the committee declare themſelves happy in being able to ſtate, that his majeſty's troops have remained ſteady and faithful—and that the houſe may place the utmoſt confidence in their exertions.

IRISH ROMAN CATHOLICS.

Some time previous to the diſſolution of the Iriſh Parliament, when Affairs in Ireland bore a very gloomy aſpect, Lords Kenmare, Trimbleſtown, and Fingal, waited on his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, with the following Memorial, on the part of the Roman Catholics of Ireland:

To his Excellency Earl *Camden*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

The Memorial of the under-ſigned Noblemen and Gentlemen of his Majeſty's Kingdom of Ireland;

"Reſpectfully repreſents to your Excellency,

"That notwithſtanding the ſignal favours conferred upon the roman catholics of Ireland, under the mild government of our preſent ſovereign, all which favours your memorialiſts do with the moſt lively ſenſe of gratitude acknowledge, many diſqualifications and incapacities ſtill continue to affect that numerous and loyal portion of his majeſty's ſubjects.

"Your memorialiſts ſubmit, that the condition of Ireland would indeed be deſperate, if its ſecurity at this moment were to be ſought rather in the coercion than in the loyalty of its roman catholic inhabitants, who form a conſiderable majority of thoſe now armed to repel the enemies of their king and country; of thoſe who muſt be called forth at every menace of danger, and whoſe zeal and alacrity in their country's cauſe have at all times been conſpicuous.

"To the general fidelity of his majeſty's catholic ſubjects — to their well-known averſion to anarchy—to their tried attachment to his majeſty's perſon and government, and to the principles of civil ſociety, — your memorialiſts beg leave to add, as another conſideration, that the grievances under which they labour become ſevere in proportion as precaution is unneceſſary, inaſmuch as they immediately aggrieve the higher and more opulent claſſes, who, even in a ſtate of prevalent diſaffection, would be bound by their own intereſt, without any nobler motive, to guard againſt the effects of an innovating ſpirit.

"Your memorialiſts reſpectfully ſubmit to your excellency, that, in conſequence of the ſeveral acts of parliament paſſed during the preſent reign, for the relief of his majeſty's roman catholic ſubjects, trade, induſtry, and the purſuits of agriculture, in particular, have been increaſed, much capital has been fixed in the country, and its wealth and reſources augmented. They feel themſelves juſtified in inferring a ſtill greater increaſe of national proſperity, from the repeal of all exiſting laws which aggrieve that extenſive denomination of the Iriſh people—laws which your memorialiſts reſpectfully contend, are only calculated to create repining and diſcontent among meritorious ſubjects, to divert the riſing talents of the land from conſtitutional purſuits, to wound in the mind of his

majeſty's roman catholic ſubjects the hopes of many, and to repreſs the liberal ambition of all.

"Far be it from your excellency's memorialiſts to ſtipulate with their country at a criſis of emergency, or to entertain an opinion that their political ſituation ſhould be the meaſure of their duties, or certain privileges the price of their exertions. Should it again become neceſſary, they are ready again to unite with their fellow-ſubjects in reſiſting the intruſion of an enemy, who ſeeks, under inſidious pretences to ſubvert the happineſs of Ireland. They do not wiſh to diſtract the public councils whilſt occupied in providing for the general ſafety:—a momentous care, to which all others ſhould be held ſubordinate.

"To that general ſafety, more than to the attainment of political privilege, your memorialiſts look as their chief motive for ſoliciting your excellency's attention at the preſent moment, and humbly conceive, that they cannot too ſtrongly preſs upon your excellency's conſideration, that no meaſure can ſo evidently tend to inſure it, as that which removes from the minds of the great body of the people every impreſſion of diſtruſt and jealouſy ariſing from excluſive reſtrictions; which impreſſion they muſt continue to feel, as long as any claſs of thoſe who profeſs with them the roman catholic religion, remain on that account the object of any penal ſtatute.

"Your memorialiſts ſubmit, that the removal of ſuch impreſſion, would in a very high degree tend to produce that general ardour and enthuſiaſm in the public cauſe, to which alone, in the preſent alarming ſtate of things, this kingdom can rationally look for its ſafety and preſervation. Under this conviction, they truſt it will not be deemed at this moment unſeaſonable to ſolicit, in their own and their country's behalf, the attention of his majeſty's government, and to expreſs a hope, that for the common benefit, and through the favourable repreſentation of your excellency, your memorialiſts may again be indebted to the benignity of their prince, and again experience the liberality of parliament, in a repeal of the remaining laws, which exclude the roman catholics of Ireland from the political immunities enjoyed by their fellow-ſubjects."

"And your memorialiſts," &c.

Subſtance of the Inſtructions relative to the Baggage and Marches of the Army, in caſe the Enemy land in England; *which have been ſent to all Generals, and all Officers commanding Regiments.*

"THE ſervice on which the troops may be called, will be of ſuch a nature while it laſts, that the uſual convenience of the field cannot be allowed. All unneceſſary baggage muſt be removed. No more than five waggons and three carts, will be allowed to each regiment for every purpoſe. All other carriages whatever will be ordered to a great diſtance in the rear, and if at any time found near the army, will be ordered to be deſtroyed. Officers muſt prepare for moving in the lighteſt manner. The perſonal baggage of each officer muſt be contained in a ſmall portmanteau.

One

One tent will be allowed for ſixteen men. During the march every officer will remain with his diviſion, and never quit it on any account. No ſoldier to be permitted to leave his rank. The march muſt be ſo regulated, that the troops may advance three Engliſh miles in an hour and a quarter. The troops ſhould always conſider themſelves as if in the preſence of an enemy. The line of march muſt never be lengthened, if it can be avoided. The proper cloſeneſs of the march, on all occaſions, is a point of the higheſt conſequence. The troops muſt march on the greateſt front the roads or overtures will allow. The line of carriages muſt at no time ſtop, whatever accidents may happen to any individual one; but ſuch carriage muſt inſtantly be drawn on one ſide, and repaired, if poſſible. The officers commanding the ſeveral diviſions of carriages, will be anſwerable for the ſtrict obſervance of this article, a failure of which might ſtop and endanger a whole army.

"From the unremitting zeal and ardour of the troops, every ſucceſs may be hoped for. In many ſituations our object will be in ſtopping the progreſs of an enemy, if ſuperior in number, and endeavouring to penetrate into the country; inſtead of keeping all our forces collected to oppoſe him in front, to allot a part only for that purpoſe, and, by throwing the reſt in different bodies on his flanks, and even in his rear, as he advances, to circumſcribe his movements, and by unremitting attacks, to make his progreſs ſlow and uneaſy. This will not be difficult to attain, ſhould his march be confined to the great roads of the country, from the extenſion of his columns, and as an attack anywhere would neceſſarily make a ſtop everywhere. Should he endeavour to open parallel routes, and to march in ſeveral connected columns, this operation could be much retarded, would occaſion great delay in point of time, and give us great advantage in aſſembling and increaſing our numbers.

"In oppoſing the enemy in this manner, every thing will depend on the alertneſs of the troops, the lightneſs of their equipment, and their being freed from every incumbrance of baggage, carriages, or even a numerous artillery. It will depend on the nature of the ground, how far the cavalry can give ſupport, on ſuch occaſions to the infantry; but in general they will be deſtined to annoy and circumſcribe the flanks of the enemy's march. In carrying on this kind of war, the troops would hardly ever be able to encamp, but when it was apparent that the enemy, from neceſſity, would be obliged to remain in ſome particular ſituation, or that we took up a ſituation that was to be maintained. For this ſtate of action we muſt always be prepared, and, though, while it laſts, exceedingly ſevere for the troops, muſt be more than equally diſtreſſing for the enemy, as his difficulty muſt increaſe, the further he advances into the country; and whenever he becomes obliged to eſtabliſh a chain of poſts, to keep up his communication with the point from which he originally departed, ſuch poſts will certainly be forced and cut off, and he thereby reduced to the greateſt extremity, while the country, open to our rear, will afford us every help and aſſiſtance, and enable us, when he ar-

rives at a certain point, and when it is judged proper, with united and increaſed force, to attack and utterly defeat him."

Mr. Burke's Will.

The Laſt Will and Teſtament of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke. *Extracted from the Regiſtry of the Prerogative Court of* Canterbury.

IF my dear ſon and friend had ſurvived me, any will would have been unneceſſary; but ſince it has pleaſed God to call him to himſelf before his father, my duty calls upon me to make ſuch a diſpoſition of my worldly affairs, as ſeems to my beſt judgment moſt equitable and reaſonable: therefore, I, Edmund Burke, of the pariſh of St. James, Weſtminſter, although ſuffering under ſore and inexpreſſible affliction, being of ſound and diſpoſing mind, and not affected by any bodily infirmity, do make my laſt will and teſtament in manner following:

Firſt.—According to the ancient, good, and laudable cuſtom, of which my heart and underſtanding recognize the propriety, I bequeath my ſoul to God, hoping for his mercy through the only merits of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. My body I deſire, if I ſhould die in any place very convenient for its tranſport thither (but not otherwiſe), to be buried in the church at Beaconsfield, near to the bodies of my dear-eſt brother and my deareſt ſon, in all humility praying, that as we have lived in perfect amity togegether, we may together have a part in the reſurrection of the juſt.—I wiſh my funeral to be (without any punctilioufneſs in that reſpect) the ſame as that of my brother, and to exceed it as little as poſſible in point of charge, whether on account of my family, or of any others who would go to a greater expence; and I deſire, in the ſame manner, and with the ſame qualifications, that no monument, beyond a middle-ſized tablet, with a ſmall and ſimple inſcription on the church-wall, or on the flag-ſtone, be erected. I ſay this, becauſe I know the partial kindneſs to me of ſome of my friends; but I have had in my life-time but too much of noiſe and compliment.—As to the reſt, it is uncertain what I ſhall leave after the diſcharge of my debts, which, when I write this are very great. Be that as it may, my will concerning my worldly ſubſtance is ſhort. As my entirely beloved, faithful, and affectionate wife did, during the whole time in which I lived (moſt happily with her), take on her the charge and management of my affairs, aſſiſted by her ſon, whilſt God was pleaſed to lend him to us, and did conduct them (often in a ſtate of much derangement and embarraſſment) with a patience and prudence which probably have no example, and thereby left my mind free to proſecute my public duty, or my ſtudies, or to indulge in my relaxations, or to cultivate my friends at my pleaſure; ſo on my death I wiſh things to continue ſubſtantially as they have always been.—I therefore by this, my laſt and only will, deviſe, leave, and bequeath to my entirely beloved and incomparable wife, Jane Mary Burke, the whole real eſtate of which I ſhall die ſeiſed, whether lands, rents, or houſes, in abſolute fee-

fee-ſimple; as alſo all my perſonal eſtate, whether ſtock, furniture, plate, money, or ſecurities for money, annuities for lives or years, be the ſaid eſtate of what nature, quality, or extent or deſcription it may, to her ſole uncontrouled poſſeſſion and diſpoſal, as her property, in any manner which may ſeem proper to her to poſſeſs or to diſpoſe of the ſame, whether it be real or perſonal eſtate, by her laſt will or otherwiſe; it being my intention that ſhe may have as clear and uncontrouled a right and title thereto and therein as I poſſeſs myſelf, as to the uſe, expenditure, ſale, or deviſe. I hope theſe words are ſufficient to expreſs the abſolute, unconditioned and unlimited right of complete ownerſhip, I mean to give to her to the ſaid lands and goods; and I truſt that no words of ſurpluſage, or ambiguity, may vitiate this my clear intention. There are no perſons who have a right, or, I believe, a diſpoſition to complain of this bequeſt, which I have duly weighed and made, on a proper conſideration of my duties, and the relations in which I ſtand.—I alſo make my wife, Jane Mary Burke aforeſaid, my ſole executrix of this my laſt will, knowing that ſhe will receive advice and aſſiſtance from her and my excellent friends, Dr. Walker King, and Dr. Laurence, to whom I recommend her and her concerns, though that perhaps is needleſs, as they are as much attached to her as they are to me. I do it only to mark my ſpecial confidence in their affection, ſkill and induſtry.—I wiſh that my dear wife may, as ſoon after my deceaſe as poſſible—which, after what has happened, ſhe will ſee with conſtancy and reſignation —make her will, with the advice and aſſiſtance of the two perſons I have named; but it is my wiſh alſo, that ſhe will not think herſelf ſo bound up by any bequeſts ſhe may make in the ſaid will, and which, whilſt ſhe lives, can be only intentions, as not, during her life, to uſe her property with all the liberty I have given her over it, juſt as if ſhe had written no will at all, but in every thing to follow the directions of her own equitable and charitable mind, and her own prudent and meaſured underſtanding.

Having thus committed every thing to her direction, I recommend, ſubject always to that diſcretion, that if I ſhould not, during my life, give or ſecure to my dear niece, Mary C. Harland, wife of my worthy friend captain Harland, the ſum of a thouſand pounds, or an annuity quivalent to it, that ſhe would beſtow upon her that ſum of money, or that annuity, conditioned and limited in ſuch manner as ſhe, my wife aforeſaid, may think proper, by a deviſe in her will, or otherwiſe, as ſhe may find moſt convenient to the ſituation of her affairs, without preſſure upon her during her life. My wife put me in mind of this, which I now recommend to her. I certainly, ſome years ago, gave my niece reaſon to expect it, but I was not able to execute my intentions. If I do this in my life-time, this recommendation goes for nothing.

As to my other friends, relations, and companions through life, and eſpecially to the friends and companions of my ſon, who were the deareſt of mine, I am not unmindful of what I owe them. If I do not name them all here, and mark them with tokens of my remembrance,

brance, I hope they will not attribute it to unkindneſs, or to a want of a due ſenſe of their merits towards me. My old friend and faithful companion, Will. Burke, knows his place in my heart. I do not mention him as executor or aſſiſtant. I know that he will attend to my wife; but I choſe the two I have mentioned, as from their time of life of greater activity. I recommend him to them in the political world. I have made many connections, and ſome of them among perſons of high rank. Their friendſhip from political became perſonal to me, and they have ſhewn it in a manner more than to ſatisfy the utmoſt demands that could be made from my love and ſincere attachment to them. They are the worthieſt people in the kingdom. Their intentions are excellent; and I wiſh them every kind of ſucceſs. I bequeath my brother-in-law, John Nugent, and the friends in my poor ſon's liſt, which is in his mother's hands, to their protection. As to them, and to the reſt of my companions, who conſtantly honoured and cheered our houſe as our inmates, I have put down their names in a liſt, that my wife ſhould ſend the uſual memorial of little mourning rings, as a token of my remembrance.

In ſpeaking of my friends, to whom I owe ſo many obligations, I ought to name ſpecially lord Fitzwilliam, the duke of Portland, and the lords Cavendiſhes, with the duke of Devonſhire, the worthy head of that family. If the intimacy which I have had with others, has been broken off by a political difference on great queſtions, concerning the ſtate of things exiſting and impending, I hope they will forgive whatever of general human frailty, or of my own particular infirmity, has entered into that contention; I heartily entreat their forgiveneſs. I have nothing further to ſay.

Signed and ſealed, as my laſt will and teſtament, this 11th day of Auguſt 1794, being written all with my own hand.

EDMUND BURKE, L. S.

In preſence of DU PONT.

WILL. WEBSTER.

WALKER KING.

On reading over the above will, I have nothing to add, or eſſentially to alter; but one point may be wanted to be perfected and explained. In leaving my lands and hereditaments to my wife, I find that I have omitted the words which in deeds create an inheritance in law. Now, though I think them hardly neceſſary in a will, yet to obviate all doubts, I explain the matter in a codicil which is annexed to this.

EDMUND BURKE.

Jan. 22*d*, 1797.

I, Edmund Burke, of the pariſh of Beaconſfield, in the county of Bucks, being of ſound and diſpoſing judgment and memory, make this my laſt will and teſtament, in no ſort for revoking, but explaining and confirming a will made by me, and dated the 11th of Auguſt 1794, in which will I have left, deviſed and bequeathed all my worldly property, of whatever nature and quality the ſame may be, whether lands, tenements, houſes, freehold or leaſehold intereſts, penſions for lives or years, arrears of the ſame, legacies, or other debts due to me, plate, houſehold ſtuff, books,

ſtock in cattle and horſes, and utenſils of farming, and all other my goods and chattels, to my dear wife, J. M. Burke, in as full and perfect manner as the ſame might be deviſed, conveyed, or transferred to her by any act or inſtrument whatſoever, with ſuch recommendations as in my will aforeſaid are made, and with a wiſh that, in the diſcharge of my debts, the courſe hitherto purſued may be as nearly as poſſible obſerved; ſenſible, however, that, in payment of debt, no exact rule can be preſerved. The ſame is therefore left at her diſcretion, with the advice of our friends, whom ſhe will naturally conſult.

The reaſon of making this will, or codicil to my former will, is from my having omitted in deviſing by that will, my lands and hereditaments to my wife aforeſaid, the full and abſolute property thereof; and therein I have omitted the legal words of inheritance. Now I think thoſe words, however neceſſary in a deed, are not ſo in a will; yet, to prevent all queſtion, I do hereby deviſe all my lands, tenements, and hereditaments, as well as all my other property that may be ſubject to a ſtrict rule of law in deeds, and which would paſs, if left undeviſed, to my heirs; I ſay, I do deviſe the ſame lands, tenements, and hereditaments, to my wife Jane Mary Burke, and her heirs for ever, in pure, abſolute, and unconditional fee ſimple.

I have now only to recommend to the kindneſs of my lord chancellor, lord Loughborough, to his grace the duke of Portland, to the moſt honourable the marquis of Buckingham, to the right honourable William Windham, and to Dr. Laurence, of the commons, and member of parliament, that they will, after my death, continue their protection and favour to the emigrant ſchool at Penn; and will entreat, with a weight on which I dare not preſume, the right honourable William Pitt to continue the neceſſary allowances, which he has ſo generouſly and charitably provided, for thoſe unhappy children of meritorious parents; that they will ſuperintend the ſame, which I wiſh to be under the more immediate care of Dr. King and Dr. Laurence; and that they will be pleaſed to exert their influence to place the ſaid young perſons in ſome military corps, or other ſervice, as may beſt ſuit their diſpoſitions and capacities; praying God to bleſs their endeavours.

Signed and ſealed, as a codicil to my will, or a confirmation and explanation thereof, agreeably to the note which ſome days ago I put to the end of it, this 29th of January 1797.

EDMUND BURKE, L. S.

In preſence of WALKER KING.
RICHARD BOURKE.
EDWARD NAGLE.

Proved at London, with a codicil, the 26th of July 1797, before the worſhipful French Laurence, doctor of laws and ſurrogate, by the oath of Jane Mary Burke, widow, the relict and ſole executrix, to whom adminiſtration was granted, having been firſt duly ſworn to adminiſter.

Exd GEO. GOSTLING, NATH. GOSLING, R. C. CRESWELL, } Dep. Reg.

July 24, 1797.

The

The Will of the late Mr. Thelluſſon *has been proved in Doctors Commons. The Heads of which are as follow:*

TO his wife he bequeaths 300 guineas, to be paid at the expiration of ten days after his death, together with all his jewels, watches, and trinkets, and his ſtock of wine, corn, hay, and ſtraw. He alſo leaves in truſt for her uſe, all his capital meſſuage at Plaiſtow, with all the lands, grounds, gardens, houſehold furniture, and one thouſand four hundred ounces of plate. Upon her death or marriage the ſaid property to be ſold, and the money ariſing from ſuch ſale to compoſe part of the reſidue of his eſtate: he likewiſe bequeaths to her the annual ſum of 2,140l. during her life, provided ſhe remains ſingle during that time; but in caſe of her ſecond marriage, he leaves her only the dividends of 5,500 l. bank ſtock, and 300 l. long annuities; and in that caſe directs the remainder of the above legacy to be divided between his three ſons and his three daughters.—The above 5,500 l. in caſe of ſuch ſecond marriage, at her death to devolve to his ſix children, in ſuch manner as his wife may direct by her laſt will; and the 1,400 ounces of plate to be divided among his three ſons, and their iſſue, with the benefit of ſurvivorſhip,

To his brother-in-law, the rev. Matthew Woodford, archdeacon of Wincheſter, James Stanley, eſq. of Queen's-ſquare, barriſter at law, and Emperor John Alexander Woodford, of Queen-ſtreet, eſq. each the ſum of 300 guineas, as a token of his acknowledgment to them for their trouble in the execution of his will.

To each of his ſervants, living with him at his death, and who had been ſo for twelve months, half a year's wages, beſides what might be due to them.

To his three ſons, 7,600 l. each, in order to make, with what he had before given to them, the ſum of 23,000 l. with a ſmall annuity in the French funds.

To his executors, at the death or marriage of his wife, 1,500 l. bank ſtock, and 200 l. long annuities in truſt, for the uſe of his daughter, Maria, the wife of the hon. Auguſtus Phipps, and to her children, according to her diſpoſal. In caſe ſhe ſhould die without iſſue, it is then to be divided between his two other daughters.

The ſum of 12,000 l. in truſt for his daughter Ann (the intereſt to be paid her while ſhe remains ſingle) ſubject to the condition of her marrying with the conſent of her mother and the two executors; in caſe of her marrying without ſuch conſent, ſhe is only to be entitled to the ſum of 2,000 l. and 100 l. long annuities; and part of the remainder of the 12,000 l. is to ſink into the reſidue of his eſtate, and the other part is to be divided between his two daughters.

To his daughter Auguſta Charlotte, 1,500 l. bank ſtock, and 200 l. per annum long annuities, ſubject to the ſame conditions and reſtrictions as the legacy to his daughter Ann.

He then particularizes ſeveral annuities which he was poſſeſſed of in the French funds, which, with the arrears due on them, he leaves to his ſons and daughters.

His

His houſe and warehouſe in Philpot-lane, he leaves to his ſons, under certain conditions. The proviſions which he has made for his ſaid ſons, the will obſerves, are ſufficient to procure them comfort; and he intreats them to avoid oſtentation, vanity, and pompous ſhew, and to be induſtrious, as the beſt fortune they can poſſeſs.

To the wives of his three ſons, his daughters, and ſome others, he leaves a ring of 50l. value; and to his ſiſter-in-law, Sophia Woodford, one of 25l. value.

To his eldeſt ſon, P. J. Thelluſſon, after his mother's death, he gives his family pictures, &c. To his ſon, G. W. Thelluſſon, his gold ſeal with the family arms; the gold ſnuff-box which Louis XV. gave to his father, containing the portrait of the dauphin, father to Louis XVI.; the ſilver medal, a copy of the gold one given to his father by the city of Geneva; alſo the large ſilver coffee-pot and ſalver, given to him by the ſaid city, with the arms of Geneva thereon. To his ſon Charles, a gold watch made by Mudge, with three ſeals mounted in gold.

The remainder of his plate, pictures, books, furniture, &c. he orders to be ſold by public auction, to compoſe part of the reſidue of his eſtate.

To his executors and their heirs, he gives in truſt the whole of his Yorkſhire eſtate, together with the advowſon and preſentation to the church of Marr, to be managed by them, and to purchaſe land with the accumulation of the growing profits, till the grandſon of his preſent grandſon Charles (now an infant only four months old, and the ſon of the teſtator's third and youngeſt ſon Charles) ſhall attain the age of twenty-one; when the whole of this immenſe property, valued now at near 800,000l. will be at his diſpoſal; in default of which heir or heirs, the whole produce of the ſaid eſtate to be applied to the uſe of the ſinking fund, in ſuch manner as ſhall be directed by act of parliament. The right of preſentation to the advowſon to belong to his ſons and their deſcendants, in regular rotation:—The will then proceeds thus:

"I order and direct, that, from the reſpective time or times any perſon or perſons ſhall become entitled either to any part or ſhare, or proportion of the aforeſaid eſtates, as well thoſe hereby deviſed, as what may hereafter be purchaſed in manner aforeſaid, as to the whole thereof, he and they, and all claiming under him and them reſpectively, ſhall from thenceforth, thereafter, and at all times, ſeverally uſe the ſurname of Thelluſſon only; and in default thereof, I order and direct, that the ſaid ſeveral manors or lordſhips, advowſons, meſſuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and real eſtates heretofore deviſed, and to be purchaſed, ſhall be thereupon ſold and diſpoſed of by Matthew Woodford, James Stanley, and Emperor John Alexander Woodford, and the ſurvivors or ſurvivor of them, and the truſtees hereafter to be appointed; and that the money to ariſe and be produced from the ſale thereof, be paid unto his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, kings or queens of England, to the uſe of the ſinking fund, in ſuch manner as ſhall be directed by act of parliament.

"As I have earned the fortune which I now poſſeſs with induſtry and

and honeſty, I truſt and hope that the legiſlature will not in any manner alter my will, or the limitations thereby created, but permit my property to go in the manner in which I hereby diſpoſe of it."

The executors and executrix are, Matthew Woodford, James Stanley, Emperor John Alexander Woodford, and his wife. The will is dated April 2, 1796, and occupies no leſs than twenty-three ſheets of paper.

Trial of Launcelot Knowles, *for obtaining Money under falſe Pretences.*

January 12.—At the Old Bailey ſeſſions, this day, the following ſingular cauſe was tried:

Launcelot Knowles was indicted for obtaining money under falſe pretences, and the indictment ſtated, that a perſon of the name of John Sanders was under judgment for a felony, and that the priſoner, intending to cheat and defraud one Ann Keys of a ſum of money, knowingly and deſignedly, did falſely pretend and affirm, that he had great influence, credit, and intereſt with the duke of Portland, ſir Watkin Lewes, and Mr. Baldwin, and that by ſuch influence, credit, and intereſt, he could procure pardon for the ſaid John Sanders, and that he would procure ſuch pardon, but that he muſt for that purpoſe have the ſum of five guineas entruſted to him, for that he was to procure ſuch pardon on paying one guinea through one channel, and another guinea through another channel, but that no part of that money was to be kept by himſelf. That the ſaid Ann Keys gave him the ſum of ſix guineas, and he ſaid he would procure ſuch pardon by exerting his influence, credit, and intereſt with the duke of Portland, ſir Watkin Lewes, and Mr. Baldwin, whereas in truth he had no ſuch influence, credit, or intereſt with ſuch perſons, or with either of them, nor had he any reaſon to think that he had any ſuch influence, credit, or intereſt.

Mr. Abbot opened the pleadings for the proſecution.

Mr. Garrow opened the caſe.—The proſecution, he ſaid, which the jury were now called upon to decide, appeared to him, from the facts on which it was founded, to be of the higheſt importance that could poſſibly occur to a court, or come before it in the ſhape of a miſdemeanor. It had been thought by thoſe who filled the higheſt departments in the adminiſtration of public affairs, that it was their duty to lay this caſe before the jury, which involved in it the caſe of unfortunate individuals who were unable to protect themſelves, and who had been the objects of the moſt rapacious and profligate plunder of the priſoner who now ſtood at the bar.

The charge which was exhibited againſt the priſoner was, what probably the jury would agree with him in thinking, came before them in a ſhape which the beſt men muſt lament to ſee, for the priſoner was only indicted for a miſdemeanor. He really wiſhed it had been an higher denomination of offence, and that to affect the priſoner's life. The charge, however, was only a miſdemeanor, that of having obtained, at three ſeveral times, upon falſe pretences, the ſum of ſix guineas of Ann Keys, by pretending to have

have intereſt with three moſt reſpectable perſons, namely, his grace the duke of Portland, ſir Watkin Lewes, and Mr. Baldwin, as the jury had already collected from the opening of the indictment by his learned friend; and this was done under pretence, on the part of the priſoner, of procuring his majeſty's pardon for a perſon of the name of John Sanders, who was convicted of a capital offence. Ann Keys was the mother of the unfortunate convict, John Sanders, and the priſoner now at the bar, was introduced to her as a perſon who could procure his majeſty's pardon to her ſon. The priſoner, without the leaſt difficulty on his part, ſtated to this unhappy woman, that he had ſuch intereſt with the duke of Portland, ſir Watkin Lewes, and Mr. Baldwin, as would enable him immediately to procure a remiſſion of the capital part of the puniſhment of her ſon, and that it might be followed, very ſoon, by a free pardon. But this, he ſaid, was not to be done without money, for there was to be a guinea paid in one way, and a guinea in another, ſo that he was to have nothing of it himſelf. If the money could be procured, the pardon would follow as of courſe. The jury would eaſily conceive that a mother, believing that a pardon could be thus obtained for her ſon, would ſtrain every nerve to procure the money. At firſt ſhe could only raiſe three guineas, part of the ſum which the priſoner required for this purpoſe; part of this ſhe borrowed and gave to the priſoner. He then ſaid, he muſt have more money. He appointed the next day to ſee her for that purpoſe. He afterwards gave the mother hopes that pardon would ſoon arrive; in the meantime he had two guineas more of her. She ſaw no more of him for a month, during which time ſhe was in the moſt anxious ſuſpence, dreading the execution of her ſon, but ſtill waiting for the hopeful effect of this man's intereſt with theſe great characters. On a ſubſequent application from the priſoner to obtain another guinea from this poor woman, he had it, and that was all ſhe could raiſe; ſhe then ſaid ſhe hoped the pardon would ſoon arrive. He ſaid it was actually accompliſhed, and only waited for certain matters of form that were abſolutely neceſſary in ſuch caſes. He then aſked her, in caſe the pardon came, how much more ſhe would give him? She ſaid, ſhe would make it ten guineas. He aſked how that was to be paid? She ſaid ſhe would give him her note of hand. No! a note of hand would not do; and finding he could not get any thing elſe from her, he made uſe of a ſentence that diſgraced the character of a man. He damned her blood, and ſaid he would do no more for her ſon; in that ſtate he ſhould leave her, and that he would uſe his influence to ſtop the pardon from going any further. In this diſtracted ſtate this poor woman was left by the priſoner. However, ſhe had afterwards an opportunity of ſtating her condition to thoſe who, for the purpoſes of public juſtice, inſtituted this proſecution. The priſoner's pretence was, that he had intereſt with the duke of Portland. That noble duke was at the head of that department of the ſtate, from whence, on juſt occaſions, the royal mercy flowed. It was the moſt valuable, the moſt important, and, he believed he might add, the moſt

moſt pleaſant prerogative of his majeſty, to ſhew his royal mercy; but he was confident that the noble duke would never ſuffer an appeal to be made to it, in his name, but in the moſt delicate manner, and on the moſt proper occaſion. It was not to be obtained for money, nor by any influence whatever, except in caſes where it was juſt and proper that appeal ſhould be made to the fountain of mercy. He ſhould therefore be under the neceſſity of calling upon the noble duke to declare whether the priſoner had any influence with him; not that any man of ſenſe in the kingdom could ſuſpect ſuch a thing, but merely out of form, to ſupport one of the allegations of this indictment. He ſhould put the ſame queſtion, for the ſame reaſon, to ſir Watkin Lewes and Mr. Baldwin. He ſhould call the other witneſſes to prove the caſe, and then, he believed, the jury would congratulate themſelves on the opportunity they had of doing juſtice to the public in this moſt important caſe.

The conviction and ſentence of John Sanders, the perſon for whom the priſoner pretended he would obtain a pardon, was proved, as a neceſſary point of form.

Ann Keys, the mother, was then called. She gave her evidence as follows:

I had a ſon of the name of John Sanders, he was convicted and confined in Newgate. I know the priſoner very well. He became acquainted with me by means of a woman of the name of Sells. He had done ſomething for ſome ſmugglers that were confined. On the 1ſt or 2d of July, I do not know which, he came to me from Sells. He came to my houſe on a Saturday, but as I was not at home then, he came again on the Sunday afternoon. The firſt thing he aſked me was, if I had a ſon in trouble? I told him I had. He told me he could be of great ſervice to him, but it would be attended with a very great expence. I told him I was a poor woman, but I would do all that was in my power. He ſaid he was ſometimes a rich man himſelf, ſometimes a poor man, ſometimes a houſe-keeper, and ſometimes a room-keeper. He told me he was a ſerjeant under ſir Watkin Lewes, in the city militia. He aſked me what I would agree to give him for getting my ſon on board a man of war? I told him my ſon had ſerved his majeſty, and was wounded on the 1ſt of June, and that I wiſhed him to ſerve his majeſty again. He told me he could do it with a great deal of eaſe; that he had cleared ſmugglers, and that it was a great deal eaſier to clear a criminal than a ſmuggler, becauſe ſmugglers were againſt government. He ſaid, if I would put five guineas down, he would make no doubt but that he ſhould clear him, ſo that in a very little time he ſhould go and ſerve his majeſty. I agreed to give him five guineas. He told me, if he could not get him to ſerve his majeſty on board a man of war, he would return me my money again. He ſaid he had an influence with Mr. Baldwin, and if he knocked at the door of the duke of Portland's houſe, he was introduced to his grace, when noblemen in their carriages were obliged to wait. He told me he ſhould not aſk for any more money; but if he got my ſon on board a man of war, he ſhould leave it to my generoſity. He ſaid he had an influence with his grace

the

the duke of Portland's groom of the bed-chamber, and that he had been with him a great many times. I told him I had but three guineas then, but that I would the next day give him the remaining two guineas. I gave him the three guineas, and the next day he came for the other two. He ſaid he had no doubt but that he ſhould get the pardon, and that very ſoon, to go on board of a man of war, but if his free pardon came down he ſhould not be ſurpriſed. All I wanted was a pardon on condition of his ſerving his majeſty. He ſaid that Mr. Baldwin was a great friend of his; that he was a ſerjeant in the city militia. Nothing further paſſed then. About a fortnight afterwards he came to me and ſhook hands with me; he wiſhed me joy, and told me all was finiſhed, but wanted to know, if I could let him have a couple more guineas. I told him it was not in my power. He aſked me if I would meet him in Newgate on the next Sunday, and let him have one guinea more? I agreed to meet him in Newgate, and I met him there in the condemned room, where my ſon was, and there I gave him one guinea. He ſhook hands with my ſon's friend, and wiſhed him joy of his friend's pardon, which was come down, he ſaid. I did not ſee him afterwards for a fortnight or three weeks, at which period he called at my houſe, and told me that all was ſettled, but aſked me to let him have two more guineas. I told him it was not in my power to let him have it. I told him the agreement was for five guineas; and that I would give him more when my ſon was pardoned, on condition of ſerving his majeſty; upon which he put himſelf in a great paſſion, and ſaid—"Damn his blood, he would not do any more for him; and he would ſtop what he had done for him." He told me he had ſaved his life. "No," ſays I; "you have not ſaved his life. Mr. ſheriff Liptrap has ſaved his life, if it is ſaved; for he had preſented a petition for him." The priſoner ſaid, it was the ſame ſort of buſineſs as the ſmugglers: he had been promiſed 30l. for that, but had only 13l. He aſked me what money I would give him of my own generoſity, if his pardon ſhould come down. I told him he had had ſix, and that I would give him four more, to make it ten. He ſaid, "Ten!—what is ten?" "A great deal," ſaid I, "for ſuch a poor woman as I am." He aſked me how he was to come at that money? I told him I would give him my note of hand. He ſaid, that would not do. I ſaid, "I would ſell the bed from under me, when his pardon comes, to give you the money." He ſaid, that would not do; it was not enough. At this time I began to ſuſpect him. I thought he was a bad man. He ſaid the money went through ſo many different channels, that he ſhould not have a halfpenny of it left for himſelf. From that time I ſaw no more of him, until I ſaw him at Bow-ſtreet.

Sarah Hackett corroborated the laſt witneſs, and ſwore ſhe ſaw ſome of the money paid to the priſoner who came to the mother's houſe, in conſequence of an application that ſhe underſtood to have been made to him by the wife of Sanders, and who made that application to the priſoner, after having heard that he had procured the pardon of ſome ſmugglers.

The duke of Portland was then

examined to prove the matter of form ſtated by Mr. Garrow. The noble duke ſaid, that the priſoner had no influence whatever with him.

Mr. Baldwin ſaid, that certainly the priſoner had no influence with him, but the contrary. That he held a confidential office under his grace the duke of Portland, through which the letters of pardon come. He had ſeen the priſoner, Knowles, before. He did not know whether it was for the purpoſe of ſoliciting pardon that he came to his office. He believed he might have come to his office, to ſolicit pardon for Gee and Richards, two ſmugglers. The priſoner preſented a petition at his office, and he thought he ſaid he came from ſir Watkin Lewes. Gee and Richards were pardoned, but they were pardoned on condition of ſerving in his majeſty's navy, and they were very good ſeamen, and therefore it was thought proper under theſe circumſtances to pardon them. Some time after this the priſoner, he thought, brought another petition to the office; whether it was for Sanders, or for a perſon of the name of Hill, he did not know. He aſked the priſoner how he came to have any thing to do with theſe matters, for he then began to ſuſpect him, and doubted whether he was not improperly employed in that ſort of buſineſs; and therefore told him, that any petition which he ſhould bring after that would not be attended to, becauſe he had great reaſon to think the priſoner was acting improperly. He therefore forbade his coming to the office on any buſineſs whatever; notwithſtanding which, he believed that in a day or two afterwards he met the priſoner coming from the office. He aſked him, how he could have the aſſurance of coming there, after what had paſſed between them? and he would venture to affirm, that the priſoner never could have any influence, or any chance of ſucceeding in any application that he ſhould make at the office for pardon, or any other favour.

This was in the ſummer, but whether in the month of July or not, he could not tell. Mr. Baldwin added, he thought it was fit that the court ſhould know, he was ſure it was fit that the public ſhould know, that there was not one farthing of expence attending applications for pardons. No fees whatever are paid, nor any required that he knew of, upon theſe applications. That whenever a pardon was obtained, it was without one farthing of expence in the granting it.

Sir Watkin Lewes was then examined. He ſaid he knew the priſoner at the bar. He was recommended to him as a ſerjeant in the London militia. He told him he appeared to be too old for that office, but afterwards he told him he would make him a temporary ſerjeant, and that was the way he came to make uſe of the name of ſir Watkin Lewes. He did not know him antecedent to that time. Subſequent to that time he had employed him on various occaſions, in going about buſineſs relative to the regiment, but on nothing elſe; and that he underſtood to be his principal employment. He had not the leaſt influence with him. On the contrary, the priſoner deſired him to give a letter to the duke of Portland or Mr. Baldwin, relative to ſome pardon, but he poſitively refuſed, and told him he never did write a letter

a letter to the ſecretary of ſtate, or make any recommendation in favour of any priſoner, unleſs upon petition preſented and recommended by perſons of reſpectability and whom he knew, ſtating the propriety of the application, and certifying the general good character and conduct of the perſon on whoſe behalf the pardon was ſolicited.

Mr. Knapp addreſſed the jury, on behalf of the priſoner, in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, in which he contended, that, although it was clear from the evidence of the noble duke, of ſir Watkin Lewes, and of his learned friend, Mr. Baldwin, that the priſoner had no influence with either, yet from all the circumſtances of the caſe, it was not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the priſoner might have thought he could have ſucceeded in this caſe, as he did in the caſe of the ſmugglers, and therefore there was no intent to defraud the perſon of whom the money was obtained for ſoliciting this pardon. He maintained that the parties had agreed in this caſe, that the priſoner ſhould try what he could do; and although he failed, yet as he had uſed his endeavours, he had not obtained the money under falſe pretences, but was entitled to take it, upon the general maxim, that every labourer is worthy of his hire.

The priſoner ſaid a few words in his own defence, but which had but little bearing upon the caſe.

The chief baron, in an able charge, ſtated to the jury the ſubſtance of the indictment, the whole of the evidence, and commented upon the points which were moſt material for their conſideration.

This indictment, he ſaid, was founded on an act of parliament paſſed in the 30th year of the late king. The neceſſary ingredients to prove this charge were, That the party accuſed ſhould be proved to have repreſented himſelf to be in a ſituation in which he was not; or ſtating a thing to have happened which he knows has not happened; or ſtating that ſuch a thing is likely to happen, which he has no reaſon to believe will happen. Theſe were the three ingredients which were neceſſary to ſubſtantiate the charge exhibited againſt the priſoner at the bar.

In conſidering this caſe, he thought it neceſſary to caution the jury in this ſtage of the buſineſs to repreſs all ſpecies of reſentment againſt the act with which the priſoner was charged; to keep their minds perfectly cool upon the matter; and to leave out of the caſe entirely, for the preſent, all feelings of reſentment againſt the deteſtable nature of the offence. This was important in many views of the ſubject. It was highly important to the individual who ſtood charged, and highly important alſo to the public adminiſtration of juſtice. It was impoſſible that any thing ſhould be more important to this country than this; that the royal mercy ſhould not be obſtructed or interrupted, by the artifice of individuals making an impreſſion againſt the propriety of applying for mercy, by the effect which their conduct might have in caſes where they had attempted to abuſe that prerogative, and at the ſame time impoſed on the minds of men who were overwhelmed with terror, when their lives were in jeopardy. And further, that the public opinion ſhould be confirmed, that the royal mercy flows in ſo pure a channel that nothing can corrupt or injure it. The price

which we paid in this country for the due adminiſtration of juſtice and the ſettled rules of law, applied to the prerogative of mercy, as well as every other branch of diſtributive juſtice; becauſe it was impoſſible to ſettle any preciſe rule of law which might not become too ſevere, if applied to every particular caſe that came under the deſcription of that preciſe rule. Let preciſe rules be ever ſo wiſely formed, ſome particular caſes would fall under them, which, if judged of rigidly, would be hurtful to the feelings of the moſt humane and the moſt conſiderate; and therefore it was, that the prerogative of pardon was given to the king, in order that thoſe caſes which could not be diſpoſed of by theſe rules, without great diſtreſs to our feelings, might be ſoftened down by the exerciſe of royal mercy. Without ſuch a prerogative, poſitive rules might ſometimes occaſion ſubſtantial injuſtice, and on this account his majeſty's power to pardon became one of the great advantages of the ſubject. With reſpect to petitions for mercy, it was not to be conſidered that the leave to preſent a petition was matter of favour. It was the right of the ſubject in this country, to petition for mercy as well as for any other object. When theſe petitions were preſented, they were ſifted as much as poſſible at the office of the ſecretary of ſtate, and the reſult of the whole was laid before his majeſty, who, with the advice of his council, diſpoſed of them as ſhould ſeem meet.

The jury would now conſider whether the allegations in the indictment were or were not proved; and that was their excluſive province to determine. [Here his lordſhip recited the evidence.]

The queſtion for the jury would be, Whether the priſoner did or did not pretend to an influence which he did not poſſeſs, in order to obtain the money of this poor woman? In judging of this caſe, the jury would take the whole of it into conſideration. The main points were three: Whether he did or did not miſrepreſent himſelf as to his own ſituation? whether he did or did not do what he did with intent to defraud? and, whether he did not actually obtain this money in conſequence of falſe repreſentations? If the jury found theſe facts in the affirmative, it would be their duty to find the priſoner guilty; if they doubted either of theſe points, they ſhould acquit him.

The jury withdrew, and remained out of court for above half an hour, and returned their verdict—Guilty. This, although only a miſdemeanor, ſubjects the priſoner to tranſportation for ſeven years.

There is another charge of the ſame kind againſt him, at the inſtance of another perſon.

Trial.—Eſten, *verſus*, *the Duke of* Hamilton.

February 22.—This was an action brought to recover damages of the defendant, for criminal converſation with the plaintiff's wife.

Mr. Gibbs opened the caſe on the part of the plaintiff; he ſtated that this action was brought by the plaintiff, Mr. James Eſten, againſt the duke of Hamilton, to recover compenſation for an injury which he had received, in conſequence of what the jury had heard ſtated from the declaration.

The circumſtances which ought to

to govern the conduct of a jury in eſtimating damages in caſes of this ſort, were different in almoſt every caſe from thoſe which went before it; but the principle upon which theſe damages were to be eſtimated was always the ſame. The jury would apply the circumſtances of this caſe to that principle, and then they would examine what compenſation was in their opinion due to Mr. Eſten; whatever they thought was due they would give to him, and with that he would be content.

Mr. Eſten, in the year 1783, was the purſer of a ſhip in the navy, and not opulent. He became acquainted with Mrs. Eſten about this time, and in the year 1784 they were married; they lived together in England, where they had a daughter, the iſſue of the marriage; in the year 1787, they went from hence to Dublin; during all this time there was no imputation upon either Mr. Eſten or Mrs. Eſten's honour; he continued to ſupport himſelf and his family from his ſituation, which, as had been obſerved already, was that of a purſer, and not a very opulent one. Mr. Eſten was at this time incapable of making for his wife and daughter ſuch further proviſion as he could have wiſhed; and Mrs. Eſten imagining ſhe had, and as it appeared ſhe had, talents for the ſtage, ſhe tried ſuch talents at Dublin, and ſhe was ſucceſsful, and conſequently was ſoon enabled to ſupport herſelf handſomely; but Mr. Eſten not chuſing to be a burthen upon his wife, and his embarraſſments having increaſed on him, and finding that he was incapable of ſupporting his wife, and thinking it improper, if ſhe was capable, that Mrs. Eſten ſhould ſupport him, although ſo well able to ſupport herſelf, determined on looking out for means whereby to better his fortune. Had Mr. Eſten been left to his own choice, nothing would have contributed to his happineſs ſo much as that of living with his family, but it became neceſſary for him to try to improve his fortune, and therefore a temporary ſeparation between him and Mrs. Eſten took place. Mrs. Eſten was accordingly left with the child at Dublin, and Mr. Eſten returned to England, purſued the line of life which had been already mentioned, and continued from that time to the preſent without the leaſt imputation upon his character. In the year 1789, Mr. Eſten went as purſer in his majeſty's ſhip the Europa, from England to Jamaica, and from thence to St. Domingo, and entitled himſelf by his conduct to the regard of thoſe under whom he acted, and was advanced to a ſituation of truſt and profit, by which his fortune was much improved, which improvement he might have enjoyed with his wife, but for the conduct of the duke of Hamilton. But for the act of that noble duke, Mr. Eſten might have enjoyed the ſociety and comfort of his wife, and with that reſpect which he wiſhed. Mrs. Eſten continued on the ſtage until the year 1793. She quitted the theatre in Dublin and came to Edinburgh, and from the time ſhe went on the ſtage to the moment he was about to ſpeak of, the breath of ſcandal had never been directed towards her name; no imputation had been caſt upon her, that ſhe had been faithleſs to her huſband's bed; and Mr. Eſten hoped he would have been able, as he would

have been, but for the conduct of the defendant, to return to the domeſtic comfort which it was his object to prepare when he ſeparated for a time from his wife; as he fairly left, ſo he hoped upon his return to find the honour of his wife. In the year 1793, as he had ſtated already, Mrs. Eſten appeared on the ſtage in Edinburgh; there the duke of Hamilton met her; what means he uſed to corrupt her, he knew not, but the facts he had to ſtate of her were theſe: that the duke of Hamilton went from his palace in Scotland to the theatre in Edinburgh, and openly, publicly, and in the face of day, took Mrs. Eſten into his carriage, and carried her with him in triumph to his palace, where they afterwards lived together publicly and avowedly as man and wife, and from that time to this the duke of Hamilton had cohabited with Mrs. Eſten as his wife. The means by which he practiſed on her virtue he could not ſtate, as he knew nothing of them. He was ſtating only the facts, for he knew of nothing elſe in the matter. Theſe being the circumſtances of the caſe, the only queſtion for the jury would be, the damages they would give to Mr. Eſten for what had happened. In ſpeaking upon that ſubject, he ſhould not deſerve credit with the jury, if he ſtated this as one of thoſe aggravated caſes which ſometimes appeared before a jury.—This was not a caſe in which the defendant, the duke of Hamilton, had become the acquaintance with the plaintiff, been received into his houſe as a friend, and then, under the maſk of friendſhip, had converted the opportunity which the plaintiff's hoſpitality had given him, to the uſe of ſeducing his friend's wife, and afterwards had carried her away from that friend's houſe in which he had been received as a gueſt. It was not a caſe in which there was that ſpecies of malignity. But the defendant was a man of high rank; he truſted the jury would think on the effect which the conduct of great men was ſure to have on the morals of the lower claſſes of the community. It had been juſtly ſaid by the noble and learned judge, that it was in vain for the higher ranks of ſociety to expect their inferiors to be correct in their morals by mere precept; the great ſhould ſet to them an example of good morals. It was their duty to do ſo; every intelligent man expected it of them, from the advantage of their education, and from the comforts which their fortunes ſo eaſily procured for them; ſo as they had leſs diſtreſs they had leſs temptation. He deſired the jury to look at the ſituation and conduct of this defendant, and alſo at the ſituation and conduct of this plaintiff, at the time when this injury happened.—The plaintiff's wife, it was true, was not torn from his boſom; but while he was commendably endeavouring to improve his fortune, and had hopes of returning to his wife to enjoy it, this injury was done, which deſtroyed all his hopes. That he had great hopes of enjoying happineſs with his wife, was evident, from a letter which he wrote to a friend when he was informed of what had happened. He ſaid in that letter, that he could ſcarcely give any anſwer to his friend upon the ſubject. He ſaid that the temporary ſeparation from his wife was abſolutely neceſſary for his fortune. He thought he ſhould have

have been happy to return to a wife whom he adored. That he had always thought her immaculate. God only knew what means had been uſed to accompliſh her ruin, &c.

It might be ſaid that Mrs. Eſten was left in a ſituation where ſhe was expoſed to attack; that her huſband left her on the ſtage, where ſhe was much expoſed. He did not know whether it was to be inſiſted upon, that a woman being left on the ſtage, without her huſband, was a reaſon for the damages being ſmall, for that much levity was natural to that condition; he knew the good ſenſe of his learned friend would not induce him, of his own mind, to urge ſuch a topic for defence to ſuch an action as this. The theatre, like other ſituations in human life, was much diverſified, as to the morals of thoſe who follow it as a profeſſion. He knew many of that profeſſion who were excellent examples for the practice of virtue and conjugal fidelity, and therefore he was confident the jury would not think that the damages ſhould be the leſs, becauſe the plaintiff's wife was on the ſtage at the time this injury happened. Had it not been for the conduct of the defendant, this lady's character might have been ſtill immaculate. He had nothing extraordinary to urge on the part of the plaintiff for large damages in this caſe; what he had chiefly to urge upon that topic, was for the ſake of example to the public. It was not very important to the plaintiff what the damages were, for they would never reſtore to him that which he had loſt.—He was now in a ſituation that placed him above want, and that, in the preſent condition, was almoſt all he cared for. But although the queſtion was thus indifferent to him upon the ſcore of damages, it was by no means ſo with regard to the public, of whoſe good morals juries were the guardians. Here was a noble duke, who, in defiance of all morality, goes from his palace to the theatre, and in the public face of day committed this very immoral act; carried the plaintiff's wife to his own palace, and from thence to London, and lived with her afterwards in open and avowed adultery.—He inſiſted very much on the neceſſity of the jury correcting this ſpecies of licentiouſneſs in high life, by way of a wholeſome leſſon to all orders of the community, and to ſhew that the law does not allow a man, on account of his rank or fortune, to ſet public morality at defiance.

The marriage being proved,

Thomas Fairal, ſervant to his grace the duke of Hamilton, was examined. He ſaid, he had lived with his grace for upwards of twenty years. He remembered going with him from his palace in Scotland, to the theatre in Edinburgh, in Auguſt, 1793. He believed it was in order to fetch away Mrs. Eſten.—The noble duke brought her with him to his palace. They have lived together ever ſince as man and wife. They are now in England, and have conſtantly and publicly lived together, and a child was born ſome time ago of Mrs. Eſten.

Lord Kenyon aſked, What was the age of the duke of Hamilton. He was anſwered that his grace was about 40.

His lordſhip aſked, Whether the duke was divorced from his ducheſs? He was anſwered, that it was underſtood that his grace was

ſeparated only, and not divorced from his ducheſs, but that he had been ſeparated a long time before the cauſe of this action aroſe.

Mr. Erſkine ſaid he was of counſel for his grace the duke of Hamilton, who was called into the court according to the proceſs of the Engliſh law, to anſwer to Mr. Eſten, the plaintiff in this cauſe. There was no man leſs diſpoſed than himſelf to differ from his learned friend, who was of counſel for the plaintiff, in a great many obſervations he had made to the jury this day, nor leſs diſpoſed to differ from the learned and noble judge who ſat upon the bench, in the general ſentiments he had uttered on the trial of cauſes of this deſcription. But the more weighty the general obſervations were, the more important it was that they ſhould not be miſunderſtood or miſrepreſented. That in the adminiſtration of juſtice, an example ſhould be held up to the public, in puniſhing any individual for an offence to public morals, growing out of an injury to another individual, was a doctrine to which he readily ſubſcribed. But however deeply that was impreſſed upon his mind, yet when any individual came into that court to complain of a civil injury, he muſt have his caſe determined by the rules of the Engliſh law; and upon that broad principle, he denied that the duke of Hamilton could be called upon to anſwer for this charge, as the preſent caſe ſtood; and however the noble and able judge might lament the conduct of the duke of Hamilton in this caſe, and he did not ſtand in that court to defend that conduct, yet he was perſuaded his lordſhip would find himſelf called upon by the rules of law, which were more important in a court of juſtice than the conduct of any individual, however exalted he might be, to ſay that the plaintiff could not maintain this action. He admitted that the noble duke had been guilty of a breach of moral duty, but ſtill the caſe muſt be diſpoſed of according to the rules of the law of England. He was not inſtructed by the duke of Hamilton to attack the character of Mr. Eſten. He was ready and willing to admit, that he became the huſband of the lady becauſe he loved her. It was extremely natural he ſhould, for ſhe was certainly a very handſome woman, and highly accompliſhed; he had, as well as many others, had occaſion to admire her talents, as ſhe had given public proof of them upon the ſtage. He did not accuſe Mr. Eſten of any thing diſhonourable. He did not mean to ſay, that at the time he left his wife it was not neceſſary he ſhould do ſo, in order that he might go to other parts of the world to increaſe his fortune. He admitted to the full extent, the obſervations of Mr. Gibbs upon the virtue as well as vice of perſons upon the ſtage. He had the pleaſure to be acquainted with the greateſt and the brighteſt character that ever appeared upon it; ſhe was a pattern to others for her conjugal fidelity and her maternal affection, as well as for her tranſcendent talents; ſhe was an ornament to her ſex as well as to her profeſſion. There were many others whoſe virtue was unqueſtionable; nor did he mean to inſinuate that damages ought to be ſmall, becauſe the perſon alleged to be ſeduced had appeared upon the ſtage; no ſuch illiberal idea had

ever

ever entered into his mind, and he hoped it never would. But the queſtion here was, what was the ſituation of the party complaining? Upon that he maintained that the plaintiff had no right of action in this caſe. He might, however, if that was his object, go with his nonſuit before the houſe of lords, and he did not apprehend that that would be a reaſon for parliament refuſing to grant him a divorce. He held a paper in his hand, which would put an end at once to this cauſe, notwithſtanding that the duke of Hamilton had done that with oſtentation in public, which ought not to have been done any where; and ſo he was ſure his lordſhip would tell the jury when that paper came to be read. Mr. Eſten ſeparated from his wife, no matter whether for a good or a bad reaſon. That ſeparation put an end to his right to maintain this action. For the law of England in this caſe was governed by the very ſame rules that governed the Greenland fiſhery. If you ſtrike a whale, it is yours while you keep hold of the line; keep the line faſt and the fiſh is yours; ſo that if you ſtrike a whale in Greenland, and your line is long enough, the fiſh ſhall be yours, though it ſhould paſs to Nova Zembla, provided you keep hold of the line; but if you let go the line, the fiſh becomes the property of the next who ſtrikes it. So in this caſe, the wife would be the property of the plaintiff, had he kept faſt the line; but having let go the line, ſhe became the property of the next who ſtruck her. Such were the plaintiff's and defendant's caſes; for the law of Greenland with reſpect to whales, was the law of England with reſpect to women. The plaintiff in this caſe had let the line ſlip out of his hand, when he ſigned an agreement for a ſeparation between him and his wife.—[Here Mr. Erſkine read the deed of ſeparation, by which the plaintiff covenanted that he ſhould have no future authority over his wife during life, and agreed to ſeparate for ever.]

Lord Kenyon aſked Mr. Gibbs what he had to ſay to this deed?

Mr. Gibbs ſaid, he was aware of this deed, but he wiſhed his lordſhip to make a caſe of this, that it might be argued before the court.

Lord Kenyon ſaid, he was of opinion that this deed put an end to this action, for the ground of the action was, that the plaintiff had loſt the comfort of the ſociety of his wife. If he gave up his right of inſiſting upon that ſociety, as by this deed he clearly had, the very ground of the action was gone. He could not, however, forbear lamenting, that a branch of one of the oldeſt families in this country, one of the firſt in rank in North Britain, ſhould be guilty of ſuch indecorum as the noble duke had been in this caſe. He felt it as an inſtance of ſhameful depravity, and he ſhould not be ſorry if there were means of puniſhing him for his guilt, by the law; but he could not do it; his judgment muſt be conſiſtent with the rules of law.

Mr. Gibbs aſked his lordſhip to grant a caſe upon the ſubject.

Lord Kenyon ſaid, that when a gentleman of known and acknowledged talents and abilities at the bar aſked for a caſe, upon a matter which he really thought to be arguable, he ſhould be ſorry to refuſe it, but he could not do that out

out of mere compliment to the anxiety of the parties. This was a point which did not involve any doubt, and therefore, unleſs Mr. Gibbs preſſed it with confidence, he thought it his duty not to grant a caſe, for it would be idle to argue a thing that was already clear. Had there been only a temporary ſeparation, he ſhould have thought that no bar to the action; but here the ſeparation was abſolute, for the plaintiff could never compel his wife to return to him, and therefore this act, however immoral, and immoral it certainly was, and highly ſo from ſuch an elevated character as that of the noble duke, yet the plaintiff could not ſay on this record, that he had loſt the comfort of the ſociety of his wife by the conduct of the defendant, ſince the plaintiff himſelf had given up his right to inſiſt on that ſociety.

The plaintiff was therefore non-ſuited.

Trial of Mr. Williams, *for publiſhing Paine's Age of Reaſon*;

Came on, in the court of King's Bench, Weſtminſter, before lord Kenyon and a ſpecial jury, the trial of Mr. Williams, for publiſhing the firſt and ſecond parts of Paine's Age of Reaſon.

Mr. Erſkine, as counſel for the proſecution, began a long and comprehenſive ſpeech by ſtating that, not having the honour to be ſworn as counſel for the king, it had much oftener fallen to his lot to defend indictments for libels than to aſſiſt in the proſecution of them; that nevertheleſs he felt no embarraſſment from the recollection of his former and frequent duties; the principles which he had always laid down in defending others, he ſhould rigidly adhere to in the proſecution of this defendant. The liberty of the preſs was of the higheſt importance to mankind. Its liberal and unlicenſed freedom had led to all the bleſſings both of religion and government, which Great Britain enjoyed; and indeed a free preſs never could exiſt any where without (ſubject to the laborious proceſs of all human improvements) bringing the world to a higher pitch of civilization and happineſs.

Mr. Erſkine then defined the principles and limits of the preſs, both as they depended upon ſound policy, and upon the particular law of England, and cited ſeveral authorities to eſtabliſh, that, though controverſial points of divinity might be the legal ſubject of diſcuſſion, and though even profound and complicated reaſonings, which in their concluſions might touch many of the tenets of the chriſtian church, were admiſſible, yet that the utter denial of the exiſtence of chriſtianity, much more a groſsly indecent invective upon the whole of its doctrines, and a mockery of all its evidences, had ever been held to be a high miſdemeanor, and puniſhed as a diſgraceful, infamous offence.

Mr. Erſkine ſaid, that, though the law, as he had ſtated it, and which was ſettled beyond all queſtion, was enough to bind the conſciences of the jury, yet upon a ſubject ſo momentous to the public, he thought it his duty to explain its principles, that the people might feel, that inſtead of being unjuſtly bridled by its reſtraints, and kept

kept in ignorance by its prohibitions, the weak and ſimple were protected againſt the artifices of wickedneſs, whilſt all that reaſon could collect for ſincere and enlightened reflection, was left open for meditation and controverſy. This taſk Mr. Erſkine went through at ſome length, taking at the ſame time the higheſt poſſible ground in ſupport of the rights of juries, and the liberty of the preſs.

[He next proceeded to comment upon each of the paſſages ſelected by the indictment, and expoſed their dangerous tendency, as well as their utter repugnancy to every licence of printers, which the law could poſſibly tolerate.]

Mr. Erſkine ſaid, that for himſelf he was devoted to the truths of the chriſtian religion, not from the prejudices of education, though he had been religiouſly educated by the beſt of parents, but from the reflection of his riper years and underſtanding; that it was the great conſolation of his life; that without it he ſhould conſider the long courſe of his health and proſperity, too long and too uninterrupted to be perhaps good for any man, as the duſt which the wind ſcatters, and rather as a ſnare than as a bleſſing. He ſaid that the religious and moral ſenſe of the people of Great Britain, was the great anchor which alone could hold the veſſel of the ſtate amidſt the ſtorms that agitated the world; and that if he could believe for a moment, that the maſs of the people were to be debauched from the principles of religion, which formed the true baſis of that humanity, charity, and benevolence, that had been ſo long the national characteriſtic; inſtead of mixing himſelf, as he ſometimes had done, in political reformations, he would rather retire to the uttermoſt corners of the earth, to avoid their agitation, and would bear not only the imperfections and abuſes complained of in our own wiſe eſtabliſhment, but even the worſt government that ever exiſted in the world, rather than go to the work of reformation, with a multitude ſet free from all the reſtraints and duties, and diſrobed of all the charities of chriſtianity, who had no ſenſe of God's exiſtence but from Mr. Paine's obſervation of nature, which the maſs of mankind had no leiſure to contemplate, nor any belief of future rewards and puniſhments, to animate the good in the glorious purſuit of human happineſs, nor to deter the wicked from deſtroying it even in its birth. But he knew the people of England better—they were a religious people; and with the bleſſing of God, as far as was in his power, he would lend his aid to keep them ſo. He had no objections to the freeſt and moſt extended diſcuſſions upon doctrinal points of the chriſtian religion; and though the law of England did not permit it, he ſhould not dread the reaſoned arguments of deiſts againſt the exiſtence of chriſtianity itſelf, becauſe, as was ſaid by its divine author, if it was of God it would ſtand. An intellectual book, however erroneous, addreſſed to the intellectual world, upon ſo profound and complicated a ſubject, could never work the miſchief which this indictment was calculated to repreſs. Such works would only employ the minds of men enlightened by ſtudy, to a deeper inveſtigation of a ſubject well worthy of their deepeſt and continued contemplation. The powers of the human mind were given

given for human improvement and refinement, in the awful and myſterious career of human exiſtence. The changes produced by ſuch reciprocations of lights and intelligences were certain in their progreſſion, and made their way imperceptibly, as conviction came upon the world by the final and irreſiſtible power of truth. If chriſtianity be founded in falſehood, let us become deiſts in this manner, and he was contented. But this book had no ſuch object, and no ſuch capacity. It preſented no argument to the wiſe and enlightened. On the contrary, it treated the faith and opinions of the wiſeſt with the moſt ſhocking contempt, and ſtirred up men without the advantages of learning, to a total and abſolute diſbelief of every thing hitherto held ſacred, and conſequently to a rejection of all the laws and ordinances of the ſtate, which ſtood only upon the aſſumption of their truth. If this were to be permitted, how, in God's name, was the juſtice of the country to be adminiſtered? Why ſhould he ſubmit to the authority of the court, or addreſs twelve of his equals, as he was then addreſſing the jury, to paſs ſentence upon their neighbour? Under what ſanctions, he aſked, were the witneſſes to give their teſtimony? and he might even aſk the king himſelf, by what authority he could command the execution of the ſentence. The whole judicial fabric was built upon the ſolemn oaths of every one of its members to adminiſter juſtice, as God ſhould help them hereafter. What God? that God undoubtedly, who had commanded kings to rule, and judges to judge in juſtice; who had forbidden men from falſe teſtimony againſt their neighbours, and who had enforced theſe commandments by the revelation of the unutterable bleſſings which ſhould attend their obſervance, and the awful puniſhments which ſhould await their tranſgreſſions.

Mr. Erſkine ſaid, that the book appeared to him to be as cruel and miſchievous in its effects, as it was illegal in its principles. The poor, whom it affected to pity, were ſtabbed to the heart by it; they had more need of conſolations beyond the grave, than thoſe who had greater comforts to render life delightful. He could conceive an humble, innocent, and virtuous man, ſurrounded with children, looking up to him for bread which he had not to give them, ſinking under the laſt day's labour, and unequal to the next, yet ſtill looking up with confidence to the hour when all tears ſhould be wiped from the eyes of affliction, and bearing the burthen which he believed his Creator had laid upon him for good, in the myſterious diſpenſations of a providence which he adored. What a change in ſuch a mind might not be wrought by this mercileſs publication!

But it ſeems this was an age of reaſon, and the time and the perſon were arrived that were to diſſipate the errors which had overſpread the paſt generation of ignorance. The believers in chriſtianity were many; but it belonged to the few that were wiſe to correct their credulity. Belief was an act of reaſon; and ſuperior reaſon might therefore dictate to the weak. In running the mind along the long liſt of ſincere and devout chriſtians, he could not help lamenting that Newton had not lived to this day, to have had his

his ſhallowneſs filled up with this new flood of light. But the ſubject was too awful for irony; he would ſpeak plainly and directly: Newton was a chriſtian; Newton, whoſe mind had burſt from the fetters caſt by nature upon our finite conceptions; Newton, whoſe ſcience was truth, and the foundation of whoſe knowledge of it was philoſophy—not thoſe viſionary and arrogant preſumptions which too often uſurped its name, but philoſophy reſting upon the baſis of mathematics, which, like figures, could not lie; Newton, who carried the line and rule to the uttermoſt barriers of creation, and explored the principles by which, no doubt, all created matter was held together and exiſts. But this extraordinary man, in the mighty reach of his mind, overlooked perhaps the errors which a minuter inveſtigation of the created things on this earth might have taught him of the eſſence of his Creator. What ſhould then be ſaid of the great Mr. Boyle, who looked into the organic ſtructure of all matter, even to the brute, inanimate ſubſtance which the foot treads on? Such a man might be ſuppoſed to be equally qualified with Mr. Paine to look up through nature to nature's God. But the reſult of all his contemplation was the moſt confirmed and devout belief in all which the other holds in contempt, as deſpicable and drivelling ſuperſtition.

But this error might perhaps ariſe from a want of due attention to the foundations of human judgment, and the ſtructure of that underſtanding which God has given us for the inveſtigation of truth. Let that queſtion be anſwered by Mr. Locke, who was, to the higheſt pitch of devotion and adoration, a chriſtian.—Mr. Locke, whoſe office was to detect the errors of thinking, by going up to the fountains of thought, and to direct into the proper track of reaſoning the devious mind of man, by ſhowing him its whole proceſs, from the firſt perceptions of ſenſe to the laſt concluſions of ratiocination, putting a rein beſides upon falſe opinion, by practical rules for the conduct of human judgment.

But theſe men were only deep thinkers, and lived in their cloſets, unaccuſtomed to the traffic of the world, and to the laws which practically regulate mankind.

Gentlemen, in the place where we now ſit to adminiſter the juſtice of this great country, above a century ago the never to be forgotten ſir Matthew Hale preſided, whoſe faith in chriſtianity is an exalted commentary upon its truth and reaſon, and whoſe life was a glorious example of its ſweets, adminiſtering human juſtice with a wiſdom and purity, drawn from the pure fountain of the chriſtian diſpenſation, which has been, and will be in all ages, a ſubject of the higheſt reverence and admiration.

But it is ſaid by the author, that the chriſtian fable is but the tale of the more antient ſuperſtitions of the world, and may be eaſily detected by a proper underſtanding of the mythologies of the heathens. Did Milton underſtand thoſe mythologies? Was he leſs verſed than Mr. Paine in the ſuperſtitions of the world? No, they were the ſubject of his immortal ſong—and though ſhut out from all recurrence to them, he poured them forth from the ſtores of a memory rich with all that men ever knew, and laid them

in

in their order, as the illuſtration of that real and exalted faith, the unqueſtionable ſource of that fervid genius, which caſt a ſort of ſhade upon all the other works of man—

He paſſed the flaming bounds of ſpace and time:
The living throne, the ſapphire blaze,
Where angels tremble while they gaze,
He ſaw, but blaſted with exceſs of light,
Cloſed his eyes in endleſs night.

But it was the light of the body only that was extinguiſhed; "The celeſtial light ſhone inward, and enabled him to vindicate the ways of God to man." The reſult of his thinking was nevertheleſs not the ſame as the author's. The myſterious incarnation of our bleſſed Saviour, which this work blaſphemed in words ſo wholly unfit for the mouth of a chriſtian, or for the ear of a court of juſtice, that he durſt not, and would not, give them utterance, Milton made the grand concluſion of the Paradiſe Loſt, the reſt from his finiſhed labours, and the ultimate hope, expectation, and glory of the world—

A virgin is his mother, but his ſire
The power of the Moſt High; he ſhall aſcend
The throne hereditary, and bound his reign
With earth's wide bounds, his glory with the heaven's.

Mr. Kyd made a long and able defence for his client. He ſtated the embarraſſment which the ſubject preſented, but reminded the court and jury of the freedom of diſcuſſion which the indictment juſtified and compelled. He explained the etymologies of blaſphemy, profaneneſs, and impiety, which the indictment charged on the defendant, and which the crown were bound to eſtabliſh as exiſting in the book. He read paſſages to ſhow the author's reverence for the Supreme Being, and the arguments for his unity; and ſhowed, that, in denying the exiſtence of revelation, he did not mean to diſhonour God, as he ſhowed that the law of nature was a revelation ſet up in every man's heart, and the creation a volume where he might collect his duties. He endeavoured to vindicate the charges made upon the bible by the author, by paſſages which he propoſed to ſelect for that purpoſe, but which, at the deſire of the court and jury, he did not read, but referred to the pages, and named the tranſactions in the hiſtorians of the Old Teſtament, as indecent and immoral. He inſiſted upon the free right of controverſy, and cited the opinions of many great divines, particularly Dr. Lardner, upon the ſubject.

Mr. Kyd then ſpoke with ſevere reprehenſion of the proſecution, as the publication for which the printer was indicted, would never have exiſted but for biſhop Watſon's Apology, the large circulation of which had excited a curioſity to read the book to which it was an anſwer, and that to gratify public curioſity the book in queſtion was publiſhed. Mr. Kyd ſaid, that without a free preſs we could have had no reformation; and it appeared difficult to diſtinguiſh an attack upon that which formed the particular eſtabliſhment of the national church, and that entire religion on which it was founded. If the author, *bona fide*, wrote as he believed on the ſubject, both appeared to be legal or illegal; upon the ſame principle, if either were illegal, both muſt be ſo, yet the legality of controverſy had been admitted in all the caſes in the books.—

Mr.

Mr. Kyd made many other obſervations.

Mr. Erſkine replied at conſiderable length; and taking for examples ſeveral of the paſſages in the bible ſelected by Mr. Kyd, explained the reaſon of their introduction into ſcripture. He ſaid the hiſtory of man was a hiſtory of man's vices and paſſions. His vices and paſſions could not be rebuked without adverting to their exiſtence; and many of the inſtances ſelected were recorded as memorable warnings and examples to mankind for their inſtruction. The Jewiſh hiſtory was, beſides, in many parts, connected with that ſtupendous ſcheme of prophecy, which formed one of the moſt unanſwerable arguments for the truths of chriſtianity. It was not the purpoſe of God to deſtroy free agency, by overpowering the human mind with the irreſiſtible light and conviction of revelation, but to leave men to collect its truths, as they were gradually illuſtrated in the accompliſhment of the divine promiſes of the goſpel. He declared, that bred as he was to the conſideration of evidence, he conſidered the prophecy concerning the deſtruction of the Jewiſh nation to be, even if there were nothing elſe to ſupport chriſtianity, abſolutely irreſiſtible. The Jews themſelves did not deny the exiſtence of the prophecies; and their very hiſtory was not accountable for on any human principle. Their ſeparation into tribes to preſerve the genealogy of Chriſt; the diſtinction of the tribe of Judah from which he was to come; the fall of that diſtinction, when that end was accompliſhed; the predicted departure of the ſceptre from Iſrael; the deſtruction of the temple, which imperial munificence in vain attempted to rebuild to diſgrace the prophecy; the ſcattering of this nation over the face of the whole earth; the ſpreading of the goſpel throughout the world; the perſecutions of its true miniſters, and the foretold ſuperſtitions which had for ages defiled its worſhip, were facts which no man could by argument do away, and which certainly no chriſtian ſtate ought to tolerate a man in the impudent mockery of, without any argument at all.

Mr. Erſkine ſpoke with the higheſt reſpect of biſhop Watſon, and alſo of Mr. Mackintoſh, and concluded with a vindication of the learned and pious authors of the proſecution, who were entitled to the public gratitude for their exertions in the cauſe of religion and virtue.

Lord Kenyon made a moſt able charge to the jury. He ratified the doctrines as laid down by the counſel for the proſecution, the propriety of which he vindicated and applauded. He expreſſed his own firm conviction of the truths of chriſtianity in a very ſolemn and affecting manner, and having expounded the law to the jury, left the whole to their ſerious and impartial conſideration.—The jury inſtantly found the defendant guilty.

Proceedings in the Sheriff's Court, Clerkenwell, September 8th, to aſſeſs Damages, in an Action, Boddington *verſus* Boddington.

A ſpecial jury was impannelled by the ſheriff of London, to aſſeſs the damages to be awarded againſt the defendant, Mr. B. Boddington, for

for criminal converſation with the wife of the plaintiff (Mr. Samuel Boddington) in which he had ſuffered judgment to go by default, on an action brought againſt him in the court of king's-bench. The damages were laid at 50,000l.

Mr. Erſkine, as leading counſel for the plaintiff, opened the caſe, and, after expatiating, with his uſual eloquence, on the enormity of the crime of adultery and ſeduction, which, he ſaid, ſtruck at the very root of ſociety, eſpecially where there were children, as in the preſent caſe, and of which charges the defendant had admitted the truth, by ſuffering judgment to go by default, proceeded to ſtate the particular circumſtances attending it, which, he contended, united in themſelves the moſt ſhocking inſtance of depravity that ever entered the human mind, the defendant not only being partner with the plaintiff in a very extenſive mercantile concern, but his firſt couſin. They were the children of two brothers. The defendant, under the ſacred maſk of friendſhip, abuſed the confidence repoſed in him, and by various acts contaminated the mind of Mrs. Boddington, a lady who, previous to this unhappy and fatal error, bore the moſt unblemiſhed character, and who, beſide poſſeſſing a moſt beautiful perſon and elegant accompliſhments, was remarked for the exemplary manner in which ſhe diſcharged the duties of a wife and a mother. The unfortunate lady in queſtion is a daughter of a Mr. Aſhburnham, a gentleman of ſome conſequence in Bombay, who ſent her over here at an early age for education, and, when ſhe had acquired all the requiſites to adorn her ſex, directed that ſhe ſhould return to Bombay, which was to have taken place in the year 1790, and ſhe was actually on board the ſhip for that purpoſe, when his client, Mr. S. Boddington, who had been ſome time deeply enamoured of her, and almoſt reduced to a ſtate of deſpair by the thoughts of loſing her, followed her on board the veſſel, then at Graveſend, and having obtained the conſent of her guardians to await the *fiat* of her father for their union, perſuaded her to return; which was no hard taſk, as her love was then reciprocal. A period of ten months elapſed before the wiſhed-for letter came, containing her father's conſent, and approbation of her choice, and on which the union took place, the lady having 5000l. ſettled on her by her father, and the like ſum by Mr. Boddington. Two children were the fruits of this marriage, and they continued to enjoy the moſt uninterrupted felicity, till a ſhort time previous to Mrs. Boddington's elopement with the defendant, which took place the beginning of June laſt, and which was conducted in ſuch a way as to ſhew that it was a premeditated thing, and a deliberate plan of ſeduction laid down by the defendant, who had ſo overpowered the lady's reaſon, as to make her forget the duties ſhe owed to an honourable huſband and her children, and to perſuade her to elope with him. The means to effect this ſcheme were the moſt abominable on the part of the defendant. Mr. S. Boddington having obſerved ſomething in his wife's conduct, that gave him reaſon to ſuſpect his honour was in danger, reſolved to remove her for a time

from the ſcene he dreaded, but did it in ſuch a delicate manner as not to create the leaſt ſuſpicion of the cauſe, either to his wife or friends, propoſing a journey to Bath, and then to Wales. He parted with the defendant in the moſt cordial manner, little thinking that matters had proceeded ſo far as the reſult had proved. He was to return to town immediately, if buſineſs required his preſence. A few days after he got to Bath, he received a letter from the defendant, informing him that the Weſt-India packet had arrived, and that his preſence was neceſſary in town, to attend a meeting reſpecting ſome exchequer warrants. This letter unfortunately had the deſired effect, Mr. Boddington immediately ſetting off for town in the mail, leaving his wife at Bath. He muſt have been croſſed on the road by the defendant, who went thither and carried her away. On Mr. Boddington's arriving in town, he found the following letter left for him by the defendant: 'When we parted on Wedneſday laſt, it was for the laſt time. This night I go from London, never to return again. I have deceived you in ſending for you to town, and wiſh I had not in other things; if you ſee my father, for God's ſake break the matter to him by degrees. I have taken ſeven hundred pounds.

(Signed)

B. Boddington.'

Mr. Erſkine, in very ſtrong colours, then painted the enormity of the defendant's conduct throughout the whole tranſaction, and which, he hoped, would make ſuch an impreſſion on the minds of the jury, when they heard the evidence which he ſhould bring forward, as to induce them not to mitigate the damages in the ſmalleſt degree. He ſaid, that he was well aware of the defendant's intention by pleading guilty, and had himſelf oppoſed the matter coming into that court for judgment, though he was certain their verdict would juſtify the deciſion of the court of King's Bench, in ſuffering it to be removed.

The firſt witneſs called was Mr. Thomas Green, an attorney, who being ſworn, was examined by Mr. ſerjeant Runnington. Mr. Green ſaid, that miſs Aſhburnham, previous to her marriage with Mr. Samuel Boddington, was principally under his care; and that, when her father ſent for her to Bombay, he, the witneſs, provided every thing neceſſary for the voyage, and ſaw her on board the veſſel; but, on application being made to him by Mr. Samuel Boddington, he conſented to her coming on ſhore, and remaining in England till her father's will ſhould be known reſpecting the intended marriage, and who ſending his conſent in about ten months after, the witneſs ſigned the marriage articles; they were united, and he viſited them frequently after, and conceived them to be extremely happy, and that the union was founded in love on both ſides.—Croſs examined by Mr. Law.—He ſaid he had no knowledge of Mr. Benjamin Boddington, the defendant, though he believed he dined with him once; he ſaid that Mrs. Boddington was married in February 1792, is now about twenty-two years of age, and extremely beautiful and accompliſhed.

A lady of the name of Emerſon

ſaid, ſhe had known miſs Aſhburnham (now Mrs. Boddington) when ſhe was ten years of age, and had continued the intimacy ever ſince; that ſhe conſidered her perfectly virtuous till this affair took place; ſhe ſpoke of her as being extremely beautiful and attractive in her manners; and ſaid, that after ſhe returned from on board the veſſel at Graveſend, ſhe was at the witneſs's houſe for ſome time, and then went to Mrs. Murray's ſchool, at Kenſington. The witneſs was preſent at the marriage, and conceived it to have been the reſult of love on both ſides, and that Mr. Boddington appeared to make an excellent huſband. She knew Mr. B. Boddington very well, and had frequently ſeen him in company with the plaintiff and his wife.

On her croſs-examination by Mr. Law, ſhe ſaid, ſhe thought the defendant, at times, ſeemed to expreſs too much attention and admiration to Mrs. Boddington, eſpecially when they were not in mixed companies; which circumſtance ſhe once mentioned to Mrs. Boddington, about half a year before the ſeparation took place; after which ſhe thought Mrs. Boddington did not behave with her uſual kindneſs to her huſband.

Mr. Cline, ſurgeon, ſaid, he had known Mr. S. Boddington for ſeven years; that he had frequently viſited him after his marriage, and that he thought Mrs. Boddington appeared to be extremely attentive to her huſband, and affectionate to her children, the eldeſt of whom was four, and the other two years of age. He had frequently dined with them, but never obſerved any thing particular in the behaviour of the defendant towards Mrs. Boddington.

Joſeph Street, a clerk in the houſe of Meſſrs. Bodington, was examined. He deſcribed them to be Weſt India merchants, who traded to the amount of from 300,000l. to 500,000 l. per year. He ſaid, that the defendant was admitted a partner about three years ago; that for the firſt year he had only one-third ſhare of the profits of the buſineſs, but for the two laſt he had four-ninths. He ſpoke of the great degree of happineſs that appeared to ſubſiſt between the plaintiff and his wife till their ſeparation, and deſcribed her to have always been extremely reſerved in her behaviour. On being ſhewn the letters before alluded to, he declared them to be the defendant's writing, as were alſo the drafts for 200 l. and 500 l.

Croſs-examined by Mr. Law.—He does not know that the money the defendant had in the buſineſs was advanced by his father, or that he had any other ſource to reſort to for money; he had frequently ſeen the defendant at his father's, and thought he behaved as a dutiful ſon; he heard of his return to town on Wedneſday week following the elopement, and alſo that he had been ſeen wandering on Enfield Chace. He ſaw Mrs. Boddington once at his houſe in Mark-lane, after ſhe had left the defendant, and that ſhe came to ſee her children.—In anſwer to a queſtion from Mr. Erſkine, he declared that the plaintiff was not reconciled to his wife.

The evidence being gone through, Mr. Law, as advocate for the defendant, made a very able ſpeech in mitigation of damages, and in

which he endeavoured to convince the jury, that the matter was not a premeditated thing on the part of his client, who, he ſaid, was very young, and inexperienced in the ways of the world. It was merely the very powerful effect of the lady's charms, to the blaze of which he was conſtantly expoſed, from the frequent opportunities he had of being in her company, and which receiving no check, expanded till it broke out in all the fever of diſtracted love, and led him to the commiſſion of an act that muſt for ever render him a miſerable outcaſt of ſociety. He had already forfeited every worldly benefit, and, if heavy damages were given, what muſt be the reſult? he muſt either periſh in a priſon, or the weight muſt fall on the innocent and unhappy father, with eight daughters to provide for. Mr. Law admitted that his client merited a ſevere puniſhment, but prayed that it might not be beyond his means of paying, which, he declared, did not amount to more than 3,000 l. the ſum inveſted as his ſhare in the buſineſs being advanced by his father. After ſome other obſervations on his client's conduct, he concluded, by intreating the Jury to tincture their juſtice with mercy, and only award a fair retribution.

Mr. Burchell, the deputy ſheriff, then ſummed up the evidence in a very clear and conciſe manner; and the jury, after retiring out of court for about twenty minutes, returned with a verdict of ten thouſand pounds damages.

Trial of Mrs. Phipoe, *for the Murder of* Mary Cox.

MARY Benſon, otherwiſe Maria Thereſa Phipoe, was indicted at the Old Bailey, for the wilful murder of Mary Cox, by giving her a wound on the throat, and in ſeveral parts of the body, with a claſp-knife, on the 25th of October laſt; of which wounds ſhe languiſhed and died. The priſoner reſided in Garden-ſtreet, Shadwell: ſhe was intimately acquainted with the deceaſed, and they frequently viſited each other. On Wedneſday, October 25th, the deceaſed came to the lodging of the priſoner, and was ſhewn up to to her apartments, which were on the firſt floor. Soon after the deceaſed came, the priſoner came down to the miſtreſs of the houſe (a Mrs. Munday) and gave her a guinea, and requeſted ſhe would buy half a pint of brandy for her. She did ſo; but when ſhe returned with the liquor and the change, ſhe found the priſoner's room door locked. When the priſoner heard that Mrs. Munday had returned with the liquor, ſhe called out that ſhe was not then ready for it; but that ſhe would come down for it when ſhe ſhould be. Immediately after this, Mrs. Munday heard a noiſe of a violent ſcuffle in the priſoner's room, and a ſound from thence like a perſon groaning with great pain. This frightened her very much; ſhe ran out, alarmed the neighbours, and brought in two women with her, a Mrs. Macdonald and a Mrs. Eyles. They proceeded up ſtairs, and deſired to be admitted. The groaning was ſtill heard, but faintly; and the priſoner was heard to ſay, "Jeſus Chriſt!" On their enquiry what was the matter, the priſoner called out, "The woman was in a fit; but ſhe is recovered, and I am rubbing her by the fire."

They desired the door might be unlocked; on which the prisoner opened it, and said, Mrs. Munday might come in, but nobody else; at the same time she desired that a doctor might be sent for; on which Mrs. Munday went out for one. The door remaining a-jar, Mrs. Macdonald pushed it open, and went in; when the first thing that struck her was the appearance of the deceased, sitting on the ground, "bleeding like an ox," and holding up her handkerchief to the wound on her throat. She exclaimed, "what have you been about, Mrs. Benson? has the Lord left you?" On which the prisoner held up her finger, and said, "Look at my finger!" and was proceeding to tell something about the transaction, when the witness, terrified at those shocking appearances, ran down stairs into the passage. She had not been long there when she saw the deceased come down stairs, all over blood, and go into the kitchen; the prisoner went after her, and seemed to be assisting her to walk. About this period, Mrs. Munday, two women, two parish beadles, and soon after a surgeon, came in. The deceased was in the kitchen at this time, and the prisoner had withdrawn to her room. They described her as sitting on a chair when they saw her, supporting her head with one hand, and unable to speak. She was terribly cut and mangled, and very bloody. One of the beadles was particularly attentive to her. She by signs requested him to put his hands into her pocket. He took a watch out of it, which she in the same manner desired he would take care of. She was asked whether it was the woman above stairs (meaning the prisoner) that had used her so? Her motions were such as appeared to indicate an affirmative answer. To the question, if she had cut off the prisoner's finger, the answer was in the negative. The surgeon described her to have received several wounds, any single one of which was sufficient to kill her. She was shortly after taken to the London hospital. The attention of the parties was then directed towards the prisoner. She was up stairs. Dunbar, among others, went up. He asked her how she came to use the poor woman so? To which she replied, "I believe the Devil and my passion bewitched me." He perceived a case-knife lying on the table, which was bloody; he asked her if it was with that she had wounded the deceased? She answered in the affirmative. With respect to the cutting off her finger, which then lay upon the table, she said it was cut off by Mrs. Cox, the deceased. He then, by her directions, took charge of some money and notes, which she had about her, and in the apartment. She was soon after also taken to the London hospital. At this place she was searched, when a clasped knife, with a sharp pointed blade of about four inches long, was found inside her stays, which was all over bloody. She expressed an unwillingness to be searched. Her behaviour subsequently at the hospital was such as to render the discipline of the strait waistcoat necessary. The surgeon above mentioned examined the prisoner's hand and fingers. He was of opinion, that the finger could not be cut off in fighting or struggling with another person, because it appeared to be regularly chopped off, as if laid fairly on a block. The

part and the bone was cut ſtraight through, and not in the leaſt hacked or mangled. He obſerved that the deceaſed, at the time ſhe was ſpoken to in the kitchen, appeared to be perfectly collected, although unable to ſpeak. The deceaſed died in the London hoſpital, after languiſhing a ſhort time. One of the ſurgeons appeared, who had no doubt of the wounds ſhe received being the cauſe of her death. And the magiſtrate, who attended to take her depoſitions at the hoſpital, which were given in the preſence of the priſoner, ſtated that ſhe was very ſenſible and collected, and at the ſame time convinced of her approaching diſſolution. Theſe examinations were read by the clerk of the court, and ſtated, in ſubſtance, that the deceaſed went to the priſoner's apartments in conſequence of her own appointment. They were in treaty for ſome articles, as a gold watch, ſome linen, china, &c. For theſe ſhe paid her 11 l. Some coffee cups lay on the mantle piece; the deceaſed aſked for one of them; the priſoner deſired her to take it off; but while ſhe was doing this, the priſoner ran to her and ſtabbed her in the throat with a knife; ſhe then got her down on the bed; ſhe gave her a great number of wounds, and ſaid, "You bitch, I will kill you out, you ſhall not be able to tell your own ſtory." The depoſitions were regularly ſigned and atteſted. The evidence for the proſecution was materially to the above effect. The priſoner, in her defence, entered into a long detail of circumſtances, which ſhe ſolemnly averred had taken place, and which gave riſe to the cataſtrophe. After ſtating the particulars of the treaty they were engaged in for the watch, &c. ſhe ſaid they differed materially as to terms. This gave riſe to an altercation, which the deceaſed terminated by ſaying, "I ſuppoſe you want the money to go to London, to be Courtois's whore again, as was proved at the Old Bailey." The priſoner anſwered, it was a damned lie; upon which very warm language enſued. In the end, the deceaſed, ſhe ſaid, ſnatched up a green handled knife, and cut off her forefinger. She was immediately covered with blood; ſhe ſaw her finger lying on the ground, and her paſſion ſo far maſtered her that ſhe knew not what ſhe did; ſhe might have attacked the deceaſed, but her tremor and confuſion were ſo great, that ſhe had not the leaſt recollection of what ſhe did at the moment. The firſt thing ſhe could recollect was, that ſomebody put ſome liquor down her throat; ſhe then heard a cry of murder! ſhe was ſoon after ſeized and ſearched, and taken to the hoſpital. Beſides the finger being cut off, ſhe had ſeveral cuts in her arm.—The remainder of the defence related to her treatment at the hoſpital, and her exchanging forgiveneſs with the deceaſed. This addreſs was of conſiderable length, and ſpoken with a great deal of eaſe and collectedneſs. She called ſeveral times on the Supreme Being to witneſs the truth of what ſhe had related. The evidence being concluded, Mr. Baron Perryn entered on his charge to the jury, which conſiſted chiefly of a ſummary of the evidence on both ſides; and, from the general drift of his obſervations throughout the charge, his lordſhip ſeemed to think that the plea of inſanity could not avail the priſoner; ſhe had exhibited no marks of it, as appeared by the evidence,

at any period during the whole tranſaction; and under this impreſſion, he ſeemed to entertain no doubt of her guilt. On the priſoner's defence they were to exerciſe their judgment, and to conſider, in comparing it with the general tenor of the evidence, if it could be founded in truth. Whatever doubts they might entertain, they would, of courſe give the priſoner the benefit of them. The jury retired for about twenty minutes, and at their return found her guilty. After a ſhort interval, Mr. Baron Perryn proceeded to paſs the awful ſentence of the law upon the unhappy woman. He prefaced it by ſimply obſerving, that ſhe was convicted upon very ſtrong evidence—he had no doubt of the propriety of the verdict—it appeared to him that ſhe had barbarouſly murdered her friend, and a woman with whom ſhe had always been on the beſt terms. The ſentence was then paſſed in the uſual form, fixing the next Monday for its execution; after which the body was to be given to the ſurgeons for diſſection. The unhappy Mrs. Benſon heard the ſentence with the utmoſt compoſure, not to ſay indifference; indeed ſhe ſeemed rather hardened, and expreſſed ſome language reſpecting the deciſion of the court, which we feel ourſelves not warranted in reciting. She was executed on the Monday following.

TABLE

TABLE OF THE NEW FRENCH MEASURES,

WITH THEIR PROPORTIONAL RELATIONS.

Relation of all the Meafures to their principal Meafure.	Expreſſed in Cyphers.	NAMES OF THE MEASURES. First Part of the Name, which indicates the Relation to the principal Name.	Meaſures of Length.	Meaſures of Capacity.	Meaſures of Weight.	Meaſures of Superficies of Land.	Meaſures of Wood for Fuel.
Ten thouſand -	10000.	Myria					
A thouſand - -	1000.	Kilo					
A hundred - -	100.	Hecto					
Ten - - - -	10.	Deca					
One - - - -	1.						
A tenth (dixième) - - -	0.1	Deci	Metre.	Litre.	Gramme.	Are.	Stere.
A hundredth (centième) - - -	0.01	Centi					
A thouſandth (millième) -	0.001	Milli					
Relation of the principal Meaſures to one another.			$\frac{1}{10000000}$ of a quarter of the meridian.	A cubical decimetre.	Weight of a cubical centimetre of water.	100 ſquare metres	A cubical metre.
Relation of the principal meaſures to the ancient ditto.			ft. inchs. lines 3 0 $11\frac{1}{2}$	1 pint $\frac{1}{26}$, or $\frac{1}{15}$ of a buſhel	18 grains $\frac{16}{19}$	$\frac{3}{100}$ of a French acre, or 3 perches.	19 cubical feet.

An ACCOUNT of all Additions which have been made to the Annual Charge of the Public Debt, by the Intereſt or Annuities of any Loan that hath been made, or Annuities created ſubſequent to the 1ſt of January 1793: And alſo, the Produce of the ſeveral Duties granted for defraying the Charge in reſpect of the ſame, in the Year ended the 5th of January 1797.

Additional Charge created in reſpect of 4,500,000 *l. borrowed anno* 1793.	*Annual Intereſt.*			*Charges of Management.*			*Annuity at* 1*l. per cent. to be placed to the account of the Commiſſioners for reducing the National Debt.*		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
On 6,250,000*l.* additional capital, in three per cent. conſolidated bank annuities - - - - - - - -	187,500	0	0	2,812	10	0	62,500	0	0
							2,812	10	0
							187,500	0	0
Total additional charge created anno 1793 - - - - - - - -							252,812	10	0
Produce of the duties for defraying the additional charge, created anno 1793 -							166,813	0	0
Deficiency in the year ended 5th January 1797 - - - - - -							85,999	10	0

Additional Charge created in respect of 11,000,000*l. borrowed anno* 1794, *and by reason of certain Navy and Victualling Bills made out before* 31*st March* 1793, *being delivered up to be cancelled.*

	Annual Interest. £.	s.	d.	*Charges of Management.* £.	s.	d.	*Annuity at* 1*l. per cent. to be placed to the account of the Commissioners for reducing the National Debt.* £.	s.	d.
On 11,000,000*l.* at three per cent. additional capital, added to three per cent. consolidated bank annuities	330,000	0	0	4,950	0	0	110,000	0	0
25*l.* per cent. on the above 11,000,000*l.* making an additional capital of 2,750,000*l.* added to four per cent. consolidated bank annuities	110,000	0	0	1,237	10	0	27,500	0	0
Annuity of 11*s.* 5*d.* per cent. on the above 11,000,000 *l.* for $66\frac{1}{4}$ years additional capital, added to long consolidated bank annuities	62,791	13	4	706	8	$1\frac{1}{2}$	9,680	0	0
	502,791	13	4	6,993	18	$1\frac{1}{2}$	147,180	0	0
On 1,926,525 *l.* 12 *s.* 5 *d.* additional capital in five per cent. consolidated bank annuities, by reason of navy and victualling bills delivered up to be cancelled	96,326	5	7	866	18	$8\frac{1}{2}$	19,265	5	0
	599,117	18	11	7,760	16	10	166,445	5	0
							7,760	16	10
							599,117	18	11
							773,324	0	9

(continued.)

Additional Charge created in reſpect of 18,000,000*l. borrowed anno* 1795, *and by reaſon of certain Navy and Victualling Bills made out on or before* 30*th September* 1793, *being delivered up to be cancelled.*	*Annual Intereſt.*			*Charges of Management.*			*Annuity at* 1*l. per cent. to be placed to the account of the Commiſſioners for reducing the National Debt.*		
	£.	*s.*	*d.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*
On 18,000,000*l.* at three per cent. additional capital, added to three per cent. conſolidated bank annuities - -	540,000	0	0	8,100	0	0	180,000	0	0
On 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per cent. on the above 18,000,000*l.* making an additional capital of 6,000,000*l.* added to four per cent. conſolidated bank annuities - - - - - - -	240,000	0	0	2,700	0	0	60,000	0	0
Annuity of 9*s.* 6*d.* per cent. on the above 18,000,000*l.* for 65¼ years, additional capital, added to long conſolidated bank annuities - - - - - - - - -	85,500	0	0	961	17	6	12,835	0	0
	865,500	0	0	11,761	17	6	252,835	0	0
On 1,609,897*l.* 17*s.* 1*d.* additional capital in five per cent. conſolidated bank annuities, by reaſon of navy and victualling bills delivered up to be cancelled - - - -	80,494	17	10	724	9	1	16,098	19	6
	945,994	17	10	12,486	6	7	268,933	19	6
							12,486	6	7
							945,994	17	10
							1,227,415	3	11

Additional Charge created in reſpect of the ſeveral ſums of 18,000,000*l. and* 7,500,000*l. borrowed anno* 1796, *and by reaſon of certain Navy and Victualling Bills made out before* 30*th September* 1795, *being delivered up to be cancelled.*

	Annual Intereſt.			*Charges of Management.*			*Annuity at* 1*l. per cent. to be placed to the account of the Commiſſioners for reducing the National Debt.*		
	£.	*s.*	*d.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*
On 18,000,000*l.* with 20*l.* per cent. additional capital, making together the ſum of 21,600,000*l.* at three per cent. but by reaſon of 4,200*l.* having been forfeited from the contributors neglecting to complete their payments, is reduced to 21,595,800*l.* additional capital, added to three per cent. conſolidated bank annuities - - -	647,874	0	0	9,718	2	2¼	216,000	0	0
On 25*l.* per cent. on the above 18,000,000*l.* making an additional capital of 4,500,000*l.* added to reduced three per cent. conſolidated bank annuities - - - - - -	135,000	0	0	2,025	0	0	45,000	0	0
Annuity of 6*s.* 6*d.* per cent. on the above 18,000,000*l.* for 64¼ years, additional capital, added to long conſolidated bank annuities - - - - - - - - - -	58,500	0	0	658	2	6	8,460	0	0
	841,374	0	0	12,401	4	8	269,460	0	0
							12,401	4	8¼
							841,374	0	0
Additional charge created by 18,000,000*l.* borrowed anno 1796 -							1,123,235	4	8¼

(continued.)

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
On 7,500,000*l.* with 20*l.* per cent. additional capital, making together the fum of 9,000,000*l.* at 3*l.* per cent. but by reafon of 65,800*l.* having been forfeited from the contributors neglecting to complete their payments, is reduced to 8,934,200*l.* additional capital, added to 3*l.* per cent. confolidated bank annuities - - - - - - - - - -	268,026	0	0	4,020	7	9½	90,000	0	0
On 25 per cent. on the above 7,500,000*l.* making an additional capital of 1,875,000*l.* but by reafon of 15,375*l.* forfeited as aforefaid, is reduced to 1,859,625*l.* additional capital, added to reduced 3*l.* per cent. confolidated bank ann.	55,788	15	0	836	16	7½	18,750	0	0
Annuity at 5*s.* 6*d.* per cent. on faid 7,500,000*l.* for 63¾ years, additional capital, added to long confolidated bank ann. -	20,582	7	6	231	11	0¼	2,925	0	0
	344,397	2	6	5,088	15	5¼	111,675	0	0
							5,088	15	5¼
							344,397	2	6
Additional charge created by 7,500,000*l.* borrowed anno 1796 - -							461,160	17	11¼
On 4,414,074*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* additional capital in 5 per cent. confolidated bank annuities, by reafon of navy and victualling bills delivered up to be cancelled - - - - -	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.			
	220,703	14	2½	1,986	6	8	44,140	14	10
							1,986	6	8
							220,703	14	2½
							266,830	15	8⅓
Additional charge created by loan of 18,000,000*l.* anno 1796 - -							1,123,235	4	8¼
Ditto - - - - - - - - - - 7,500,000*l.* - 1796 - -							461,160	17	11¼
							1,851,226	18	4
Produce of the duties for defraying the additional charge created anno 1796							604,644	9	2½
Deficiency in the year ended 5th January 1797 - - - - £.							1,246,582	9	1½

Produce of the ſeveral Duties in the Year ended 5th January 1797, applicable towards defraying the additional Charge created anno 1793.

	£.	s.	d.
Britiſh ſpirits, anno 1791, continued anno 1793	23,977	0	0
Foreign ſpirits - ditto - - - - ditto	142,836	0	0
	166,813	0	0

Produce of the ſeveral Duties in the Year ended 5th January 1797, applicable towards defraying the additional Charge created anno 1794.

	£.	s.	d.
Sugar, anno 1791, continued anno 1794	239,653	18	4
Licences for killing game, anno 1791, continued ditto	8,984	1	4
10*l.* per cent. on aſſeſſed taxes, anno 1791, continued d°	97,449	6	8
Bills and receipts, anno 1791, after reſerving 128,600*l.* carried to the conſolidated fund, being the annual average produce of former duties there repealed	48,951	3	9
Diſtillers licences, anno 1794, after reſerving 36,000*l.* per annum, to be carried to the conſolidated fund for ditto	0	0	0
Paper duty, anno 1794 (exciſe) after reſerving 75,000*l.* per annum, ditto	89,958	0	0
Ditto (cuſtoms)	6,605	8	10½
Slates and ſtones anno 1794	17,830	18	10½
Attornies articles, ditto	20,037	2	9
Bricks and tiles, ditto (cuſtoms)	211	0	7
Ditto (exciſe)	61,540	0	0
Glaſs, anno 1794	42,333	0	0
Britiſh ſpirits, ditto	23,584	0	0
Foreign ditto	149,939	0	0
	807,077	1	2
Additional charge created anno 1794	773,324	0	0
Surplus in the year ended 5th January 1797	33,753	1	2

Produce of the ſeveral Duties in the Year ended 5th January 1797, applicable towards defraying the additional Charge created anno 1795.

	£.	s.	d.
Britiſh ſpirits, anno 1795	22,163	0	0
Foreign ditto	152,065	0	0
Cocoa and coffee, ditto	15,319	0	0
Tea, ditto	200,107	0	0
Wines, anno 1795	432,689	0	0
Sweets, ditto	9,443	0	0
Carried over	831,786	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward	831,786	0	0
Ship policies, 1795	97,109	4	1
Receipts, ditto	7,094	6	1
Stamps, ditto	48,465	13	7
Hair powder certificates, ditto	184,216	3	0
Fruit, filk, &c. ditto	104,028	19	5
Coals, ditto	20,094	13	2½
Taken out of the duty on poſtage of letters, being the computed annual increaſe of that revenue, by reaſon of the reſtriction on franking, purſuant to act 35 Geo. III.	40,000	0	0
	1,332,794	19	4½
Additional charge created anno 1795	1,227,415	3	11
Surplus in the year ended 5th January 1797	105,379	15	5½

Produce of the ſeveral Duties in the Year ended 5th January 1797, applicable towards defraying the additional Charge created anno 1796.

	£.	s.	d.
Tobacco, snuff, &c. anno 1796	164,015	0	0
Horſe dealers licences, ditto	931	12	0
Wine, ditto (cuſtoms)	101,522	15	10
Ditto (exciſe)	98,165	0	0
Sweets, ditto	2,325	0	0
Legacies, ditto, after reſerving 10,269*l.* 15*s.* carried to the conſolidated fund, being the annual average produce of former duties then repealed	0	0	0
Hats, ditto, after reſerving 9,479*l.* 11*s.* carried to the conſolidated fund for ditto	0	0	0
10 per cent. on aſſeſſed taxes, anno 1796	47,833	15	8¼
Horſes, ditto	16,930	0	0
2*s.* duty on ditto, not otherwiſe chargeable	19,475	0	0
Dogs, ditto	4,770	0	0
Computed annual ſaving to the public, by reducing the allowance for waſte on ſalt, &c.	32,000	0	0
Brought from the conſolidated duties on cuſtoms, being the computed annual ſaving to the public, on account of the allowance for drawbacks on the exportation of ſugar, being diſcontinued in 1796	116,676	5	8
	£. 604,644	9	2½

Exchequer,
9th day of March, 1797.

James Fiſher.

An

An ACCOUNT of the Net Produce of the TAXES for one Year ending the 5th of July 1797; diſtinguiſhing the Duties impoſed in 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, and 1797.

	£.	s.	d.
Consolidated Customs - - - -	2,671,995	6	11
Consolidated Excise - - - - -	7,172,361	14	8¾
Consolidated Stamps - - - - -	1,359,625	18	6
Total - - £.	11,203,933	0	1¼

INCIDENTS.

Conſolidated letter money - - - -	156,000	0	0
Ditto ſalt - - - - - -	369,909	4	2
Seizures - - - - - - -	17,844	3	2¾
Proffers - - - - - - -	375	12	9
Compoſitions - - - - - -	1	6	8
Alum mines - - - - - -	960	0	0
Letter money - - - - - -	325,000	0	0
Sixpence deduction on penſions - -	51,525	0	0
One ſhilling ditto on ſalaries - - -	32,434	6	6½
Hawkers and pedlars - - - -	3,070	0	0
Hackney coaches and chairs, 1711 - - -	12,000	0	0
Ditto ditto 1784 - - -	12,000	0	0
Four-wheeled carriages - - - -	150,901	14	8¼
Two-wheeled ditto - - - - -	47,577	18	2¼
Houſes and windows - - - - -	342,518	13	1½
Inhabited houſes - - - - - -	159,927	1	7¾
Firſt fruits of the clergy - - - -	3,833	19	7½
Tenths ditto - - - - -	9,862	5	8¼
Lottery licences - - - - - -	00	0	0
Arrears of waggons - - - - -	14	8	6
Ditto carts - - - - - -	723	11	6
Ditto men ſervants - - - - -	3	15	0
Ditto female ſervants - - - -	1,244	4	7
Ditto houſes and windows, 1747 and 1758 -	00	0	0
Rent of a light-houſe - - - - -	6	13	4
Horſes - - - - - - - -	108,635	17	1¾
Male ſervants - - - - - -	96,239	9	1¼
Alienation duty - - - - - -	1,721	8	8
Total - - £.	1,904,330	14	3¾

DUTIES

Net Produce of Taxes—*continued.*

	£.	s.	d.
DUTIES pro anno 1793.			
British spirits	66,147	0	0
Foreign ditto	151,911	0	0
£.	218,058	0	0
DUTIES pro anno 1794.			
Sugar, 1791	242,262	3	3½
Game duty	16,838	1	4
Bills and receipts	38,245	3	9
£. 10 per cent.	105,218	10	6¾
British spirits, 1794	66,871	0	0
Foreign ditto	148,288	0	0
Spirit licences			
Glass	43,685	0	0
Bricks and tiles (Customs)	295	17	6½
Ditto (Excise)	60,140	0	0
Paper (Excise)	77,096	0	0
Ditto (Customs)	5,981	15	10
Slates	16,603	13	4
Attornies articles	17,630	2	9
£.	839,159	8	4½
DUTIES pro anno 1795.			
British spirits	66,630	0	0
Foreign ditto	148,192	0	0
Wine	285,830	0	0
Sweets	5,759	0	0
Cocoa	21,029	0	0
Stamps	47,539	13	7
Ship policies	96,884	4	1
Hair powder certificates	191,476	3	0
Receipts	6,925	6	1
Fruits	126,527	9	8
Tea	197,398	0	0
Coals	25,066	0	2½
Produced by the restriction on franking	40,000	0	0
£.	1,259,256	16	7½
DUTIES pro anno 1796.			
Horses	45,795	0	0
Tobacco	164,063	0	0
Horse dealers licences	1,032	12	0

Wines

Net Produce of Taxes—*continued.*

	£.	s.	d.
Wines (Excise)	198,829	0	0
Wines (Customs)	221,713	0	3½
Sweets	5,011	0	0
Legacies			
Hats	22,529	9	0
Two shillings additional duty on horses	59,590	0	0
Dogs	36,265	0	0
£. 10 per cent.	84,959	15	10
Saved by reducing the allowance for waste on salt	32,000	0	0
Reduction on the drawbacks on the exportation of sugar	116,676	5	8
£.	997,464	2	9½

DUTIES pro anno 1797.

British spirits	55,297	0	0
Foreign ditto	45,864	0	0
Auctions	11,687	0	0
Deeds	35,828	0	0
Cocoa	1,965	0	0
£. 5 per cent	500	0	6
Stage coaches	13,953	0	0
Sugar	29,747	5	6½
Bricks	271	0	0
Tea	117,319	0	0
£.	312,431	6	0½

TOTALS.

Of CUSTOMS, EXCISE, and STAMPS	11,203,983	0	1¾
Of INCIDENTS	1,904,330	14	3¾
Of DUTIES 1793	218,058	0	0
Of do. 1794	839,159	8	4¾
Of do. 1795	1,259,256	16	7½
Of do. 1796	997,464	2	9½
Of do. 1797	312,431	6	0½
£.	16,734,683	8	3¼

Exchequer, July 13, 1797.

JAMES FISHER.

To the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, in Parliament aſſembled.

An Account of the Number of Perſons who pay Aſſeſſed Taxes; diſtinguiſhing the ſame into Claſſes, according to the Amount, from Six Shillings to Four Hundred Pounds and upwards, annually.

Under 6s.	190,122
6s. and under 10s.	129,563
10s. - - 15s.	57,716
15s. - 1l. -	40,218
1l. 5s. - 1l. 10s.	32,064
1l. 10s. - 1l. 15s.	28,283
1l. 15s. - 2l. -	24,171
2l. - - 2l. 5s.	22,060
2l. 5s. - 2l. 10s.	17,451
2l. 10s. - 2l. 15s.	16,517
2l. 15s. - 3l. -	15,563
3l. - - 3l. 10s.	25,846
3l. 10s. - 4l. -	18,856
4l. - - 4l. 10s.	16,753
4l. 10s. - 5l. -	13,881
5l. - - 6l. -	22,220
6l. - - 7l. -	15,468
7l. - - 8l. -	10,500
8l. - - 9l. -	8,164
9l. - - 10l. -	7,378
10l. - - 12l. 10s.	12,712
12l. 10s. - 15l. -	7,991
15l. - - 17l. 10s.	5,035
17l. 10s. - 20l. -	3,389
20l. - - 25l. -	4,211
25l. - - 30l. -	3,417
30l. - - 35l. -	2,544
35l. - - 40l. -	1,701
40l. - - 45l. -	1,106
45l. - - 50l. -	807
50l. - - 60l. -	1,006
60l. - - 70l. -	704
70l. - - 80l. -	382
80l. - - 90l. - -	268
90l. - - 100l. - -	193
100l. - - 150l. - -	318
150l. - - 200l. - -	111
200l. - - 250l. - -	38
250l. - - 300l. - -	13
300l. - - 350l. - -	2
350l. - - 400l. - -	4
400l. and upwards - - -	2
Total number of perſons paying aſſeſſed taxes	791,802

CHARLES DERING.
BARNE BARNE.
EDW. MEDOWS.
H. HAYES.

Office for Taxes,
28th of November, 1797.
J. HUNTER.

An Account of the Amount of the Bills accepted by the Treaſury during the year 1796, *and by whom drawn.*

BY the commiſſioners at the Windward and Leeward Iſlands -	£. 723,384
From St. Domingo - - - - - - - - - -	2,211,068
From Corſica and the Mediterranean - - - -	435,866
From Jerſey, Guernſey, and Alderney - - - -	60,179
From St. Vincent and Grenada - - - - -	74,159
From the continent, by commiſſary-general Brook Watſon's deputies - - - - - - - - - -	187,631
By S. Drewry, deputy commiſſary to the army under the command of general Doyle - - - - - -	16,930
By colonel Neſbit, inſpector-general of foreign corps - -	187,113
By colonel Crawford, on account of the prince of Condé's army - - - - - - - - - -	351,890

By

By Claude Scott, for wheat	211,673
On Claude Scott, for wheat	147,862
By Meſſrs. Boyd, Benfield & Co.	423,878
By the imperial bank	100,000
Miſcellaneous, including governor's allowances, paid to Toulonese, &c.	219,373
TOTAL	£.5,350,506

An Account of all Bills drawn on the Treaſury from the Iſland of St. Domingo, from the Commencement of the War to the lateſt Period ſuch an Account can be made out.

Amount of bills drawn from or on account of the iſland of St. Domingo, preſented at the Treaſury in the years 1794, 1795, 1796 and 1797 £.4,383,596. 8. 2. to 1ſt of May.

CHARLES LONG.

Treaſury Chambers, May 11th, 1797.

A Return of the Deaths and Caſualties which have taken place in the Britiſh Forces, and in the Forces in Britiſh Pay, ſerving in the Iſland of St. Domingo, from the Commencement of the War to the 30th of September, 1796, as far as the ſame can be made up.

Britiſh Forces.

Dead	7,530.
Diſcharged	333.
Deſerted	123.

Forces in Britiſh Pay.

Dead, Diſcharged, and Deſerted, 1,067.

N. B. Few of the returns of the foreign corps diſtinguiſh the deaths from the other caſualties.

War Office, May 5th, 1797. W. WINDHAM.

Return to the Order of the Honourable Houſe of Commons, of the 24th of March, 1797, for an Account of the Advances made, or ordered to be made, for the Service of his Imperial Majeſty, ſince the 13th of December, 1796:—And alſo, of the Securities for the repayment of the ſame; together with an Account of the dates of the Advances reſpectively.

ADVANCES MADE.	£.
29th December, 1796	50,000
28th January, 1797	110,000
18th February	90,000
24th February	30,000
4th March	100,000
11th March	120,000
	£.500,000

No further advances have been ordered.

The security for the repayments of these sums is the receipt of the agents of the emperor, accompanied with an engagement of the imperial minister at this court, that the same shall be repaid out of any loan which may be made in England for the service of the emperor, whenever circumstances permit such loan to be made.

CHARLES LONG.

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers,
March 8th, 1797.

Amount of the Sums paid during the Year ending the 5th of January, 1797, *from the Revenue of Customs, on account of Bounties for Corn imported, or Bounties for raising Seamen.*

Bounties on corn imported - - - - £.573,410. 4. 9¾.
Bounties for raising seamen - - - - 23,648. 16. 7½.

March 3d, 1797.

THOMAS IRVING, inspector general of the imports and exports of Great Britain.

STATEMENT *of* SERVICES *and* GRANTS, *made out from the Journals of Parliament, from the Year* 1722 *to* 1797.

Years.	Total Services.			Total Grants.			Deficiency of Grants.			Overplus.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1722	2,666,295	9	1	2,600,872	13	3	65,422	15	10			
1723	1,926,551	16	11	1,869,220	5	2	57,331	11	9			
1724	1,918,092	18	4	1,778,859	2	7	139,233	15	9			
1725	2,094,132	8	11	1,748,543	6	3	345,589	2	8			
1726	3,409,696	1	2	3,257,046	13	8	160,306	17	6			
1727	3,444,818	13	8	3,139,068	15	5	305,749	18	3			
1728	4,618,947	6	7	4,515,757	15	0	103,189	11	7			
1729	3,654,798	7	1	3,519,352	6	10	115,446	0	3			
1730	2,655,462	8	6	2,521,149	14	0	134,312	14	6			
1731	2,902,985	15	11	3,007,815	18	4	-	-	-	104,830	2	5
1732	2,002,242	11	9	1,880,847	8	5	121,395	3	4			
1733	2,075,307	0	11	1,787,963	15	10	287,343	5	1			
1734	4,014,768	6	2	3,978,362	10	10	36,405	15	4			
1735	3,280,262	2	8	3,259,165	13	0	21,096	9	8			
1736	2,417,908	11	5	2,355,507	7	11	62,401	3	6			
1737	3,283,882	11	2	3,255,561	6	3	28,321	4	11			
1738	3,432,717	19	7	3,552,169	17	4	-	-	-	119,451	17	9
1739	2,787,729	9	10	2,876,451	17	9	-	-	-	88,722	7	11
1740	4,024,560	17	9	4,064,149	8	7	-	-	-	39,588	10	10
1741	5,267,030	7	5	5,003,298	9	10	263,731	17	7			
1742	6,137,507	17	6	6,150,000	0	0	-	-	-	12,492	2	6
1743	6,181,026	6	10	6,061,092	2	5	119,934	4	5			
1744	6,763,421	18	3	6,586,000	0	0	177,421	18	3			
1745	6,583,194	16	6	6,571,244	13	8	11,950	2	10			
1746	7,385,378	4	7	7,250,000	0	0	135,378	4	7			
1747	9,934,336	17	9	9,362,508	19	2	571,827	18	7			

Years.	Total Services.			Total Grants.			Deficiency of Grants.			Overplus.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1748	10,620,186	9	6	10,050,000	0	0	570,186	9	6			
1749	5,125,736	5	3	4,750,000	0	0	375,736	5	3			
1750	4,334,323	19	3	4,268,526	10	3	65,797	9	0			
1751	6,194,793	1	6	6,140,041	16	1	54,751	5	5			
1752	4,131,964	10	11	4,150,000	0	0	-	-	-	18,035	9	1
1753	2,414,973	14	1	2,422,911	8	4	-	-	-	7,937	14	3
1754	2,541,006	1	11	2,544,348	1	1	-	-	-	3,341	19	2
1755	4,241,004	16	4	4,237,966	9	5	3,038	6	11			
1756	6,936,496	18	11	7,077,065	4	2	-	-	-	140,568	5	3
1757	8,410,822	8	6	8,126,020	7	5	284,802	1	1			
1758	10,968,540	1	1	11,041,848	5	0	-	-	-	73,308	3	11
1759	13,108,555	1	2	13,033,385	0	11	75,170	0	3			
1760	15,942,217	2	8	15,852,706	9	9	89,510	12	11			
1761	19,213,680	15	5	19,101,067	10	0	112,613	5	5			
1762	18,625,046	11	9	18,617,895	2	8	7,151	9	1			
1763	10,246,609	9	9	10,117,120	9	6	129,489	0	3			
1764	7,722,657	14	7	7,472,997	9	9	249,660	4	10			
1765	7,969,337	12	2	7,745,213	5	0	224,124	7	2			
1766	8,729,334	19	3	8,632,720	0	8	96,614	18	7			
1767	9,108,310	2	8	8,801,725	11	3	306,514	11	5			
1768	8,923,185	17	4	8,779,614	11	1	143,571	6	3			
1769	7,317,757	3	3	7,264,649	19	9	33,107	3	6			
1770	7,856,929	16	10	7,946,588	13	8	-	-	-	89,658	16	10
1771	8,111,277	13	2	8,081,912	12	11	29,364	0	3			
1772	8,329,982	2	9	8,328,471	2	10	1,510	19	11			
1773	6,018,583	12	9	6,145,565	0	2	-	-	-	126,981	7	5
1774	7,390,989	12	8	7,278,461	10	3	112,528	2	5			
1775	7,125,750	5	7	7,088,401	13	0	37,348	12	7			
1776	10,195,242	18	6	10,133,954	11	4	61,288	7	2			
1777	13,996,105	18	9	13,957,612	16	2	38,493	2	7			
1778	15,421,835	12	7	15,355,091	8	3	66,744	4	4			
1779	17,018,110	0	10	16,717,423	0	3	300,687	0	7			
1780	22,186,470	10	9	22,177,919	2	0	8,551	8	9			
1781	25,373,524	10	8	25,353,857	4	9	19,667	5	11			
1782	24,527,775	11	6	24,245,273	3	4	282,502	8	2			
1783	20,022,243	13	11	19,985,428	18	6	36,814	15	5			
1784	12,449,019	2	5	12,515,180	5	11	-	-	-	66,161	3	6
1785	10,332,228	2	11	10,205,089	19	8	127,138	3	3			
1786	13,575,742	11	1	13,335,417	11	3	240,324	19	10			
1787	12,950,721	11	0	12,887,049	12	9	63,671	18	3			
1788	12,666,412	13	6	12,334,762	15	2	331,649	18	4			
1789	12,373,989	3	5	12,142,471	0	11	231,517	2	6			
1790	13,203,816	14	4	12,996,088	11	3	207,728	3	1			
1791	15,314,599	11	1	14,877,608	13	0	436,990	18	1			
1792	12,179,428	12	6	11,954,103	10	2	225,325	2	4			
1793	17,799,718	15	5	17,324,696	1	7	475,022	13	10			
1794	24,164,077	18	9	22,571,105	3	5	1,592,972	15	4			
1795	32,751,496	4	1	30,403,541	13	4	2,347,954	10	9			
1796	32,101,454	9	3	32,530,000	0	0	-	-	-	428,545	10	9
1797	42,786,000	0	0	42,870,000	0	0	-	-	-	84,000	0	0

A GENERAL BILL OF CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 14, 1796, to DECEMBER 12, 1797.

Christened { Males 9,615 / Females 9,030 } 18,645. ‖ Buried { Males 8,577 / Females 8,437 } 17,014.

Decreased in the Burials this Year, 1891.

Died under Two Years	5,111	Betw. Forty and Fifty	1,754	A Hundred	1
Between Two and Five	1,422	—Fifty and Sixty	1,678	A Hundred and Two	1
—Five and Ten	606	—Sixty and Seventy	1,359	A Hundred and Three	1
—Ten and Twenty	581	—Seventy and Eighty	1,069	A Hundred and Seven	1
—Twenty & Thirty	1,359	—Eighty and Ninety	411	A Hundred and Seventeen	1
—Thirty and Forty	1,692	—Ninety and a Hundred	64		

DISEASES.						CASUALTIES.	
ABORTIVE and Stillborn	645	Croup	14	Lunatick	94	Bit by Mad Dogs	1
Abscess	25	Dropsy	832	Measles	222	Broken Limbs	5
Aged	1,283	Dropsy in the Brain	1	Miscarriage	10	Burnt	22
Ague	5	Falling Sickness	1	Mortification	206	Choaked	3
Amputation	2	All Fevers	1,526	Palsy	99	Dropped down dead	6
Apoplexy and Sudden death	214	Fistula	7	Piles	1	Drowned	108
Asthma and Phthisic	528	Flux	10	Pleurisy	14	Excessive Drinking	2
Bed-ridden	6	French Pox	24	Quinsy	4	Executed *	15
Bleeding	11	Gout	109	Rash	1	Found Dead	4
Brain Fever	4	Gravel, Strangury, and Stone	28	Rheumatism	4	Fractured	5
Burstten & Rupture	18	Grief	3	Scurvy	3	Frozen	1
Cancer	97	Head-Ach	5	Small Pox	512	Killed by Falls, &c.	65
Childbed	198	Headmoldshot, Horseshoe-head, Water in the Head	66	Sore Throat	12	Killed by a Cow	1
Colds	14	Jaundice	64	Sores and Ulcers	9	Killed by Fighting	1
Cholic, Gripes, Twisting of the Guts	14	Jaw-locked	3	St. Anthony's Fire	2	Killed themselves	33
Consumption	4,776	Inflammation	389	Stoppage in the Stomach	10	Murdered	4
Convulsions	3,804	Influenza	1	Swelling	4	Poisoned	3
Cough and Hooping-Cough	367	Itch	2	Teeth	935	Scalded	9
		Lethargy	3	Thrush	46	Shot	2
		Livergrown	4	Vomiting and Looseness	2	Sprain	1
				Worms	4	Starved	1
						Strangled	1
						Suffocated	5
						Total	298

* In Middlesex and Surrey, 24 have been executed; 15 of whom have only been reported to be buried within the Bills of Mortality.

[THE

[THE following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Regiſter, are taken from Accounts collected from the Cuſtom-houſe Books, and delivered to William Dowding, Eſq. Receiver of Corn Returns, by Authority of Parliament.]

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into, England *and* Scotland, *with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for the Year ending 5th* January 1798.

EXPORTED.

ENGLAND. 1797.	Quantities	FOREIGN. 1797.	Quantities	
	Quarters.		Quarters.	
Wheat	7,921.	Wheat	14,903.	
Rye	17.	Rye	100.	
Barley	5,176.	Barley	25.	
Oats	16,177.	Oats	1,563.	
Beans	7,969.	Beans	225.	
Peaſe	2,692.	Peaſe	72.	
Malt	7,845.	Callivances	61.	
	Cwt.	Indian Corn	6,418.	Bounty and Drawbacks, Nil.
Wheat Flour	97,551.	D° - Meal	1,563.	
Oatmeal	3,614.	Wheat warehouſed	250.	
SCOTLAND.	Quarters.	Wheat Flour warehouſed	1,000.	
Barley	17.		Cwts.	
Oats	1,127.	Rye Meal	1,400.	
Beans	281.	Wheat Flour	9,327.	
Peaſe	65.		Bolls.	
Malt	24.	Oatmeal	95.	
Oatmeal	23.			
Split Beans	10.			
D° Peaſe	3.			
	Cwt.			
Barley hulled	117.			
Biſcuit	2,062.			
Oatmeal	790.			
Wheat Flour	1,892.			

IMPORTED.

ENGLAND.		
	Quarters.	
Wheat	398,967.	Duties £. 4,441. 14 s. 5 d.
Rye	8,250.	
Barley	52,828.	
Oats	479,833.	
Beans	17,143.	
Peaſe	16,447.	
Callivances	61.	
Indian Corn	1.	
	Cwt.	
Wheat Flour	14,868.	
	Bolls.	
Oatmeal	5,608.	

SCOTLAND.		
	Quarters.	
Wheat	50,981.	Duties £. 1,294. 6 s. 11 d.
Rye	7.	
Barley	10,288.	
Oats	83,520.	
Beans	248.	
Peaſe	699.	
	Bolls.	
Oatmeal	51,435.	
	Quarters.	
Barley warehouſed	1,080.	
Oats - - D°	389.	
Peaſe - - D°	643.	
Wheat - D°	520.	

The following is an Account of the Average Prices of Corn in England and Wales, by the Standard Winchester Bushel, for the Year 1797.

	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peaſe.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Per Buſhel	6. 7½.	3. 11¾.	3. 5½.	2. 1.	3. 5¼.	4. 2.

Prices

Prices of Bread per Quartern Loaf, during 1797.

	s.	d.
January:		
5.	0.	8 ¼.
12.	0.	8 ¼.
19.	0.	8 ¼.
26.	0.	8 ¼.
February:		
2.	0.	8.
9.	0.	8.
16.	0.	8.
23.	0.	7 ½.
March:		
2.	0.	7 ½.
9.	0.	7 ½.
16.	0.	7 ½.
23.	0.	7 ½.
30.	0.	7 ½.
April:		
6.	0.	7 ½.
13.	0.	7 ½.
20.	0.	7 ½.
27.	0.	7 ½.
May:		
4.	0.	7 ½.
11.	0.	7 ½.
18.	0.	7 ½.
25.	0.	7 ½.
June:		
1.	0.	7 ½.
8.	0.	7 ½.
15.	0.	7 ½.
22.	0.	7 ½.
29.	0.	7 ½.
July:		
6.	0.	7 ½.
13.	0.	7 ½.
20.	0.	7 ½.
27.	0.	7 ½.
August:		
3.	0.	7 ½.
10.	0.	8.
17.	0.	8 ½.
24.	0.	8 ½.
31.	0.	9.
September:		
7.	0.	9 ¼.
14.	0.	9 ½.
21.	0.	9 ¾.
28.	0.	10 ½.
October:		
5.	0.	10 ¾.
12.	0.	10 ¼.
19.	0.	9 ¼.
26.	0.	9 ¼.
November:		
2.	0.	9 ¼.
9.	0.	9 ¼.
16.	0.	9 ¼.
23.	0.	9 ½.
30.	0.	9.
December:		
7.	0.	8 ½.
14.	0.	8 ½.
21.	0.	8 ½.
28.	0.	8 ½.

PRICES OF STOCKS, FOR THE YEAR 1797.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices which each Stock bore during the course of any Month, are put down opposite to that Month.

	Bk Stock.	3p. Ct. Red.	3p. Ct. Conf.	4 Ct. Conf.	5 per Cent.	5p. Ct. 1797.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock.	India Bonds.	S. Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Exch. Bills.	Imp. 3 pr. Ct.	Imp. Ann.	Lottery Tickets.		
Jan.	146⅝	57¾	56½	74	84¾	—	16¼	7⅛	172¾	7 dif.	59¾	—	55¾	1 dif.	54	10¾	12	1	0
	138	53⅛	54¼	71¼	82¼	—	15¾	6¾	166½	21 dif.	58¼	—	54¾	3 dif.	51⅜	10⅛	11	13	0
Feb.	142⅜	55¾	54¼	73½	81⅜	—	16¼	7	164	4 dif.	58⅝	—	53⅜	2 dif.	53½	10½	15	10	0
	139½	51½	50½	65¾	75¾	—	15⅛	6⅛	151	9 dif.	58¼	—	53¼	3 dif.	49¼	9⅞	11	0	0
Mar.	136	52¾	52	—	77	—	—	6⅝	152	4 dif.	—	—	49¾	3 dif.	50	10½	60	0	0
	128	51¾	50	—	72	—	—	6⅜	147¼	23 dif.	—	—		23 dif.	48¼	9⅞	15	0	0
Apr.	131	50¼	52½	62	76	—	13⅞	6⅛	151	4 dif.	57¼	48⅛	54¼	2 dif.	48⅛	9¼		—	
	121½	47¾	48¼		72¾	—	13¾		147	50 dif.	52¼			3 dif.	47¾	9⅝		—	
May	128½	49	49¼	61¾	76	—	13⅜	6⅛	151	26	54	—	48⅛	2	45½	9½		—	
	115¾	46¾	48⅛		59½	—	13¼	6	143½	40	53½	—		3	43⅞	9¼		—	
June	132	53	55½	65½	78⅛	—	14⅜	6⅝	168	19	—	—	—	—	51½	10¼	12	0	0
	115½	46¾	48	59½	73¼	—	13⅜	6⅛	144½	31	—	—	—	—	44½	9¼	12	4	0
July	133	55½	54⅞	65½	77¾	—	15⅞	6⅞	165⅝	10 dif.	57¼	—	—	—	51	10½	12	4	0
	126¼	52⅜	52¼	64⅛	76¼	—	14⅜	6¾	159	20 dif.		—	—	—	49		12	0	6
Aug.	132	53⅛	53	65⅞	77	—	14⅞	7⅛	160½	11 dif.	57½	—	—	—	49⅞	10½	12	2	0
	128	50⅞	50⅞	63½	74¾	—	14⅜	6¾	158	16 dif.	54½	—	—		48⅛	10⅜	11	18	0
Sept.	131	52½	52⅞	67¾	75⅞	—	14⅞	7⅛	159½	4	56¼	—	52¼		49½	10½	12	1	0
	120	50⅞	47⅞	61	71	—	14½	7	148	12	53	—	52		45⅛	10	11	13	0
Oct.	119¼	48¾	50⅓	62	73	70⅜	13½	6½	152½	par.	45½	—	—		45¾	10⅛	11	17	0
	118	47¼	48¾	59⅛	71½	70⅛		6⅛	151	2 dif.		—	—		45¼	10	11	12	0
Nov.	120	48⅞	49⅞	59¾	72¼	70⅞	13½	6¼	150¾	9 dif.	54¼	—	—		45	9⅞	12	1	0
	117	47¼	48¼	58⅛	71⅛	69¾	13⅜	6	148¼	25	53¾	—	—		44¾	9¼	11	13	0
Dec.	119	48⅞	49¾	60	73	70⅝	13½		151	10		—	48¾		45⅛	9¾	11	16	0
	116½	48	49	59⅛	72⅞	70	13⅛	6⅛	148½	14	53½	—	48¼		44⅜	9⅛	11	13	0

STATE of the BAROMETER, THERMOMETER, and HYGROMETER, for the Year 1797.

1797.	Thermometer.			Barometer.*			Hygrometer.			Rain.
	Greateſt height.	Leaſt height.	Mean height.	Greateſt height.	Leaſt height.	Mean height.	Greateſt height.	Leaſt height.	Mean height.	
	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.
January - - -	49	25	37,7	30,50	29,52	30,09	90	69	85,1	0,960
February - -	50	25	37,9	30,62	29,37	30,31	88	67	81,1	0,219
March - - -	54	29	40,2	30,42	29,44	29,44	86	60	76,6	0,777
April - - - -	65	35	47,8	30,13	29,10	29,77	87	63	77,3	1,859
May - - - -	78	40	55,4	30,33	29,38	29,89	90	61	75,1	1,436
June - - - -	73	45	58,6	30,29	29,36	29,86	85	64	74,3	4,223
July - - - -	84	55	66,7	30,25	29,51	29,96	83	64	74,6	1,288
Auguſt - - -	76	52	62,6	30,18	29,48	29,87	88	66	76,4	2,789
September - -	69	45	57,5	30,14	29,04	29,75	90	65	79,3	4,061
October - - -	62	35	49,6	30,31	29,05	29,83	90	67	81,3	2,001
November - -	57	27	43,4	30,48	29,14	29,92	91	73	85,0	1,473
December - -	56	30	43,0	30,46	29,07	29,80	91	70	84,5	1,611
Whole Year - -	- -	- -	50,0	- -	- -	29,92	- -	- -	79,2	22,697

* The quickſilver in the baſon of the Barometer, is eighty-one feet above the level of low water ſpring-tides at Somerſet Houſe.

Principal Public Acts paſſed in the Firſt Seſſion of the 18th Parliament of Great Britain.

2d of November, 1796.

Malt tax act.

Land tax act.

Act for the augmentation of the militia.

Acts for raiſing a certain number of men, for the ſervice of the navy and army, in England and Scotland.

11th of November.

Act for enabling his Majeſty to raiſe a proviſional force of cavalry, to be embodied, in caſe of neceſſity, for the defence of theſe kingdoms.

Act for granting annuities to ſatisfy navy and exchequer bills.

23d of December.

Act for raiſing 18,000,000l. by way of annuities.

Act to indemnify ſuch perſons as have omitted to qualify themſelves for offices and employments.

Act for granting additional duties of exciſe on auctions, bricks, cocoa-nuts, Britiſh and foreign ſpirits, and tea.

Act for granting certain duties of cuſtoms on goods, wares, and merchandize, imported into, exported from, or brought or carried coaſtwiſe into Great Britain.

Act for granting an additional duty on ſtage-coaches.

Act for granting certain additional duties on diſtilleries in Scotland.

28th of December.

Act for altering rates of poſtage.

Act for more effectually ſecuring ſtamp duties on deeds.

Act, authorizing his Majeſty for a limited time, to make regulations reſpecting the trade to and from the Cape of Good Hope.

3d of March, 1797.

Act to remove doubts reſpecting promiſſory notes of the Bank of England, for payment of ſums of money under five pounds.

Act to enable the Eaſt India Company to raiſe money, by further increaſing their capital ſtock.

10th of March.

Mutiny act.

Act for the regulation of the marine forces while on ſhore.

Militia act.

Act for increaſing the rates of ſubſiſtence to be paid to inn-keepers and others on quartering ſoldiers.

3d of May.

Act for confirming and continuing for a limited time the reſtriction on payment of caſh by the Bank.

Act for increaſing the ſeamens pay.

Act for raiſing 14,500,000l. by way of annuities.

25th of May.

Act for guaranteeing the payment of the dividends on a loan of 1,600,000l. to the Emperor of Germany, and the regular redemption of the capital created thereby, and for enabling the Bank of England to retain the ſums granted for repaying advances made by them to the public, and for other purpoſes.

Act for granting to foreign ſhips, put under his Majeſty's protection, the privileges of prize ſhips under certain reſtrictions; and for allowing aliens in foreign colonies, ſurrendered to his Majeſty, to exerciſe the occupations of merchants or factors.

Act for the better prevention and puniſhment of attempts to ſeduce perſons ſerving in his Majeſty's forces, by ſea or land, from their

duty

duty and allegiance to his Majeſty, or to incite them to mutiny or diſobedience.

Act for more effectually reſtraining intercourſe with the crews of certain of his Majeſty's ſhips now in a ſtate of mutiny and rebellion.

Act for prohibiting the importation of cambrics and French lawns into the kingdom, not being of the manufacture of Ireland, except for the purpoſe of being warehouſed for exportation.

Act to enable the Eaſt India Company to pay the expences of two regiments of infantry, to be raiſed for the defence and protection of the houſe and warehouſes of the ſaid Company, and for ſuch public ſervices as are mentioned in an act, 34 Geo. III.

Act for making the port of San Joſeph, in the iſland of Trinidad, a free port.

22d of June, 1797.

Act for granting to his Majeſty certain ſtamp-duties on the ſeveral matters therein mentioned, and for better ſecuring the duties on certificates to be taken out by attornies.

Act to continue the alien act.

4th of July.

Act for carrying into execution the treaty of commerce, amity, and navigation, concluded between his Majeſty and the United States of America.

Scotch militia act.

Act for regulating the ſhipping, and carrying of ſlaves in Britiſh veſſels from the coaſt of Africa.

19th of July.

Acts for granting additional duties on inhabited houſes, horſes, male ſervants, cuſtoms, and deeds.

Act for granting certain duties on clocks and watches.

Inſolvent debtor act.

Lottery act.

Act for granting 200,000l. towards the reduction of the national debt.

Act for making allowances in certain caſes to ſubaltern officers of the militia in time of peace.

Act for regulating the trade to be carried on with the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India, by the ſhips of nations in amity with his Majeſty.

Act for regulating the height between decks of veſſels entered outwards for the purpoſe of carrying ſlaves from the coaſt of Africa.

Act to repeal ſo much of an act, 5th Geo. II. as makes negroes chattels for the payment of debts.

Act for better preventing forgery in transfers of ſtock at the Bank or India Houſe.

Act for more effectually preventing the adminiſtering or taking of unlawful oaths.

Act to make perpetual the act for preventing the committing of frauds by bankrupts.

Act to prevent the counterfeiting any copper coin in this realm, made or to be made current by proclamation, or any foreign gold or ſilver coin; and to prevent the bringing into this realm or uttering any counterfeit foreign gold or ſilver coin.

Act to ſhorten the time now required for giving notice of the royal intention of his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, that the parliament ſhall meet and be holden for the diſpatch of buſineſs, and more effectually to provide for the meeting of parliament, in the caſe of a demiſe of the crown.

Act

20th of July.

Act for granting a further additional duty on horſes.

Act to enable his Majeſty more eaſily and effectually to grant conditional pardons to perſons under ſentence, by naval courts martial, and to regulate impriſonment under ſuch ſentences.

Act for the better adminiſtration of juſtice at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; and for preventing Britiſh ſubjects from being concerned in loans to the native princes in India.

SUPPLIES granted by PARLIAMENT for the Year 1797.

NAVY.

17 OCTOBER, 1796.

	£.	s.	d.
THAT 120,000 ſeamen be employed, including 20,000 marines.			
The ſum for maintaining them, including ordnance for ſea ſervice - - - - - - - -	6,240,000	0	0

31 OCTOBER.

Proviſion to ſatisfy navy, victualling, and tranſport bills, made out on or before the 27th of October, 1796, amounting to £. 11,993,167. 19. 9.			
5 DECEMBER.			
For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to ſea and marine officers - - - - - - - -	653,573	1	7
For buildings and repairs of ſhips, and other extra works - - - - - - - - -	768,100	0	0
25 APRIL, 1797.			
Towards defraying the expences, and preventing the increaſe, of the debt of the navy - - - -	5,000,000	0	0
8 MAY.			
To defray the expence to be incurred by an increaſe to the pay of the ſeamen and marines, and by the propoſed iſſue of full allowance of proviſions -	472,000	0	0
	£. 13,033,673	1	7

ARMY.

24 OCTOBER, 1796.

That 60,765 men be employed for land ſervice, including 5,222 invalids.			
For guards, garriſons, and other land forces, in Great Britain, Jerſey, and Guernſey - -	1,505,905	1	0
For forces in the plantations, including Gibraltar, Corſica, the Cape of Good Hope, and New South Wales - - - - - - - -	1,411,231	19	5

For

	£.	s.	d.
For difference between the Britiſh and Iriſh pay of ſix regiments of foot for ſervice abroad	40,096	9	9
For four troops of dragoons, and nine companies of foot, ſtationed in Great Britain, for recruiting regiments ſerving in Eaſt India	13,335	18	0
For recruiting, contingencies, and allowances for land forces; and extra feed for the cavalry	360,000	0	0
For general and ſtaff officers, and officers of hoſpitals	94,195	14	0
5 DECEMBER.			
For horſe furniture, clothing, and accoutrements, for augmentation to forces	70,000	0	0
For allowances to ſeveral reduced officers of Britiſh American forces	7,500	0	0
Upon account of reduced officers of ditto	52,500	0	0
For allowances to reduced horſe guards	125	3	4
For reduced officers of land forces and marines	118,874	16	8
For the increaſed rates of ſubſiſtence to be paid to inn-keepers and others on quartering ſoldiers	180,000	0	0
For full pay to ſupernumerary officers	136,675	14	3
For officers late in the ſervice of the States General	1,000	0	0
For allowances to the paymaſter general of the forces, ſecretary at war, &c. &c.	136,779	17	1
4 APRIL, 1797.			
For the in and out-penſioners of Chelſea hoſpital, and the expences of the ſaid hoſpital	47,165	10	11
For penſions to widows of commiſſioned officers	11,602	7	3
6 APRIL.			
To defray the extraordinary expences of the army, from 25th December 1795 to 6th December 1796	3,280,513	13	2
24 MAY.			
For defraying the additional charge of an augmentation of the pay and allowances of his majeſty's land forces	224,000	0	0
26 JUNE.			
To defray the extraordinary expences of the army, from 7th December to 24th December 1796	106,962	13	4
To defray the expence of extraordinary ſervices incurred, and not paid previous to 5th January 1797	438,000	0	0
Towards defraying the extraordinary ſervices of the army for 1797	4,000,000	0	0
To ſatisfy demands outſtanding in the barrack department	288,000	0	0
For ſupply of forage to the troops, and other expences attending the ſervice of the barrack department for 1797	449,000	0	0

For

	£.	s.	d.
For defraying the charge of certain allowances to the ſubaltern officers, adjutants, and quarter maſters of the land forces - - - - -	60,000	0	0
For foreign corps, in the ſervice of Great Britain, for 1797 - - - - - - - - -	381,637	17	0
	£. 13,515,102	15	2

MILITIA AND FENCIBLE CORPS.

24 October, 1796.	£.	s.	d.
For the embodied militia in South Britain, and corps of fencible infantry in Great Britain, Jerſey, Guernſey, and the iſlands of Scilly and Man	950,441	3	6
For contingencies and allowances for ditto - -	210,000	0	0
For clothing for the embodied militia - - -	112,811	0	0
For corps of fencible cavalry - - -	397,734	4	2
For allowances and extra feed for ditto - -	95,000	0	0
17 December.			
Making proviſion for pay and clothing of the militia.			
24 December.			
On account, towards defraying the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia - - -	177,000	0	0
4 July, 1797.			
Making proviſion for allowances to ſubaltern officers of militia, in time of peace.			
11 July.			
Towards defraying the charge of clothing and accoutrements for ſundry corps of volunteer cavalry - - - - - - - - -	30,000	0	0
	£. 1,972,986	7	8

ORDNANCE.

5 December.	£.	s.	d.
For ordnance land ſervice, for 1797 - - -	1,009,024	9	2
Ditto, not provided for in 1795 - - - -	114,553	19	9
Ditto, ſea ſervice, not provided for in 1795 - -	74,830	0	3
Ditto, land ſervice, not provided for in 1796 -	425,366	10	6
24 May, 1797.			
Towards defraying the additional charge of an augmentation of the pay and allowances of the artillery and military artificers, &c. - -	16,000	0	0

3 JULY.	£.	s.	d.
For additional pay to certain officers of the artillery and engineers	3,281	11	4
	£. 1,643,056	11	4

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

5 DECEMBER, 1796.	£.	s.	d.
For new roads of communication, and building bridges in the Highlands of North Britain	4,500	0	0
For the civil eſtabliſhment of Upper Canada	7,000	0	0
Ditto, of Nova Scotia	5,915	0	0
Ditto, of New Brunſwick	4,550	0	0
Ditto, of St. John's Iſland	1,900	0	0
Ditto, of the Iſland of Cape Breton	1,840	0	0
Ditto, of Newfoundland	1,232	10	0
Ditto, of the Bahama Iſlands	4,100	0	0
For the ſalary of the chief juſtice of the Bermudas, or Somers Iſlands	580	0	0
Ditto, of the chief juſtice of the iſland of Dominica	600	0	0
For the civil eſtabliſhment of New South Wales	5,523	10	0
20 DECEMBER.			
Upon account, to enable his Majeſty to make temporary advances, by way of loan, for the ſervice of the emperor	500,000	0	0
22 DECEMBER.			
To make good money iſſued for allowances to American ſufferers	11,500	0	0
For relief to American and Eaſt Florida ſufferers, purſuant to act 30 Geo. III.	51,682	17	6
To make good money iſſued for his majeſty's ſervice abroad	71,431	5	11¾
Ditto, for relief of the ſuffering clergy and laity of France	140,090	0	0
Ditto, for fixtures at the houſe of the ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons	681	16	3
Ditto, to continue and perfect the Index to the Journals of the Houſe of Lords	869	19	0
To make good money iſſued to Mr. Campbell for the expence of convicts on the Thames	9,186	2	4
Ditto, to Mr. Bradley, for ditto in Langſtone and Portſmouth harbours	13,492	2	11
To make good money iſſued purſuant to addreſſes, and not made good by parliament	28,263	1	6

	£.	s.	d.
24 DECEMBER.			
To enable his majeſty to iſſue the like ſum to Commiſſioners, to be advanced, under certain regulations, for the accommodation of perſons connected with and trading to the iſlands of Grenada and St. Vincent. - - - - -	600,000	0	0
25 APRIL, 1797.			
To make good money iſſued to the ſecretary to the commiſſioners for the reduction of the national debt - - - - - - - - - -	796	19	6
Ditto, for a clerk to ſuperintend the office for American claims - - - - - - -	110	0	0
Ditto, for relief of the ſuffering clergy and laity of France - - - - - - - - -	31,000	0	0
To make good money iſſued to Mr. Campbell for the expence of convicts on the Thames - -	3,033	4	0
Ditto, to Mr. Bradley, for ditto in Langſtone and Portſmouth harbours - - - - - -	9,628	12	6
For defraying the expences of convicts at home, for 1797 - - - - - - - -	32,000	0	0
To make good money iſſued for repairs of the Fleet priſon - - - - - - - - -	4,515	8	1½
Ditto, for repairs of the King's Bench priſon -	5,672	3	3½
Ditto, towards defraying extraordinary expences incurred for proſecutions relating to the coin -	1,461	15	6
Ditto, in conſequence of the expences of Mr. Haſtings's proſecution - - - - - -	2,806	8	0
Ditto, for the ſalary of the chief juſtice of Newfoundland - - - - - - - - -	693	15	0
Ditto, for expences on account of the ſettlement at New South Wales - - - - - - -	31,825	14	1
Ditto, for expences and allowances in the ſuperintendence of the alien act - - - - -	1,740	9	0
Ditto, for his majeſty's ſecret ſervice abroad -	1,345	19	3
For ſupporting the Britiſh forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa - - - - - -	13,000	0	0
For the Board of Agriculture - - - - -	3,000	0	0
For defraying the extraordinary expences for proſecutions relating to the coin, for 1797 - - -	1,800	0	0
Towards defraying the charge of printing the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, of printing and delivering the Votes, and of printing bills, reports, and other papers, for 1797 - - - -	7,000	0	0
Ditto, of the ſuperintendence of the alien act for 1797 - - - - - - - - -	2,000	0	0
Towards defraying the expences of the ſettlement at New South Wales, for 1797 - - - -	30,000	0	0
Ditto, of allowances to American ſufferers, for 1797	46,120	0	0

27 April.

	£.	s.	d.
Upon account, to enable his majeſty to make a temporary advance, by way of loan, for the ſervice of the emperor - - - - - - - - -	200,000	0	0

2 May.

To enable his majeſty to make advances, by way of loan, for the ſervice of the emperor - - -	1,880,000	0	0
Proviſion for guaranteeing the payment of the dividends on a loan of 3,500,000l. to be raiſed on account of the emperor.			
To enable his majeſty to make remittances, from time to time, to be applied to his ſervice in Ireland, on proviſion being made by the parliament of that kingdom for defraying the intereſt and charges of a loan to that amount - - - - - -	1,500,000	0	0

6 May.

For the marriage portion of the princeſs royal -	80,000	0	0

18 May.

To pay bills drawn on and accepted by the lords of the treaſury - - - - - - - -	1,650,000	0	0

26 June.

Towards the relief of the ſuffering clergy and laity of France, for 1797 - - - - - -	180,000	0	0
For his majeſty's ſecret ſervice abroad for 1797 -	150,000	0	0
For ſupport of the veterinary college - - -	1,500	0	0

13 July.

To defray the ſums which the commiſſioners under the American treaty have awarded to be paid by the Britiſh government; and the expences attending the ſaid commiſſion - - - - - -	38,454	14	3¾
	7,374,443	8	0½

NATIONAL DEBT.

26 June, 1797.

To the bank of England, to be by them placed to the account of the commiſſioners for reduction of the national debt - - - - - - - -	200,000	0	0

EXCHEQUER BILLS.

31 October, 1796.

Proviſion to ſatisfy exchequer bills, made out by virtue of act of laſt ſeſſion, for enabling his majeſty to raiſe the ſum of 2,500,000l.			

25 April, 1797.

For paying off the exchequer bills iſſued purſuant to the ſaid act - - - - - - - -	1,110,000	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
Ditto iſſued on the credit of the growing produce of the conſolidated fund, for the ſervice of 1796 -	1,370,000	0	0
18 MAY.			
Towards paying off the exchequer bills made out in purſuance of act of laſt ſeſſion for granting land tax and malt duties - - - - - - -	833,000	0	0
	3,313,000	0	0

DEFICIENCIES.

24 DECEMBER, 1796.

To repay to the bank of England the like ſum advanced by them, on the credit of the growing produce of the conſolidated fund, for the ſervice of 1795 - - - - - - - - -	1,054,000	0	0
25 APRIL, 1797.			
To make good the ſum of 3,500,000 l. charged by act of laſt ſeſſion on the conſolidated fund, for the ſervice of 1796 - - - - - - - - -	2,177,000	0	0
	3,231,000	0	0

VOTE OF CREDIT.

10 JULY, 1797.

To enable his majeſty to afford pecuniary aſſiſtance to the queen of Portugal, and to defray ſuch extraordinary expences, and take ſuch meaſures, as the exigency of affairs may require - - - -	500,000	0	0
Total of Supply	44,783,262	3	5½

WAYS *and* MEANS *for raiſing the Supplies for* 1797.

ANNUAL GRANTS.

20 OCTOBER, 1796.

For continuing the duties on malt, mum, cyder and perry - - - - - - - - -	750,000	0	0
For raiſing four ſhillings in the pound on land, &c. -	2,000,000	0	0
20 DECEMBER.			
That the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia be defrayed out of the land tax.			
6 JULY, 1797.			
That the allowances to certain ſubaltern officers of the militia be defrayed out of the ſame.			
	2,750,000	0	0

EXTRAORDINARY AIDS,

	£.	s.	d.
1 NOVEMBER, 1796.			
For granting annuities to ſatisfy navy, victualling, and tranſport bills, made out on or before 31ſt December 1795.			
Ditto made out after 31ſt December 1795, and on or before 30th April 1796.			
Ditto made out after 30th April 1796, and on or before 31ſt July 1796.			
Ditto made out after 31ſt July 1796, and on or before 27th October 1796.			
For granting annuities, in lieu of exchequer bills, made out purſuant to act of laſt ſeſſion for raiſing 2,500,000 l. thereby.			
1 DECEMBER.			
For applying 420,000 l. now remaining in the exchequer, being the diſpoſable overplus of the grants for 1796 - - - - - - - - -	420,000	0	0
8 DECEMBER.			
For raiſing 18,000,000 l. by annuities - - -	18,000,000	0	0
22 DECEMBER.			
Allowing an intereſt, by way of diſcount, to perſons paying in the whole of their contribution money towards the loan of 18,000,000 l.			
27 APRIL, 1797.			
For raiſing 13,000,000 l. by annuities - - -	13,000,000	0	0
2 MAY.			
That the contributors to the loan of 13,000,000 l. who ſhall be poſſeſſed of certain exchequer bills, may pay them in on account of the next inſtalment.			
That the contributors to the loan of 13,000,000 l. ſhall be allowed intereſt for proportional parts of ſums paid in advance for completing any inſtalment.			
5 MAY.			
For raiſing 1,500,000 l. by annuities - - -	1,500,000	0	0
18 MAY.			
That the contributors to the loan of 14,500,000 l. ſhall make their future payments on the ſum of 1,620,000 l. part of a further loan of 3,500,000 l. on or before certain days ſpecified.			
1 JUNE.			
For granting an additional annuity to the contributors towards the loan of 18,000,000 l.			
6 JULY.			
For raiſing 646,250 l. by a lottery - - - -	646,250	0	0
For raiſing 3,500,000 l. by exchequer bills - -	3,500,000	0	0
Carried forward	37,066,250	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	37,066,250	0	0
11 JULY.			
For applying 2,000,000l. out of the monies that ſhall ariſe of the ſurplus of the conſolidated fund - -	2,000,000	0	0
	39,066,250	0	0
Annual Grants - - - - - - - -	2,750,000	0	0
TOTAL of Ways and Means	41,816,250	0	0

STATE PAPERS.

Meſſage from the King to the Houſe of Commons, Feb. 27, 1797.

" *George* R.

" HIS Majeſty thinks it proper to communicate to the houſe of commons, without delay, the meaſure adopted to obviate the effects which might be occaſioned by the unuſual demand of ſpecie, lately made from different parts of the country, on the metropolis.

" The peculiar nature and exigency of the caſe appeared to require, in the firſt inſtance, the meaſure contained in the order of council which his majeſty has directed to be laid before the houſe. In recommending this important ſubject to the immediate and ſerious attention of the houſe of commons, his majeſty relies with the utmoſt confidence on the experienced wiſdom and firmneſs of his parliament, for taking ſuch meaſures as may be beſt calculated to meet any temporary preſſure; and to call forth, in the moſt effectual manner, the extenſive reſources of his kingdoms in ſupport of their public and commercial credit, and in defence of their deareſt intereſts. G. R."

Proteſt of the Earl of Oxford, *againſt the Deciſion of the Houſe of Lords on his Motion for Peace; publiſhed by him, with the following Preface:*

Portman-ſquare, Mar. 27, 1797.

IT was my intention to have entered my proteſt on the journals of the houſe of lords the day after I moved my addreſs to his majeſty for peace, and for that purpoſe I went to the clerk's office; but, to my utter ſurpriſe, I found that my addreſs had never been entered upon the journals. Upon enquiry, I was informed that lord Kenyon had taken it home with him. I wiſh, at all events, that the public ſhould be in poſſeſſion of my proteſt; and I hereby pledge myſelf to my country and to the houſe of lords, that I will this day, in my place in that houſe, demand the fulleſt reparation for this inſult, offered through me to the whole houſe, in this illegal and unprecedented manner.

DISSENTIENT. Firſt, Becauſe ſeeing no means of ſalvation for this country but by an immediate, ſincere, and laſting peace, I think the addreſs which I moved March 23, 1797,

calculated to produce that happy event; and that a refusal to carry that address to the throne tends to a continuation of this cruel war, which I hold to be certain and inevitable ruin.

Secondly, Because a secretary of state's moving, That an address to his majesty, on the 30th of December, 1796, should be read, is a poor, weak, and rude manner (to say no worse of it) of answering the arguments advanced in my address.

Thirdly, Because I believe that the arguments advanced by me have never before been touched upon, even in debate; and no attempts having been made to answer those arguments, the conclusion which the public must draw from it is, that they are perfectly unanswerable.

Fourthly, Because it was my sincere wish that the eyes of his majesty should be opened to the dangers with which he is surrounded; and that giving peace to his exhausted subjects, and restoring to them their rights, should be his own gracious act.

Fifthly, Because I have the highest authority for every sentiment respecting the "œconomy and reform of abuses" which I recommended; namely, his majesty's own words, in that most excellent and patriotic speech made at the close of the American war, and which I quoted in my reply.

Sixthly, Because, whenever a nation is in the situation we are in at present, it requires the united energy and public spirit of the whole nation to re-establish its credit; and I am persuaded that energy and public spirit are only to be obtained by the public possessing their ancient free constitution, which they so justly revere; and I maintain, that according to common law, which is common sense, and according to "the true spirit of the constitution," which is founded in wisdom, liberty, and justice, the people of Great Britain have a right, and ought to be fairly and equally represented in that which, by its very name, is their house of parliament.

Seventhly, Because I hold the borough system, and every other system of corruption that has of late years crept into practice, to be directly contrary to the true spirit of the constitution, and big with the most alarming evils to the king and people; and that to confer the honour of peerage on men who have no other merit than that of commanding boroughs and performing ministerial jobs, degrades that high dignity, and takes away one of the greatest motives that actuates the human mind, the hope of reward, by making it unworthy the acceptance of those men for whom it was intended; men who have rendered great and distinguished services to their country, by their valour, their talents, or their learning.

Eighthly, Because I am desirous of making this public avowal of my principles, which nothing on earth shall make me alter, and which I have learnt from the acts and writings of our ancestors, who loved liberty, and understood it.

Ninthly, Because I am resolved, whenever I see danger, boldly and independently, to the full extent of my ability, to discharge my duty to my king and country.

OXFORD and MORTIMER.

Message

Meſſage from his Majeſty to the Houſe of Commons, 3d of April, 1797.

George R.

HIS majeſty having agreed to the marriage of his eldeſt daughter, the princeſs royal, with the hereditary prince of Wirtemberg, has thought fit to communicate intelligence of it to the houſe of commons. His majeſty is fully perſuaded that the marriage of her royal highneſs with a proteſtant prince, ſo conſiderable in rank and ſtation, who is connected with the royal family by common deſcent from the princeſs Sophia of Hanover, cannot but be acceptable to all his ſubjects; and the many proofs of affection and attachment to his perſon and family which he has received from this houſe, afford him no room to doubt that they will enable him to give ſuch a portion to his eldeſt daughter as may be ſuitable to the dignity of the crown.

Meſſage from his Majeſty to the Houſe of Commons, 29th April, 1797.

George R.

HIS majeſty recommends it to the houſe of commons to conſider of enabling his majeſty to make remittances, from time to time, to be applied to his ſervice in Ireland, in ſuch manner as ſhall be approved by the parliament of that kingdom, to an amount not exceeding 1,500,000l. on proviſion being made by the parliament of Ireland for diſcharging the intereſt and charges of a loan to that amount.

And his majeſty further recommends to the houſe to conſider of guaranteeing a loan, on account of his ally the emperor, to be applied in making good the advances to the amount of 1,600,000l. which have already been made to his imperial majeſty, and to defray the charge of ſuch further advances as his majeſty may, from time to time, direct to be made in the courſe of the preſent year, to an amount not exceeding 2,000,000l.

His majeſty truſts, that he ſhall experience the ready concurrence of his faithful commons, at this important conjuncture, in a meaſure calculated to enable the emperor the more effectually to continue his exertions for the ſupport of the common cauſe, and for the attainment of a general peace, on ſecure and equitable terms.

And his majeſty relies on the zeal and affection of his faithful commons to provide for enabling his majeſty to defray ſuch other extraordinary expences as may be neceſſary for the public ſervice, and to take ſuch meaſures as the exigency of affairs may require.

Proteſt of the Duke of Bedford *and Lord* Chedworth, *on the Duke's Motion for the Diſmiſſal of Miniſters, May 20th,* 1797.

Diſſentient.

1ſt. Becauſe, acting according to the ancient practice of the Britiſh conſtitution, and in conformity with its true principles, we hold the adviſers of the crown to be reſponſible for the condition of the ſtate; reſponſible for its internal peace and general good government; for the preſervation of all its ancient fundamental rights and liberties; for the protection of its commerce, of its credit, and the various ſources of

of its profperity and wealth; for the obfervance of order, difcipline, and obedience, in all the departments of the public force; for the honour and fuccefs of our arms (if unfortunately engaged in war); for the preponderance of the Britifh power, and for the glory and fplendor of the Britifh name. Inftead of recognizing in his majefty's miniſters that ability, forefight, and integrity, by which theſe its deareſt intereſts are preſerved, we have ſeen, throughout a courſe of years, the affairs of the nation conducted with that incapacity, perfidy, and corruption, by which all great empires, from the beginning of the world, have found their ruin; and which, in the particular ſtate and ſituation of Great Britain, have nearly exhauſted its reſources and its credit, and annihilated its conſtitution; which have brought ſhame upon its character in the eyes of foreign nations, and diffuſed largely among its ſubjects miſtruſt in the intentions of their governors, hatred of their power, and contempt for their debility.

2dly. Becauſe, encouraged by the uniform, implicit, and fatal confidence of this houſe in the conduct of miniſters, a ſyſtem of government has ariſen, which, if it be further perſevered in, will render the fortunes of theſe realms utterly irretrieveable, even ſhould wiſdom and virtue ſucceed in the minds of thoſe miniſters to ignorance and wickedneſs. That ſyſtem is governed by principles the very reverſe of thoſe by which ſtates and ſocieties have hitherto been kept together. It is grounded on the doctrine that honour and reward is to attend on crime and folly, and that men are to be intruſted with power in proportion to their diſpoſition to abuſe it. Such perverted maxims of policy take from government all the ſupport it derives from opinion. The opinion of its conſiſtency is loſt, by miniſters adopting and rejecting, as it ſuits the purpoſe of their power, ſyſtems which they alternately recommend and revile. The opinion of its juſtice is deſtroyed, from ſeeing that power depends on a principle which confounds the firſt diſtinctions of right and wrong. All opinion of its vigour and efficiency is loſt in the daily inſults to its authority, to which they are compelled to ſubmit. Every ſpecies of diſorder is hence introduced. The example of thoſe who govern, is followed by thoſe who obey. Nothing regular or orderly is found in the intercourſe between ſubject and ſovereign. State neceſſity, inſtead of being reſerved for occaſions of the laſt emergency, is reſorted to as the conſtant and every-day practice of executive adminiſtration. In ſuch a ſyſtem there is neither order nor freedom; and it is the energy of freedom alone that can reſiſt with effect the real or fancied ſuperiority of military means. Where no power is left to correct the vices of an ill adminiſtered commonwealth, nothing will remain to oppoſe to the enterpriſes of a foreign enemy.

3dly. Becauſe, to ſuffer ourſelves to be found by a foreign enemy in this diſtracted condition, when we have the means of avoiding it, ſeems to us highly impolitic, and wantonly to call down deſtruction upon the ſtate. We ſee nothing in the preſent miniſters ſo valuable as to induce us to riſk, for their preſervation, any part of the common intereſt. They have already

kindled, by their odious perſecution of the catholics in Ireland, the flames of civil diſcord in that country. We believe that an immediate change of men and of meaſures, would yet preſerve the common ties by which the two countries are united. If, unhappily, meaſures of intolerance are to be ſuſtained by the ſword, and if that oppreſſed country be torn from the Britiſh crown, as America was ſevered from our empire, rather than that theſe miniſters ſhould incur the loſs of their offices, we are unable to ſee in what Great Britain would be the gainer. If an invaſion of theſe realms ſhould be the reſult of delaying to open a ſincere negotiation for peace, fully as we rely upon the zeal and bravery of our countrymen for the event, we do not conceive that the miſchief of ſuch an attempt would in any degree be compenſated by finding, at the cloſe of it, thoſe miniſters ſtill in their offices. Above all things, we deem it highly inexpedient that any numerous or important claſs of the people ſhould, in ſo perilous a moment, conceive themſelves to be placed in the alternative between foreign conqueſt and domeſtic uſurpation. We think that, in this criſis, no excuſe is left for not calling forth the whole wiſdom, and all that remains of the energy of the Britiſh nation. That it is among the crimes of theſe miniſters, that they have exhauſted in idle alarms, for factious purpoſes, thoſe reſources which ought to have been preſerved whole and unbroken, to meet the diſaſters which are impending over us; and for having ſet up a cry of loyalty againſt liberty, to the deſtruction of that real ſtrength by which alone our ſhores and our altars can, in the laſt extremity, be defended.

4thly. Becauſe ſuch a ſyſtem is dangerous to our preſent ſafety and exiſtence, as an independent ſtate; and the ſupport uniformly given to it, tends to degrade and vilify this houſe in the opinion of the people. For the firſt time in our hiſtory, the continuance of a miniſter in office ſeems to be made a condition of the conſtitution. If that miniſter, after having reduced his country to the loweſt ebb of ſhame and miſery, ſhall continue to receive and to diſpenſe all truſts, honours, and emoluments, and to be ſupported in his abandoned courſes by this houſe, no motive will remain to love and reverence a conſtitution exhibited in theſe colours, to the people, through the medium of this houſe. Feeling no intereſt in our proceedings, they will loſe all reſpect for our character, and all belief in our honour.

5thly. Becauſe we believe the preſent miniſters to be utterly incompetent to the cure of the evils they have produced. As the principles on which they have made the war offer no proſpect for its ſucceſs, thoſe on which they have hitherto negotiated for peace, afford no hope for its attainment. As the improvidence and incapacity with which they have conducted the war, have contributed ſo largely to produce the calamitous ſituation of Europe, and to build up the prodigious power of the French republic, we conceive that they poſſeſs not the means of obtaining ſafe or honourable terms of peace for this country. We cannot expect that they will hereafter cheriſh or encourage that ſpirit of liberty, under which, in former times, our greatneſs

neſs has grown and been matured. We are rather impreſſed with the fear that, under the ſame pretences which have cauſed all our preſent diſaſters, large military eſtabliſhments will continue to be kept up, with a view of cruſhing all its efforts, and rivetting ſtill cloſer the fetters of the people; that, releaſed from the preſſure of foreign hoſtility, they will have recourſe to coercive meaſures in that unhappy country, where their oppreſſions have already provoked the people to reſiſtance. We can hope for no economy from men whoſe extravagance and waſte, exceeds whatever has been heard of the mad prodigality of former periods. We can expect no ſalutary reformations from thoſe who have endeavoured to engraft upon and blend with the ſubſtance of the conſtitution itſelf, thoſe abuſes by which their rapacity is ſupported. Finally, we can expect from ſuch men and ſuch a ſyſtem, no other iſſue but the eſtabliſhment of a dominion of miniſterial terroriſm, ſupported by parliamentary corruption, inſtead of the ancient conſtitution of this country, conducted according to the principles of the revolution.

(Signed) BEDFORD.
CHEDWORTH.

Meſſage from his Majeſty to the Houſe of Commons, June 1ſt, 1797.

George R.

IT is with the deepeſt concern his majeſty acquaints the houſe of commons, that the conduct of the crews of ſome of his majeſty's ſhips now at the Nore, in perſiſting in the moſt violent and treaſonable acts of mutiny and diſobedience, notwithſtanding the full extenſion to them of all the benefits which had been accepted with gratitude by the reſt of his majeſty's fleet, and notwithſtanding the repeated offers of his majeſty's gracious pardon on their returning to their duty, have compelled his majeſty to call on all his faithful ſubjects to give their utmoſt aſſiſtance, in repreſſing ſuch dangerous and criminal proceedings. His majeſty has directed a copy of the proclamation which he has iſſued for this purpoſe, to be laid before the houſe; and he cannot doubt that his parliament will adopt, with readineſs and deciſion, every meaſure which can tend, at this important conjuncture, to provide for the public ſecurity. And his majeſty particularly recommends it to the conſideration of parliament, to make more effectual proviſion for the prevention and puniſhment of all traitorous attempts to excite ſedition and mutiny in his majeſty's ſervice, or to withdraw any part of his majeſty's forces by ſea or land, from their duty and allegiance to him, and from that obedience and diſcipline which are ſo important to the proſperity and the ſafety of the Britiſh empire.

Meſſage from his Majeſty to the Houſe of Commons, July 6th, 1797.

George R.

AS the ſtate of public buſineſs may ſoon enable his majeſty to put an end to the preſent ſeſſion, his majeſty thinks it proper to recommend it to the houſe of commons,

commons, to conſider of making proviſion to enable his majeſty to defray ſuch extraordinary expences, and to take ſuch meaſures, as the exigencies of affairs may require; and in particular, to afford ſome pecuniary aſſiſtance, if the circumſtances ſhould appear to his majeſty to require it, to his ally the queen of Portugal, for the defence of her dominions againſt any attack from the common enemy.

His Majeſty's Speech to both Houſes of Parliament on proroguing the ſame, 20th of July, 1797.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I CANNOT put an end to this ſeſſion of parliament without returning you my moſt ſincere and cordial thanks, for the aſſiduity and zeal with which you have applied yourſelves to the important objects which have required your attention, and for the wiſdom and firmneſs which you have manifeſted in the new and difficult emergencies for which you have had to provide.

I muſt particularly expreſs the juſt ſenſe I entertain of the ſalutary and effectual proviſions which you made for ſtrengthening the means of national defence; and the meaſures adopted for obviating the inconveniences which were to be apprehended to credit, from the temporary ſuſpenſion of payments in caſh by the bank, as well as of the promptitude, vigour, and effect, with which you afforded me your aſſiſtance and ſupport, in ſuppreſſing the daring and treaſonable mutiny which broke out in a part of my fleet, and in counteracting ſo dangerous and pernicious an example.

I have the ſatisfaction to acquaint you, that, ſince the acceſſion of the preſent emperor of Ruſſia, the commercial engagements between the two countries have been renewed in ſuch a manner as will, I doubt not, materially conduce to their mutual intereſts.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I muſt return you my particular thanks for the liberal and extenſive proviſion, which you have made for the various exigencies of the public ſervice; and while I lament the neceſſity which increaſed them to ſo large an amount, it is a conſolation to me to obſerve the attention you employed in diſtributing the heavy burthens, which they occaſioned, in ſuch a manner as to render their preſſure as little ſevere as poſſible to my people.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The iſſue of the important negotiation in which I am engaged, is yet uncertain; but, whatever may be the event, nothing will have been wanting on my part to bring it to a ſucceſsful termination, on ſuch conditions as may be conſiſtent with the ſecurity, honour, and eſſential intereſts of my dominions. In the mean time, nothing can ſo much tend to forward the attainment of peace, as the continuance of that zeal, exertion, and public ſpirit, of which my ſubjects have given ſuch conſpicuous and honourable proofs, and of which the perſeverance and firmneſs of parliament has afforded them ſo ſtriking an example.

Note

Note on the diſmiſſal of Lord* Malmeſbury, *publiſhed in the Redacteur of the 24th of December*, 1796.

THE numerous and brilliant ſucceſſes of the arms of the republic, have not ſhut the ears of the French to the voice of humanity. If they took up arms, it was in their own defence; if they purſued their enemies beyond their own territory, it was for the purpoſe of forcing them to conclude a peace. Peace has been the conſtant object of their efforts and of their wiſhes; and it was already re-eſtabliſhed with moſt of the powers of the coalition on a happy and ſolid foundation, when the Engliſh envoy was faſtidiouſly announced. There were a thouſand grounds for diſtruſting the ſincerity of this ſtep, in the Engliſh government. The perfidy of the means which it had employed againſt us; the troubles in the interior of France which it had excited; the falſe aſſignats with which it had inundated the country; La Vendee inflamed and ſupported in a ſtate of inſurrection; the traitors which it had hired: in fine, the generally recognized character of its envoy, for duplicity and intrigue, were all preſumptions of its bad faith. But, eager to graſp at the hope of reſtoring peace to Europe, the directory cheerfully diſmiſſed every ſuſpicion; it rejoiced to think that the almoſt incredible ſucceſſes of the army of Italy, that the trophies of glory gained by the army of the Rhine and Moſelle in its memorable retreat, had at laſt opened the eyes of the Britiſh cabinet; it was forward in conſenting to diſpatch the paſſports demanded for the Engliſh envoy. Its decree for this purpoſe was dated on the 9th of laſt Vendemaire (Oct. 2.) Lord Malmeſbury certainly did not feel the ſame eagerneſs; he did not arrive in Paris till the 2d Brumaire following, (October 25.)

His firſt overtures ſeemed to indicate an intention of rendering the negotiation almoſt interminable. His powers were indefinite; he might have adopted whatever form of negotiation he thought proper; he might have begun it, therefore, with that frankneſs and good faith, which in the courſe of laſt year have enabled us to conclude ſo many treaties. He might have withheld every pretenſion which was inſulting to the republic, or inadmiſſible by its conſtitution, its laws, and its treaties. He might have propoſed and diſcuſſed, without loſs of time, ſincere propoſitions, which would have been combated with the ſame frankneſs. His conduct was quite the reverſe. He had no power from the allies of England; he found no perſon at Paris charged to ſtipulate for their intereſts, which placed him in a ſituation to act only in virtue of that part of his powers, which authorized him to treat in the name of England. He affected a wiſh to comprehend all the powers in the treaty, and declared, in conſequence, that he thought it his duty to ſend couriers even to Ruſſia. To have the air, at the ſame time, of wiſhing to advance the negotiation, Lord Malmeſbury propoſed the admiſſion of a vague principle of compenſation, as the baſis of diſcuſſion. Theſe procraſtinations did

* This is the note referred to in the Annual Regiſter for 1796, hiſtorical part, p. 246; and which was omitted in the State Papers of that volume.

not

not put a ſtop to the effuſion of human blood. The directory lamented the delay; it teſtified its concern in the reply; nevertheleſs, as it was ſincerely deſirous of peace, it accepted every means that was propoſed to expedite its arrival.

As to the principle of compenſation, it did not conteſt it. This principle was of the eſſence of the negotiations into which they were to enter; the difficulties aroſe only from the application of the principle; it called therefore for this application; it aſked of Lord Malmeſbury, what were the objects of reciprocal compenſation, which he meant to propoſe? This ſtep was too rapid for his lordſhip's taſte—he pretended to believe that the directory diſputed his principle; his ſubſequent notes were more vague and complicated than his former; he affected to aſk by a note, whether the memorials tranſmitted to him, contained an anſwer to thoſe which he had previouſly furniſhed? In fine, by way of keeping up a climax in this temporiſing ſyſtem, Lord Malmeſbury, though he was veſted with full powers, replied to every word that was ſaid to him, That he would refer it to his court; and each time he diſpatched a courier.

The indecency of this game could not laſt long. The note of the 7th Frimaire, (Nov. 27th,) in which the miniſter for foreign affairs was charged to repeat the demand of Lord Malmeſbury, made upon his own principle, to ſpecify without delay, and nominatively, the objects of reciprocal compenſation, which he meant to propoſe; this note made him feel that it was at laſt neceſſary that he ſhould explain himſelf, and he promiſed to do it. Nevertheleſs, and ſtill in ſpite of his full powers, he diſpatched not only a courier, but one of the ſecretaries of his legation.

Twenty days more elapſed, and as if lord Malmeſbury was afraid that any one ſtep of his proceedings ſhould have the appearance of ſincerity, the two memorials which he produced on the 27th and 29th. Frimaire, were without ſignatures.

On the report which was made to the directory upon theſe memorials, on the expoſure of the overtures of lord Malmeſbury, which left no poſſibility of diſcuſſion, ſince they propoſed that the government ſhould ſign the diſgrace of the republic, the directory gave his lordſhip notice to preſent his *ultimatum* in twenty-four hours and to ſign it.—His lordſhip ſigned his two memorials. A ſlight peruſal of their contents muſt fill all France with that indignation, with which the directory muſt have read them, and demonſtrate the neceſſity there was for diſmiſſing the man who dared to propoſe them. In theſe, England at once dictates the reſtitution to his majeſty the emperor and king of all his eſtates, upon the footing of poſſeſſion previous to the war.

Thus the victorious French, the French who have ſhed their blood, and ſquandered their reſources to repel an unjuſt aggreſſion, were to retire ſhamefully within their territories, as if they had been vanquiſhed. They were to ſupport the weight and the expence of the war, which they were obliged to maintain in defence of their liberty! Thus, in compliance with theſe demands

demands too, although by the text of the conſtitution a treaty cannot ſtipulate any alienation of the territory of the republic, the directory was to reſtore the ci-devant Belgium. They were to ſign with their own hand the inſtrument of their impeachment, by the violation of the ſocial agreement which they were ſpecially deputed to maintain! Thus thoſe nations who are connected with us, who have relied upon our friendſhip, upon our fidelity, were to be baſely abandoned!

England next imperiouſly diſſolves the treaties we have made with the greater number of the princes of Germany. In her eyes theſe treaties are of no value. It was only with his imperial majeſty, that France could have concluded them; it is upon his imperial majeſty, that the Engliſh government is deſirous of rendering that peace dependent, which the republic has granted to thoſe ſtates of Germany, who have detached themſelves from the coalition.

The evacuation of Italy is next propoſed by England: it would be neceſſary, therefore, to abandon alſo the ci-devant Savoy, and the country of Nice; it would be neceſſary then to exerciſe towards their inhabitants, the ſame perfidy as in the caſe of the ancient Belgians. And in order that the conſequences of this mode of conduct ſhould call down upon France the hatred of thoſe who have ſeconded her arms, with their good wiſhes or by their means, in order that this baſeneſs might for ever devote the republic to the execration of nations, England diſcharges her from the exerciſe of the power of interfering in the internal affairs of theſe countries, and by conſequence of that of warding off the vengeance which they already meditate, againſt thoſe who have ſhewn themſelves friendly to our cauſe, who by their exertions have ſeconded the courage of the brave army of Italy; of thoſe, in fine, who have aſſiſted in preventing the maſſacre of our brothers in arms.

To theſe propoſitions, openly infamous, ſucceed clauſes which a little more carefully conceal the ignominy with which the Engliſh government deſire to overwhelm us. It reſerves to the court of St. Peterſburgh the full and unlimited power of joining in the negotiation when it thinks proper. It would doubtleſs have interfered, if we had had the baſeneſs to liſten to pretenſions ſo odious. It would indeed have interfered; and, ſtrong through the weakneſs which it might reaſonably have imputed to us, it would have required us to ſubmit to new humiliations.

Portugal next figures in the project of this lord. It reſerves to Portugal too the power of joining in the negotiation; and faithful to its ſecret principle of throwing upon the republic the whole expence of a war which ſhe has been compelled to ſupport againſt all Europe confederated to lay waſte and diſmember her territory, lord Malmeſbury, nevertheleſs, not daring to demand openly that the French government ſhould renounce the ſtipulation of a ſum of money to be paid by Portugal, to reimburſe the republic for the expence of the war, prepares in his memorial the foundation of that unjuſt pretenſion, and craftily propoſes that, in the treaty with Portugal, there ſhall be no queſtion of

of any burthenſome condition, either upon the one ſide or the other.

Not content with the important aggrandizement which the partition of Poland has conferred upon her allies; not content with having enriched herſelf on the ſpoils of our commerce, by a treaty perfidiouſly purchaſed; not content with having thus broken the balance of Europe, the reſtoration of which ſhe ſo loudly demands, England, under the pretext of re-eſtabliſhing this very balance, has contended with the Republic againſt the validity of the ceſſion which has been made by his catholic majeſty of the Spaniſh part of St. Domingo. She demands a compenſation for this object. Without a bluſh ſhe founds her ridiculous pretenſion upon the 20th article of the treaty of Utrecht, which ſhe herſelf, in fact, annulled by the ceſſion which ſhe cauſed to be made in her favour in 1763, of Florida, St. Auguſtin, and Penſacola.

In fine, in a latter article, ſtudiouſly obſcure and methodically complicated, lord Malmeſbury preſents certain baſes relative to the rights of individuals; baſes, the object of which does not appear ſuſceptible of any application, unleſs they refer to the emigrants, and the reſtitution of their property, ſold or ſequeſtered. And theſe, forſooth, are propoſitions for peace!

The ſecond memorial of lord Malmeſbury concerns the allies of France; and this memorial is not leſs inſulting than that we have mentioned.

After having paſſed curſorily over the intereſts of Spain, to which he ſuppoſes no indemnification to be due, he ſpeaks of Holland, and on this head his pretenſions are extravagant even to phrenzy.

According to him, the French Republic ought to barter the liberty of Holland—the Stadtholderate muſt be reſtored—France muſt ſacrifice their Republic, with which the moſt perfect friendſhip ſubſiſts, to a new revolution—trampling under foot the moſt ſacred conventions—ſhamefully violating the faith of treaties, ſhe is called upon to let looſe upon the head of this people, all the horrors which would ariſe from the re-action of the Orange party.

And what was to be the price of this infamy?—Would it not be imagined that England offers upon theſe conditions the reſtitution of what treachery has enabled her to plunder from Holland?—Would it not be imagined that ſhe was to add to this offer that of ſome indemnification to be afterwards arranged?—No; ſhe offers only the reſtitution of a part of what ſhe does not bluſh to conſider as a conqueſt, and, doubtleſs, by means of the indeciſive reſerve ſhe preſerves, ſhe was afterwards to announce the pretenſion of retaining the Cape and the iſland of Ceylon, ſtill with a view of preſerving the balance of Europe, which in her underſtanding, conſiſts in being herſelf every thing, and the other powers nothing.

Lord Malmeſbury propoſes, in fine, that, if the French do not conſent to tear Holland in pieces with their own hands, they ſhould give to the emperor and king every thing which Holland has ceded to France in the treaty concluded between them.

Such, truly, are the conditions of peace propoſed by the noble lord! Without doubt, they muſt be conſidered as war-hoops by every man whoſe heart is not impenetrable to the love of his country; by every

man who reſpects its laws, and the faith due to its treaties; it is ſhame and perfidy which England propoſes to us; it is the violation of our conſtitution and good faith; it is the ſubverſion of our principles, the reſtoration of the emigrants, the reſtitution of their fortunes, a counter-revolution, anarchy, and civil war; it is every evil, every misfortune, and every crime united; with which they preſent us in pretending to aſk for peace! Perfidious England, or rather, crafty and nefarious Engliſh government! you only wiſhed for money, and this was the only object of your embaſſy! you wiſhed to deceive the people whoſe happineſs is entruſted to you! you wiſhed to obtain from them reſources, without which your unmeaning rage would become impotent! But, do not count upon the ſucceſſes with which you flatter yourſelf; you are about to laviſh your new treaſures to no purpoſe; you are going only to aſſure and to haſten your ruin; your vain boaſt of public credit will come to nought as ſoon as the blindneſs of the nation is removed; French courage will ſoon leſſen your arrogance; the heroes who beat you in the fields of Hondſcoote, Jemappe, Fleurus, Werwick, Comines, &c.; upon the frozen plains of Holland, upon the banks of the Adige, in the defiles of the Brenta, of Troud'Enfer, &c.;—theſe heroes ſtill exiſt; they will force you to reſtore to the world that peace which humanity reclaims, and which your avarice and devouring ambition withhold.

Friends of peace! take courage, blood will not continue long to flow. England cannot ſteel the hearts of all the powers againſt the cry that humanity has raiſed. Auſtria, Auſtria itſelf will ſoon open its eyes: alarmed at a war to which it ſees no end; exhauſted by the immenſe expence of a lengthened ſtruggle; deprived of the reſources of thoſe ſtates now in our poſſeſſion; undeceived reſpecting the Engliſh government, who, calling itſelf her ally, has preſerved what was its own, and has left her deſpoiled of Belgium, of a part of Germany, and of Italy;—preſſed by her own ſubjects, upon whom the devaſtations conſequent upon the war chiefly fall; Auſtria, in fine, under the influence of better counſels, menaced perhaps from another quarter, will feel the neceſſity of treating with the Republic, and then England, ſtanding by itſelf, and juſtly expoſed to all the reſentment of the French, it will not be able to diſſemble its weakneſs, and will receive with more gentleneſs a peace which it now dares to diſdain.

Papers which paſſed in the Negotiation for Peace at Liſle, between Lord Malmeſbury *and the French Commiſſioners. Preſented to the Houſe of Commons, November* 3, 1797.

(No. 1)—Official Note, — Lord Grenville to the French Miniſter for Foreign Affairs.

THE ſignature of the preliminaries of a peace, the definitive concluſion of which is to put an end to the continental war, appears to afford to the two governments of Great Britain and France, a natural opportunity and new facilities for the renewal of pacific negotiations between them: a part of the obſtacles, which might have retarded this

this falutary work, no longer exiſting; and the intereſts to be treated of being, after this event, neither ſo extenſive nor ſo complicated as they were before.

The court of London, always deſirous of employing ſuch means as are beſt calculated to contribute to this object, ſo intereſting to the happineſs of the two nations, is unwilling to omit renewing to the French government the aſſurance of the continuance of its diſpoſition on this ſubject. And the underſigned is authorized to propoſe to the miniſter for foreign affairs, to enter, without delay, and in ſuch manner as ſhall be judged the moſt expedient, upon the diſcuſſion of the views and pretenſions of each party, for the regulation of the preliminaries of a peace, which may be definitively arranged at the future congreſs.

As ſoon as the form of this negotiation ſhall have been agreed upon, the Britiſh government will be ready to concur in it, by taking, on its part, ſuch meaſures as are the moſt proper for accelerating the reeſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Weſtminſter, June 1, 1797.

(No. 2.)—Official Note.—The Miniſter for Foreign Affairs to Lord Grenville.

The underſigned miniſter for foreign affairs of the French republic, loſt no time in laying before the executive directory the note which was tranſmitted to him on the 1ſt of June (O. S.) by lord Grenville, in the name of his Britannic majeſty. He is directed to anſwer it.

The executive directory ſees with ſatisfaction the deſire which the cabinet of St. James's expreſſes to put an end, at length, to the calamities of war. It will receive with eagerneſs the overtures and propoſals which ſhall be made to it by the court of England.

The executive directory deſires, notwithſtanding, that the negotiations ſhould be ſet on foot at once for a definitive treaty. This proceeding appears to the directory preferable to a congreſs, of which the reſult muſt be remote, and which does not correſpond with the ardent deſire that it has to re-eſtabliſh, as quickly as poſſible, peace between the two powers.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, 16 Prairial, 5th year of the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

(*June* 4, 1797.)

(No. 3.) — Official Note. — Lord Grenville to the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs.

The court of London has received, with the greateſt ſatisfaction, the aſſurances of the diſpoſitions of the executive directory to entertain with eagerneſs the pacific overtures of Great Britain, as well as of its deſire to re-eſtabliſh, as ſoon as poſſible, peace between the two powers.

Anxious to contribute to it in every thing which can depend upon itſelf, the Britiſh government will not delay to ſend to Paris, or to ſuch other place, upon the continent, as may be agreed upon, a miniſter, to treat and conclude with the plenipotentiary, who ſhall be appointed by the executive directory.

The underſigned is directed to deſire to know the wiſh of the directory, as to the place of the negotiation, in order that a ſpeedy determination may be taken here upon that ſubject; and to requeſt the miniſter for foreign affairs to ſend him, without delay, the neceſſary paſſports, to enable the king's plenipotentiary to repair immediately to his deſtination. The queſtion of ſigning preliminary or definitive articles, will neceſſarily depend upon the progreſs and turn of the negotiations, to which, on the part of Great Britain, will be brought the moſt ſincere deſire for the ſpeedy reeſtabliſhment of peace.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Weſtminſter, June 8, 1797.

(No. 4.)—Official Note.—The Miniſter for Foreign Affairs to Lord Grenville.

The executive directory of the French republic has ſeen with ſatisfaction, by the official note of lord Grenville, dated June 8th (O. S.) that the court of London ſhews itſelf diſpoſed to ſet on foot, without delay, the negotiation, for which it has lately made an overture. Filled with the ſame eagerneſs, convinced that the intentions of the Britiſh government are ſuch as it deſcribes them, the directory has directed the underſigned, miniſter for foreign affairs, to tranſmit to lord Grenville the neceſſary paſſports for a miniſter, furniſhed with full powers for the purpoſe of negotiating a definitive and ſeparate treaty of peace with the French republic.

The executive directory has fixed upon the commune of Liſle, as the place of meeting for the reſpective plenipotentiaries.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, 23 Prairial, 5th year of the French Republic.

(*June* 11, 1797.)

(No. 5.)—Form of Paſſport.

Liberty, Equality. Fraternity, Union.

In the name of the French republic.

To all officers, civil and military, charged to maintain public order in the different departments of France, and to make the French name reſpected abroad.

Allow to paſs freely furniſhed with full powers of his Britannic majeſty, for the purpoſe of negotiating, concluding, and ſigning a definitive and ſeparate treaty of peace with the French republic, native of, &c. &c. going to Liſle, department of the north, the place appointed for the negotiation,

without giving or ſuffering any hindrance to be given to him.

This paſſport ſhall be in force for decades only.

Given at Paris the 23d Prairial, 5th year of the republic, one and indiviſible.

The miniſter for foreign affairs,

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

By the miniſter,

(Signed) T. GIRAUDET.

(No. 6.) — Official Note. — Lord Grenville to the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs.

The underſigned has received from the miniſter for foreign affairs of

of the French republic, his official note, with the paſſport which accompanied it.

The court of London willingly accepts the propoſal of the French government, with reſpect to the place of negotiation, and conſents that Liſle ſhall be appointed as the place of meeting for the reſpective plenipotentiaries: it being always underſtood, that the king's plenipotentiary ſhall have liberty to diſpatch his couriers directly from Liſle to Dover, by way of Calais; and that the Engliſh veſſels, appointed for keeping up this communication, ſhall be allowed freely to go into, and come out of, the port of Calais, and to paſs in perfect ſafety between that city and Dover.

With reſpect to the paſſport, the underſigned finds himſelf under the neceſſity of remarking, that the terms in which this inſtrument is drawn up, differ from the uſual form, by the particular deſcription, which is inſerted in them, of the nature and extent of the powers, and of the omiſſion of the king's plenipotentiary.

This new form appears liable to produce, in many inſtances, conſiderable inconvenience; and according to the terms uſed in this particular inſtance, it would have the diſadvantage of not anſwering exactly to the powers and the miſſion of the miniſter in queſtion.

His full powers, drawn up in the uſual form, will include every caſe; and without preſcribing to him any particular mode of negotiation, will give him the moſt unlimited authority to conclude any articles or treaties, whether preliminary or definitive, as might beſt conduce to the ſpeedy re-eſtabliſhment of peace, which is the ſole object of his miſſion.

But the court of London does not by any means make a point of concluding a preliminary treaty, and would prefer only that mode, whatever it may be, which ſhall be found the beſt calculated to accelerate the concluſion of peace.

The king's plenipotentiary, then, will be equally ready, and authoriſed to begin the negotiation without delay, upon either footing; upon the footing of a preliminary treaty, or, ſhould ſuch continue to be the wiſh of the directory, upon that of a definitive treaty.

As to what regards the queſtion of a ſeparate treaty, there would be no objection to ſettling, by a treaty of this kind, whatever relates to the reſpective intereſts of France and of Great Britain, as has been uſually the practice in ſimilar caſes: but the king cannot allow any doubt to ſubſiſt, as to his intention of providing for what is due to the intereſts of his ally, her moſt faithful majeſty. And in purſuance of the ſame principles, his majeſty will not refuſe to enter into ſuch explanations, with reſpect to the intereſts of Spain and Holland, as may appear neceſſary for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace.

After this frank and preciſe explanation, the Britiſh government is perſuaded that the directory will not delay to tranſmit to them a paſſport for the Britiſh plenipotentiary and his ſuite, in the uſual form, and ſuch as was ſent, in the month of October laſt, for the miſſion with which lord Malmeſbury was then charged.

In this expectation, and for the ſake of avoiding all delay, his majeſty has already made choice of

the ſame miniſter to repreſent him on this important occaſion. And the underſigned is charged to inquire on what day the French plenipotentiary will be at Liſle, in order that lord Malmeſbury may arrive there at the ſame time.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Weſtminſter, June 17, 1797.

(No. 7.)—Official Note.—The Miniſter for Foreign Affairs to Lord Grenville.

The underſigned miniſter for foreign affairs has laid before the directory, immediately upon its receipt, the official note addreſſed to him by lord Grenville, dated June 17, 1797 (O. S.) He loſes no time in replying to it, according to the orders which he has received.

The directory, partaking moſt ſincerely in the pacific ſentiments which his Britannic majeſty announces, and wiſhing to bring the negotiation as quickly as poſſible to a happy iſſue, perſiſts in requiring that the reſpective plenipotentiaries ſhall begin immediately upon their meeting, to treat of a definitive treaty. The directory accepts, with ſatisfaction, the conſent of his Britannic majeſty upon this ſubject, expreſſed in the note of lord Grenville.

The directory conſents, that his Britannic majeſty ſhall make, by his plenipotentiary, ſuch propoſals or ſtipulations as he ſhall think proper for her moſt faithful majeſty, as in return, the plenipotentiaries of the republic will do for their allies, his catholic majeſty and the Batavian republic.

The directory conſents that the negotiation ſhall be opened with lord Malmeſbury. Another choice would, however, have appeared to the directory to augur more favourably for the ſpeedy concluſion of peace.

The directory requires, that it ſhall be eſtabliſhed as a principle, that each Engliſh packet-boat, which ſhall have brought over either the plenipotentiary or a courier, ſhall return without delay, and ſhall not be allowed to make any ſtay. The directory will give orders that a French packet-boat ſhall be furniſhed without delay, to each of the couriers whom the plenipotentiary of his Britannic majeſty ſhall diſpatch. The directory deſires, at the ſame time, that the couriers ſhould not be ſent too frequently; the frequent ſending of them having been one of the principal cauſes of the rupture of the former negotiation.

After the above explanation, it becomes unneceſſary to tranſmit to lord Grenville a new paſſport; the reſtrictions which he apprehended were to be found in that which has been addreſſed to him, being entirely done away.

The French plenipotentiaries will have arrived at Liſle by the time at which lord Malmeſbury can himſelf be there.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, 2 Meſſidor,

(*June* 20, 1797.)

(No. 8.)—Official Note.—Lord Grenville to the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs.

The underſigned has laid before the king the official note of the French government, which he received the 23d of the preſent month.

As

As to the two firſt articles of this note, both parties are agreed. On this point, therefore, there is nothing to be added to the explanations already given; in conſequence of which explanations, lord Malmeſbury will, without delay, proceed to Liſle to enter into a negotiation with the French plenipotentiaries, for the completion of a definitive treaty; the remark of the directory upon the choice which his majeſty has thought fit to make of his plenipotentiary, being certainly of a nature not to require any anſwer.

The Britiſh government agrees to the arrangement propoſed for the packet-boats, provided that a French packet-boat ſhall be furniſhed regularly, and without the leaſt delay, for each courier which the Britiſh plenipotentiary ſhall find it neceſſary to diſpatch: the exerciſe of his inconteſtable right in this reſpect being to be governed by his own diſcretion only, with a view to bringing the negotiation with which he is charged to a ſpeedy and ſucceſsful end.

With regard to the rupture of the laſt negotiation, the circumſtances and the motives of it are known to all Europe; and it is not at the moment of entering into a new pacific diſcuſſion, that the Britiſh government conceives it can be of any uſe to recall them to recollection.

Lord Malmeſbury will ſet out from London on the 30th of this month, to proceed to Calais; from whence he will arrange his departure, according to the notification he may receive of the day on which the French miniſter may reach Liſle.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Weſtminſter, June 26, 1797.

(No. 9.)—Official Note.—The Miniſter for Foreign Affairs to Lord Grenville.

The underſigned miniſter for foreign affairs loſt no time in laying before the executive directory the official note addreſſed to him by lord Grenville, dated the 26th June (O. S.), 8th of the preſent month Meſſidor.

In anſwer to this note, he has the honour to declare to lord Grenville, that the plenipotentiaries charged by the directory with the negotiation are already aſſembled at Liſle, and that the conferences may be ſet on foot as ſoon as the plenipotentiary of his Britannic majeſty ſhall have arrived there. Proviſion has been made, that there ſhall never be a want of packet-boats for the couriers which he ſhall think proper to ſend to London.

The underſigned at the ſame time apprizes lord Grenville, that a copy of this note will be delivered to lord Malmeſbury on his arrival at Calais, in order that there may be nothing to hinder his immediate departure for Liſle.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, 11th Meſſidor, 5th year.

(*June* 29, 1797.)

(No. 10.)—Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, July 6, Thurſday, 8 P. M. 1797.

My lord,

Having had this morning my firſt conference with the French plenipotentiaries, and having mutually exchanged our full powers, I think it my duty to diſpatch a meſſenger, in order that his majeſty may have the earlieſt information of this

circumſtance. My diſpatch, however, muſt be confined to this alone, as nothing whatever has yet paſſed relative to the negotiation itſelf.

(No. 11.)—Copy of the full Powers of the French Plenipotentiaries.

Equality. Liberty.

Extract from the Regiſters of the Deliberations of the Executive Directory.

Paris, the 30th Prairial, 5th year of the French republic, one and indiviſible.

The executive directory, after having heard the report of the miniſter for foreign affairs, decrees as follows:

The citizens Le Tourneur, heretofore member of the executive directory, Pleville le Pelley, and Maret, are authorized to negotiate with the miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic majeſty, the treaty of peace to be concluded between the French republic and Great Britain. The directory gives them the neceſſary full powers for agreeing upon and ſigning the articles of the treaty to be made. They ſhall conform themſelves to the inſtructions which have been, or ſhall be given, to them by the executive directory, to whom they ſhall render an account of the progreſs and the iſſue of the negotiations.

They are equally authorized, and under the ſame conditions, to ſtipulate for the allies of the republic, his catholic majeſty and the Batavian republic.

The citizen Colchen, appointed ſecretary general to the French legation, is authorized to aſſiſt at the conferences, to afford the information which ſhall be required of him, and to take a note of what ſhall be agreed upon and ſettled.

The preſent decree ſhall not be printed for the preſent.

A true copy.

The preſident of the executive directory,

CARNOT.

By the executive directory, the ſecretary general,

LAGARDE.

(No. 12.)—Extracts of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, July 11, 1797.

I had the honour in my laſt, by Brooks, of the 6th inſtant, to inform your lordſhip of my arrival here, of the manner in which I had been received, and of my having, in the uſual form, exchanged my full powers with the French plenipotentiaries.

On Friday the 7th, at noon, we held our ſecond conference.

I opened this ſecond conference with the French plenipotentiaries, by ſaying, that I myſelf had no obſervations to make on their full powers, which appeared to be conformable to thoſe uſually given by the directory to their plenipotentiaries, and of courſe muſt be conſidered as ſufficient for the purpoſes expreſſed in them: that I, however, had tranſmitted them by a meſſenger to my court, and reſerved to myſelf the right of communicating any objections or remarks which I might receive by the return of my meſſenger relative to them.

M. Le Tourneur, to whom, as preſident of the commiſſion, I addreſſed myſelf, replied, that they had taken preciſely the ſame ſteps as myſelf; that they conſidered the full

full powers I had given in, as in due form and ſufficient; but that they alſo reſerved to themſelves the ſame right, in regard to inſtructions they might receive from the directory on this ſubject, as I had claimed in regard to my court.

To this, of courſe, I aſſented.

On Saturday the 8th inſtant, I gave in the projet preciſely as I had received it from your lordſhip; a copy of which (A), as it is tranſlated into French, I think it my duty to incloſe.

One of the French plenipotentiaries propoſed, that ſome time ſhould be given them to take the propoſals I had made into conſideration, and begged of me, merely for the ſake of accuracy, and to help their memory, that I would be good enough either to let M. Colchen put down on paper, or myſelf ſend them a note containing the words with which I wiſhed the articles left in blank to be filled up. I readily acquieſced in the latter mode, and immediately on my return ſent them the incloſed note (B.)

On Sunday evening I received the incloſed note (C), from the French plenipotentiaries, and in conſequence of it went to the propoſed conference yeſterday.

One of the French plenipotentiaries informed me, on the ſubject of the projet I had given them, and the note with which I had accompanied it, that as theſe papers contain many points on which their inſtructions did not enable them to anſwer, they had, after having given them a very ſerious attention, ſent them, with ſuch obſervations as they had thought it their duty to make on them, to the directory, and that the moment they received an anſwer, they would communicate it to me. But that in the mean while, not to delay the progreſs of the negotiation, they wiſhed that ſeveral points which he termed inſulated, but which, though not referred to in our projet, were, he ſaid, inſeparably connected with the general ſubject of peace, might be diſcuſſed and got rid of now, if I had no objection, and that it was with this view they had requeſted me to meet them.—On my not expreſſing any diſapprobation to this mode of proceeding, one of the French plenipotentiaries began, by ſaying, that in the preamble of the treaty the title of king of France was uſed; that this title they contended could no longer be inſiſted on, the abolition of it was in a manner eſſential to the full acknowledgment of the French republic, and that as it was merely titular, as far as related to his majeſty, but quite otherwiſe in the ſenſe in which it applied to them, he hoped it would not be conſidered as an important conceſſion.

I informed him, that on all former occaſions a ſeparate article had been agreed to, which appeared to me to anſwer every purpoſe they required, and which it was my intention, as the treaty advanced, to have propoſed, as proper to make part of this. The article (the firſt of the ſeparate ones in the treaty of 1783) was then read; but they objected to it, as not fully meeting their views. It was to the title itſelf, as well as to any right which might be ſuppoſed to ariſe from it, that they objected. I could ſcarcely allow myſelf to treat this mode of reaſoning ſeriouſly. I endeavoured to make them feel that it was cavilling for a mere word; that it was creating difficulties where none exiſted; and

and that if all the French monarchs in the courſe of three centuries had allowed this to ſtand in the preamble of all treaties and tranſactions between the two countries, I could not conceive, after its having been uſed for ſo long a period, without any claim or pretenſion being ſet forth in conſequence of it, how it could now affect either the dignity, ſecurity, or importance of the republic—that in fact ſuch titles have ever been conſidered as indefeaſible, and as memorials and records of former greatneſs, and not as pretenſions to preſent power—and I quoted the titles of the kings of Sardinia and Naples, &c. as examples exactly in point. I argued, however, in vain. They treated it very gravely, and made ſo ſtrong a ſtand upon it, that I could not avoid taking it for reference, which I thought it better to do, than, feeling as I did at the moment, to puſh the converſation farther.

The ſecond inſulated point was a very material one indeed, and which, although it had been adverted to as a propoſal that might poſſibly be brought forward, I confeſs came upon me unexpectedly.—It was to aſk either a reſtitution of the ſhips taken and deſtroyed at Toulon, or an equivalent for them. They grounded this claim on the preliminary declaration made by lord Hood on his taking poſſeſſion of Toulon; and on the eighth article of the declaration of the committee of the ſections to him. They ſaid, peace they hoped was about to be re-eſtabliſhed; that his majeſty, in acknowledging the republic, admitted that a ſovereignty exiſted in the French government; and of courſe that the ſhips, held only as a depoſit by England till this legal authority was admitted, ought now to be reſtored. I replied, that this claim was ſo perfectly unlooked for, that it was impoſſible for me to have been provided for it in my inſtructions, and that I could therefore only convey my own private ſentiments on it, which were, that they could not have deviſed a ſtep more likely to defeat the great end of our miſſion. One of the French plenipotentiaries ſaid, that he ſincerely hoped not; that without a reſtitution of the ſhips an equivalent might be found to effect the purpoſe deſired, ſince their great object was, that ſomething ſhould appear to prove that this juſt demand had not been overlooked by them, and was not left unſatisfied by us. I told him fairly, I did not ſee where this equivalent was to be found, or how it could be appreciated; and that conſidering the great advantages France had already obtained by the war, and thoſe ſhe was likely to obtain from the act of condeſcenſion I had already intimated his majeſty was diſpoſed to make, in order to reſtore peace, I was much ſurpriſed, and deeply concerned at what I heard. I truſted, therefore, that this very inadmiſſible propoſal would be withdrawn. They ſaid it was not in their power; and one of them, from a written paper before him, which he ſaid were his inſtructions, read to me words to the effect I have already ſtated.

The third queſtion was as to any mortgage we might have upon the Low Countries, in conſequence of money lent to the emperor by Great Britain.—They wiſhed to know if any ſuch exiſted, ſince, as they had taken the Low Countries charged with all their incumbrances, they were to declare, that they ſhould not conſider

conſider themſelves bound to anſwer any mortgage given for money lent to the emperor, for the purpoſe of carrying on war againſt them.

I told them, that without replying to this queſtion, ſuppoſing the caſe to exiſt, the exception they required ſhould have been ſtated in their treaty with the emperor, and could not at all be mixed up in ours; that if they had taken the Low Countries as they ſtood charged with all their incumbrances, there could be no doubt what theſe words meant, and that if no exception was ſtated in the firſt inſtance, none could be made with a retro-active effect.

The French plenipotentiaries, however, were as tenacious on this point as on the other two; and as I found to every argument I uſed, that they conſtantly oppoſed their inſtructions, I had nothing to do, but to deſire that they would give me a written paper ſtating their three claims, in order that I might immediately tranſmit it to your lordſhip; and on this being promiſed, our conference broke up.

Between four and five p. m. yeſterday, I received the incloſed note (D), and I have loſt no time ſince it is in my poſſeſſion in preparing to ſend away a meſſenger, as, independent of the diſagreeable ſubjects brought forward in this laſt conference, and which it is material ſhould be communicated without delay, I am anxious his majeſty ſhould be informed of what has paſſed in general up to this day, as it may perhaps furniſh ſome ideas as to the poſſible event of the negotiation.

(No. 13. A.)—Projet delivered by Lord Malmeſbury to the French Plenipotentiaries, in their Conference, July 8th, 1797.

Projet of a Treaty of a Peace.

Be it known to all thoſe whom it ſhall or may in any manner concern: The moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince George the Third, by the grace of God king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, duke of Brunſwick and Lunenburgh, arch-treaſurer and elector of the holy Roman empire, and the executive directory of the French republic, being equally deſirous to put an end to the war, which has for ſome time paſt ſubſiſted between the dominions of the two parties, have named and conſtituted for their plenipotentiaries, charged with the concluding and ſigning of the definitive treaty of peace; viz. the king of Great Britain, the lord baron of Malmeſbury, a peer of the kingdom of Great Britain, knight of the moſt honourable order of the Bath, privy councillor to his Britannic majeſty, and the executive directory of the French republic, who, after having exchanged their reſpective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

I. As ſoon as this treaty ſhall be ſigned and ratified, there ſhall be an univerſal peace as well by ſea as by land, and a ſincere and conſtant friendſhip between the two contracting parties, and their dominions, and territories, and people, without exception of either places or perſons; ſo that the high contracting parties ſhall give the greateſt attention to the maintaining between themſelves and their ſaid dominions, territories, and people, this reciprocal friendſhip and intercourſe, without permitting hereafter

after, on either part, any kind of hoſtilities to be committed, either by ſea or by land, for any cauſe, or under any pretence whatſoever. There ſhall be a general oblivion and amneſty of every thing which may have been done or committed by either party towards the other, before or ſince the commencement of the war; and they ſhall carefully avoid for the future, every thing which might prejudice the union happily re-eſtabliſhed.

Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, orders ſhall be ſent to the armies and ſquadrons of both parties, to ſtop all hoſtilities; and for the execution of this article, ſea-paſſes ſhall be given on each ſide to the ſhips diſpatched to carry the news of peace to the poſſeſſions of the two parties.

II. The treaties of peace of Nimeguen of 1678 and 1679, of Ryſwick of 1697, and of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; that of the triple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1736; the definitive treaty of Aix la Chapelle of 1748; the definitive treaty of Paris of 1763; and that of Verſailles of 1783, ſerve as a baſis and foundation to the peace, and to the preſent treaty. And for this purpoſe they are all renewed and confirmed in the beſt form, ſo that they are to be exactly obſerved for the future in their full tenour, and religiouſly executed by both parties, in all the points which ſhall not be derogated from by the preſent treaty of peace.

III. All the priſoners taken on either ſide, as well by land as by ſea, and the hoſtages carried away or given during the war, ſhall be reſtored, without ranſom, in ſix weeks at lateſt, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty.—Each party reſpectively diſcharging the advances which ſhall have been made for the ſubſiſtence and maintenance of their priſoners, in the country where they ſhall have been detained, according to the receipts, atteſted accounts, and other authentic vouchers, which ſhall be furniſhed on each ſide; and ſecurity ſhall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the priſoners may have contracted in the countries where they may have been detained, until their entire releaſe.

IV. With reſpect to the rights of fiſhery on the coaſts of the iſland of Newfoundland, and of the iſlands adjacent, and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the two parties ſhall return to the ſame ſituation in which they ſtood reſpectively, according to the treaties and engagements ſubſiſting at the period of the commencement of the war. And with this view, his majeſty conſents to reſtore to France, in full right, the iſlands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon.

V. The ſame principle of the ſtate of poſſeſſion before the war, is adopted by mutual conſent, with reſpect to all other poſſeſſions and rights on both ſides, in every part of the world; ſave only the exceptions which are ſtipulated by the ſubſequent articles of this treaty. And, to this intent, all poſſeſſions or territories which have or may have been conquered by one of the parties from the other (and not ſpecially excepted in this treaty), ſhall be reſtored to the party to whom they

they belonged at the commencement of the preſent war.

VI. From this principle of mutual reſtitution, the two parties have agreed to except

which ſhall remain to his Britannic majeſty in full ſovereignty.

VII. In all the caſes of reſtitution provided by the preſent treaty, the fortreſſes ſhall be reſtored in the ſame condition in which they now are, and no injury ſhall be done to any works that have been conſtructed ſince the conqueſt of them.

VIII. It is alſo agreed, that in every caſe of reſtitution or ceſſion provided by any of the articles of this treaty, the term of three years from the date of the notification of the treaty, in the reſpective territory or place reſtored or ceded, ſhall be allowed to perſons of whatever deſcription, reſiding or being in the ſaid territory or place, poſſeſſed of property therein under any title exiſting before the war, or which has ſince devolved to them by the laws then exiſting; during which term of three years they ſhall remain and reſide unmoleſted in the exerciſe of their religion, and in the enjoyment of their poſſeſſions and effects, upon the conditions and titles under which they ſo acquired the ſame, without being liable in any manner, or under any pretence, to be proſecuted or ſued for their paſt conduct, except as to the diſcharge of juſt debts to individuals; and that all thoſe who, within the time of months after the notification of this treaty, ſhall declare to the government, then eſtabliſhed, their intention to withdraw themſelves, or their effects, and to remove to ſome other place, ſhall have and obtain within one month after ſuch declaration, full liberty to depart and to remove their effects, or to ſell and diſpoſe of the ſame, whether moveable or immoveable, at any time within the ſaid period of three years, without any reſtraint or hindrance, except on account of debts at any time contracted, or of any criminal proſecution for acts done ſubſequent to the notification of this treaty.

IX. As it is neceſſary to appoint a certain period for the reſtitutions herein-before ſtipulated, it is agreed, that the ſame ſhall take place in Europe within (one month), in Africa and America within (three months), and in Aſia within (ſix months), after the ratification of the preſent treaty.

X. For preventing the revival of the lawſuits which have been ended in the territories to be reſtored by virtue of this treaty, it is agreed, that the judgments in private cauſes pronounced in the laſt reſort, and which have acquired the force of matters determined, ſhall be confirmed and executed according to their form and tenour.

XI. The deciſion of the prizes, and ſeizures of ſhips and their cargoes, taken at ſea or ſeized in the ports of either country, prior to the hoſtilities, ſhall be referred to the reſpective courts of juſtice; ſo that the legality of the ſaid prizes and ſeizures, ſhall be decided according to the law of nations, and to treaties, in the courts of juſtice of the nation which ſhall have made the capture, or ordered the ſeizures. And in order to prevent all cauſes of complaint and diſpute, which may ariſe on account of prizes which may be made at ſea after the ſigning of this treaty, it is reciprocally agreed, that the veſſels and effects,

effects, which may be taken in the Britiſh channel and in the North ſeas, after the ſpace of twelve days, to be computed from the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, ſhall be reſtored on each ſide: that the term ſhall be one month from the Britiſh channel and the North ſeas, as far as the Canary iſlands, incluſively, whether in the ocean, or in the Mediterranean: two months from the ſaid Canary iſlands as far as the equinoctial line or equator: three months from the equator to any part of the weſtward of the Cape of Good Hope, and the eaſtward of Cape Horn: and, laſtly, five months in all other parts of the world, without any exception, or any more particular deſcription of time or place.

XII. The allies of the two parties, that is to ſay, her moſt faithful majeſty, as ally of his Britannic majeſty, and his Catholic majeſty, and the Batavian republic, as allies of the French republic, ſhall be invited by the two contracting parties to accede to this peace, on the terms and conditions ſpecified in the three following articles; the execution of which the ſaid two contracting parties reciprocally guarantee to each other, being thereto reſpectively authorized by their above-mentioned allies: and the two contracting parties further agree, that if their allies reſpectively ſhall not have ſo acceded, within the ſpace of two months after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, the party ſo refuſing to accede, ſhall not receive from its ally any aid or ſuccour of any nature during the further continuance of the war.

XIII. His Britannic majeſty engages to conclude a definitive peace with his catholic majeſty, on the footing of the ſtate of poſſeſſion before the war, with the exception of

which ſhall remain in full ſovereignty to his Britannic majeſty.

XIV. His Britannic majeſty in like manner engages to conclude a definitive peace with the Batavian republic, on the ſame footing of the ſtate of poſſeſſion before the war, with the exception of

which ſhall remain to his Britannic majeſty in full ſovereignty, and of

which ſhall be ceded to his majeſty in exchange for

In conſideration of theſe reſtitutions, to be hereby made by his Britannic majeſty, all property belonging to the prince of Orange, in the month of December, 1794, and which has been ſeized and confiſcated ſince that period, ſhall be reſtored to him, or a full equivalent in money given him for the ſame. And the French republic further engages to procure for him, at the general peace, an adequate compenſation for the loſs of his offices and dignities in the United Provinces; and the perſons who have been impriſoned or baniſhed, or whoſe property has been ſequeſtered or confiſcated in the ſaid republic, on account of their attachment to the intereſts of the Houſe of Orange, or to the former government of the United Provinces, ſhall be releaſed, and ſhall be at liberty to return to their country, and to reſide therein, and to enjoy their property there, conforming themſelves to the laws and conſtitution there eſtabliſhed.

XV. The French republic engages to conclude a definitive peace

with

with her moſt faithful majeſty, on the ſame footing of the ſtate of poſſeſſion before the war, and without any further demand or burdenſome condition being made on either ſide.

XVI. All the ſtipulations contained in this treaty, reſpecting the time and manner of making the reſtitutions therein mentioned, and all the privileges thereby reſerved to the inhabitants or proprietors in the iſlands or territories reſtored or ceded, ſhall apply in like manner to the reſtitutions to be made by virtue of any of the three laſt articles, viz. the XIIIth, XIVth, and XVth, except in thoſe inſtances where the ſame may be derogated from by the mutual conſent of the parties concerned.

XVII. All former treaties of peace between the reſpective parties, to whom the ſaid three articles relate, and which ſubſiſted and were in force at the commencement of hoſtilities between them reſpectively, ſhall be renewed, except in ſuch inſtances only where the ſame may be derogated from by mutual conſent; and the articles of this treaty for the reſtoration of priſoners, the ceſſation of hoſtilities, and the deciſion relative to prizes and ſeizures, ſhall equally apply to the reſpective parties to whom the ſaid three articles relate, and ſhall be held to be in full force between them, as ſoon as they ſhall reſpectively and in due form, have acceded to this treaty.

XVIII. All ſequeſtrations impoſed by any of the parties named in this treaty, on the rights, properties, or debts of individuals belonging to any other of the ſaid parties, ſhall be taken off, and the property, of whatever kind, ſhall be reſtored in the fulleſt manner to the lawful owner, or juſt compenſation be made for it: and all complaints of injury done to private property, contrary to the uſual practice and rules of war, and all claims of private rights or property which belonged to individuals, at the periods of the commencement of hoſtilities reſpectively, between the ſaid parties, viz. Great Britain and Portugal on one ſide, and France, Spain, and Holland, on the other; and which ought, according to the uſual practice and laws of nations, to revive at the period of peace, ſhall be received, heard, and decided, in the reſpective courts of juſtice of the different parties; and full juſtice therein ſhall be done by each of the ſaid parties to the ſubjects and people of the other, in the ſame manner as to their own ſubjects or people.

And if any complaint ſhould ariſe reſpecting the execution of this article, which complaint ſhall not be ſettled by mutual agreement between the reſpective governments, within twelve months after the ſame ſhall have been preferred to them, the ſame ſhall be determined by ſworn commiſſioners to be appointed on each ſide, with power to call in an arbitrator of any indifferent nation; and the deciſion of the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall be binding, and without appeal.

XIX. His Britannic majeſty and the French republic promiſe to obſerve ſincerely, and *bonâ fide*, all the articles contained and eſtabliſhed in the preſent treaty; and they will not ſuffer the ſame to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their reſpective ſubjects; and the

ſaid

ſaid contracting parties guarantee to each other, generally and reciprocally, all the ſtipulations of the preſent treaty.

XX. The ſolemn ratifications of the preſent treaty, prepared in good and due form, ſhall be exchanged in
between the contracting parties, in the ſpace of a month, or ſooner if poſſible, to be computed from the day of the ſignature of the preſent treaty.

In witneſs whereof, &c. &c.

(No. 14. B.)—Note from Lord Malmeſbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

The miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic majeſty has the honour of preſenting to the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic, in conſequence of the wiſh expreſſed by them in the conference of this morning, the following note; which he requeſts them at the ſame time to conſider, not ſo much in the light of an official paper as of a verbal and confidential communication, and as a proof of his readineſs to facilitate the progreſs of the negotiation, by giving them, at the very outſet, all the explanations in his power on the projet of the treaty which he has delivered to them.

If, as the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic have aſſured him, it is contrary to their moſt poſitive inſtructions to enter into any diſcuſſion relative to the ceſſion of thoſe poſſeſſions which belonged to France before the war, it is uſeleſs to dwell on the VIth article: ſince the compenſations which his Britannic majeſty might have demanded by that article, in return for the reſtitutions which he is diſpoſed to make for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, muſt, in conſequence of this declaration, be ſought for in the ceſſions to be made by his catholic majeſty, and the Batavian republic.

Lord Malmeſbury therefore propoſes to inſert in the thirteenth article, after the words *ſtatus ante bellum*, the following words; "With the exception of the iſland of Trinidad, which ſhall remain in full poſſeſſion to his Britannic majeſty."

Lord Malmeſbury imagines that it is unneceſſary for him to repeat the reaſons which induce him to inſiſt upon the retaining of this conqueſt, unleſs compenſation ſhould be made for it by ſome other ceſſion which ſhall balance the augmentation of power accruing to France, from the acquiſition of the Spaniſh part of St. Domingo.

With regard to the fourteenth article, lord Malmeſbury propoſes, that after the words *ſtatus ante bellum*, ſhould be added; "With the exception of the town, fort, and eſtabliſhment of the Cape of Good Hope, and of the poſſeſſions which belonged to the Dutch before the war in the iſland of Ceylon, and of the town and fort of Cochin, which ſhall be ceded to his Britannic majeſty, in exchange for the town of Negapatnam and its dependencies."

Lord Malmeſbury repeats to the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic, the aſſurance of his readineſs to concur with them, in every thing which ſhall depend on him, to bring the negotiation to a happy iſſue; and requeſts of them,

them, at the same time, to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Lisle, July 8, 1797.

(No. 15. C.)—Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.

The ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic have received the note which the minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty did them the honour of addressing to them yesterday. They will give to it, as well as to the projet of a treaty to which it relates, the most serious attention. In the mean time, though they are not yet enabled to communicate to lord Malmesbury the remarks to which these two papers appear to them liable, they think it their duty to propose to him a conference to-morrow, at one o'clock, if that hour is agreeable to him, in order to treat with him on distinct points, the discussion of which may be entered upon separately, and which may be proceeded in without delay.

They request lord Malmesbury to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) LE TOURNEUR.
PLEVILLE LE PELLEY.
HUGUES B. MARET.

Lisle, 21 *Messidor*,
5*th year of the Republic*.
(*July* 9*th*, 1797.)

COLCHEN, Sec. Gen. of the Legation.

(No. 16. D.)—Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury. Dated Lisle.

The ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic lose no time in complying with the wish expressed to them by the minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, by transmitting to him a note on the three points which were the subject of their conference of this day.

1. They have positive orders to require the renunciation of the title of king of France borne by his Britannic majesty.

Lord Malmesbury is requested to observe that the question is not only of a renunciation of the rights which might be pretended to be derived from this title, but further and formally of the title itself. The establishment of the French republic, and the acknowledgment of this form of government by the king of England, will not allow of his retaining a title which would imply the existence in France of an order of things which is at an end.

2. The ministers plenipotentiary of the republic are ordered to demand the restitution of the vessels taken or destroyed at Toulon.

Great Britain has publicly and formally declared that these vessels were taken in trust for the king of France. This trust is sacred. It incontestably belongs to the republic, which exercises the rights and the sovereignty that Great Britain attributed to Louis XVII. at the period of the capture of Toulon. His Britannic majesty cannot, therefore, in acknowledging the French republic, deny its right to the restitution required, or refuse either to make the restitution, or to offer an equivalent for it.

3. The ministers plenipotentiary

have orders to demand, and do demand, the renunciation, on the part of his Britannic majesty, of the mortgage on Belgium.

That country was mortgaged for the loans made by the emperor in England. It has become an integral part of the French republic, and cannot remain burthened with such a mortgage.

The ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic request lord Malmesbury to accept the assurance of their high consideration.

(Signed) Le Tourneur.
Pleville Le Pelley.
Hugues B. Maret.

Lisle, le 22 Messidor,
5th year of the Republic.
(*July* 10, 1797.)
Colchen, Sec. Gen. of the Legation.

(No. 17.)—Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated Downing-street, July 13, 1797.

With respect to the demands contained in the note transmitted to your lordship by the French ministers, they have been naturally received here with great surprise. On the subject of the Netherlands, as connected with the Austrian loans, it is conceived that any explanation between his majesty and the French government is wholly unnecessary. The loans raised in England for the service of the emperor of Germany, and guaranteed by act of parliament here, rest, as your lordship will perceive, by the annexed copy of the convention on that subject, upon the security of all the revenues of all the hereditary dominions of his imperial majesty. They do not seem in any manner to come under the description contained in the sixth article of the preliminares between Austria and France, respecting mortgages upon the soil of the Netherlands, on which ground alone France could have any pretence to interfere in the business. Nor is this subject one which appears to be in any manner a fit point of discussion between his majesty and the republic; the king neither forms, nor has any intention of forming, any demand on the French government for the payment of any part either of the interest or capital of those loans. It is to the emperor alone that his majesty looks for the performance of his imperial majesty's engagements to him, and it is upon the Austrian government, and upon its revenues, that individuals concerned in those loans have claims of private right, and means of personal demand secured to them by the convention.

On the other two points I have nothing to add to the observations which your lordship has already made upon them: and we can therefore only wait with impatience for the answer of the projet delivered by your lordship, which will enable us to form a judgment on the intentions of the government with whom we are treating.

Right Hon. Lord Malmesbury.

(No. 18.)—Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, 16th July 1797.

It was at the express invitation of the French plenipotentiaries that

that I met them on Thurſday the 13th inſtant; one of them ſtated their motive for wiſhing to confer with me, not to be in conſequence of any anſwer they had received from Paris on the ſubject of the projet, which he obſerved could not be expected ſo ſoon, but to reſume the diſcuſſion on the article which he had objected to on my firſt reading the projet, and on which they conceived it was poſſible and even expedient to argue before we entered on the more important branches of the negotiation. It was article II. that he referred to. He objected to the renewal of the treaties therein mentioned from various reaſons; firſt, that many, and even moſt of them, were irrelevant to that we were now negotiating; ſecondly, that they were in contradiction to the new order of things eſtabliſhed in France, as they ſeem to imply an acknowledgment that a portion of the regal authority is ſtill exiſting; thirdly, that they might be ſuppoſed to apply to conventions and ſtipulations, in direct contradiction to their preſent form of government, and he quoted the convention of Pilnitz in particular. I was about to reply to him, and I truſt in a way that would have done away his apprehenſions on this point, when another of them interpoſed by ſaying, that their ſincere and only deſire was, that the treaty we were now entering upon might be ſo framed, as to ſecure permanently the object for which it was intended; that no article likely to produce this end might be omitted, nor any doubtful one inſerted; but that the whole, as well with regard to the paſt as to the future, might be ſo clearly and diſtinctly expreſſed, that no room for cavil might be left. This he aſſured me, in the name of his colleagues, was all that was meant by their objection to renew ſo many treaties in which ſuch various intereſts were blended, and ſo many points diſcuſſed foreign to the preſent moment. Their renewing them in a lump, and without examining carefully to what we were pledged by them, might involve us in difficulties much better to be avoided. I replied, that I admitted moſt certainly all he ſaid, and that it was with this view, and on this principle ſolely, that the renewal of theſe treaties was propoſed by his majeſty; and that if he recollected (as he undoubtedly did) the different wars which were terminated by theſe treaties, and the many important regulations ſtipulated by them, he would admit that the allowing them to remain in their full force was ſimply an acknowledgment of the tenure by which almoſt all the ſovereigns of Europe, and particularly the French republic, held their dominions up to this day. That theſe treaties were become the law of nations, and that infinite confuſion would reſult from their not being renewed.

He replied that our object was evidently the ſame, that we only differed as to the manner. I thought the renewing theſe treaties *in toto* would the beſt contribute to it; while they were inclined to think, that extracting from them every thing which immediately related to the intereſts of the two countries, and ſtating it in one article, was more likely to attain this deſirable object. The French miniſter again repeated, that their firſt wiſh was,

that the treaty we were now making ſhould be clear, diſtinct, ſolid, and laſting, and ſuch a one as could not, at any future period, be broken through without a manifeſt violation of good faith. And I again repeated, that nothing could be ſo conſonant to my orders, or the intentions of my royal maſter.

One of the plenipotentiaries was diſpoſed to dwell upon his objections, which were, that theſe treaties were ſigned when France was a monarchy, and that any retroſpect to theſe times implied a ſort of cenſure on their preſent form of government; but this was arguing on ſuch weak ground, and ſo incapable of being ſeriouſly maintained, that I, to avoid ſuperfluous contradiction, was very willing to let it paſs unnoticed. After a good deal of very conciliatory, and even amicable diſcuſſion, in which, however, neither party gave much way to the other, it was propoſed by them that we ſhould return home, to meet again as ſoon as was convenient after an attentive and deliberate peruſal of theſe treaties, in order to ſtate reſpectively our ideas on this ſubject. I obſerved, that although I was perfectly prepared to do it at the moment, and felt almoſt bold enough to affirm, that no meaſure could be deviſed which would ſo completely meet our intentions as an unreſerved renewal of the treaties they heſitated about, yet I was very willing to acquieſce in their propoſal, with this ſimple obſervation, that if any delay aroſe from it, ſuch delay was imputable to them, and not to me. My words were "Je ne me rends pas reſponſable des longueurs dans leſquelles cette diſcuſſion pourrait nous entrainer." The French miniſter's anſwer was, "Si des longueurs ſervent à déterminer des objets qui pourraient donner lieu à des querelles à l'avenir, ce ſera du tems bien employé." It was not my wiſh to conteſt this aſſertion, and our conference ended with it.

(No. 19.)—Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, July 16, 1797.

My Lord,

Yeſterday, at the moment I was preparing to attend the conference, in which we were to enter into fuller diſcuſſions on the litigated ſubject of the renewal of the treaties mentioned in the ſecond article of the projet, I received from the French legation the encloſed paper (A.) In about an hour I returned the encloſed anſwer (B.) to which I received the encloſed reply (C); and I am this moment come from the conference which has taken place in conſequence of it.

I began by ſaying, that I had ſolicited this interview from the ſame motive which would actuate every part of my conduct; that I wiſhed to make my reports not only correct but conciliatory as far as depended on me, and I was now come in order, if poſſible, to obtain from them ſuch comments and explanations on the note they ſent to me yeſterday, as would enable me, when I tranſmitted it to my court, to ſecure the negotiation from being interrupted, perhaps abruptly terminated, by the peruſal of it. If I underſtood it right, it meant that the directory requires as *a ſine quâ non*

non preliminary, that every thing the king has conquered from all and each of his enemies ſhould be reſtored, and that till this reſtoration was conſented to the negotiation was not even to begin. I ſaid, if I was correct in this ſtatement, and the plain ſenſe of the declaration would bear no other interpretation, I muſt add, that it would not only moſt certainly prevent the treaty from beginning, but would leave no room for treating at all, ſince it deprived his majeſty of every means of negotiation; for I could not ſuppoſe that it was in their thoughts to intimate that the principle of the treaty, as far as it related to his majeſty, was to be one of all ceſſion and no compenſation, and yet that was preciſely the poſition in which his majeſty was placed by their note.

One of the French plenipotentiaries, who had let me proceed rather reluctantly, here ſtopt me, and ſaid, that he and his colleagues were exceedingly happy that I had expreſſed a wiſh to ſee them before I diſpatched my meſſenger; that they wiſhed to aſſure me that they had thought it dealing fairly and honourably to ſtate what they had received from the directory in the very words in which it came to them; that they ſhould be ſorry if the declaration they had been directed to make me, ſhould be of a nature to interrupt, much leſs to break off, the negotiation; that it was the ſincere wiſh of the directory that the negotiation ſhould proceed and end ſucceſsfully; and that far from ſhutting the door to further diſcuſſions, they were perfectly ready to hear any propoſals we had to make, and only wiſhed that theſe propoſals ſhould be, if poſſible, ſuch as were compatible with their moſt ſacred engagements. I repeated what I had ſaid, that no door was left open if his majeſty was *in limine* to reſtore every thing; and that a peace on theſe conditions would not be heard of by the country. I obſerved, that immediately on leaving them, I ſhould diſpatch a meſſenger; but what that meſſenger carried would moſt materially affect the progreſs and iſſue of the negotiation; I therefore deſired to know whether, in conſequence of what I had heard from them, I might conſider the ſtrict and literal meaning of the declaration not to be a decided negative (which it certainly ſeemed to imply) on all compenſation whatever to be made to his majeſty, but that propoſals tending to this effect would ſtill be liſtened to. One of them anſwered, "Certainly, and if they ſhould be found ſuch as it will be impoſſible for us to admit, we will on our ſide bring forward others for your court to deliberate on." Under this aſſurance, which at leaſt, to a certain degree, qualifies the declaration of yeſterday, I broke up the conference.

(No. 20. A.)—Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

The miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic have tranſmitted to their government the projet of the treaty, and the note relating thereto, which were delivered to them on the 20th of the preſent month, by the miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic majeſty.

They have juſt received freſh

communications and orders, which require that they ſhould make the following declaration to Lord Malmeſbury.

There exiſt in the public and ſecret treaties, by which the French republic is bound to its allies, Spain and the Batavian republic, articles by which the three powers reſpectively guarantee the territories poſſeſſed by each of them before the war.

The French government, unable to detach itſelf from the engagements which it has contracted by theſe treaties, eſtabliſhes, as an indiſpenſable preliminary of the negotiation for the peace with England, the conſent of his Britannic majeſty to the reſtitution of all the poſſeſſions which he occupies, not only from the French republic, but further and formally of thoſe of Spain and the Batavian republic.

In conſequence, the underſigned miniſters plenipotentiary requeſt lord Malmeſbury to explain himſelf with regard to this reſtitution, and to conſent to it, if he is ſufficiently authorized to do ſo; if not, and in the contrary caſe, to ſend a meſſage to his court, in order to procure the neceſſary powers.

The object of the conference which was to have taken place to-day being neceſſarily delayed by the purport of the above-mentioned declaration, the miniſters plenipotentiary of the republic have to expreſs to lord Malmeſbury the regret that they feel in loſing this opportunity of converſing together, which they had themſelves ſolicited:—but in caſe lord Malmeſbury ſhould have any communication to make to them, they beg him to believe that they will always be happy to receive him, and to liſten to him, whenever he may think it proper.

They requeſt him, at the ſame time, to accept anew the aſſurances of their high conſideration.

(Signed) Le Tourneur.
Pleville Le Pelley.
Hugues B. Maret.

Liſle, 27 *Meſſidor*,
5*th year of the Republic.*
(*July* 15, 1797.)

Colchen, Sec. Gen. of the Legation.

(No. 21. B.)—Note from Lord Malmeſbury to the French plenipotentiaries.

The miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic majeſty has given the moſt ſerious attention to the note dated this morning, which he has received from the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic.

He has no heſitation in declaring to them, that his inſtructions by no means authoriſe him to admit, as a preliminary principle, that which their declaration ſeems intended to eſtabliſh; nevertheleſs, being perſuaded that it is his firſt duty not to give up the hopes of conciliation until he ſhall have exhauſted every means of obtaining it, and being anxious to avoid, in the report which he ſhall have to make to his court, the poſſibility of miſunderſtanding on a ſubject of ſuch importance, he propoſes to them a conference for to-morrow, at the hour moſt convenient to them, after which it is his intention to diſpatch a meſſenger to his court.

He requeſts the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic

to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Lisle, 15th July, 1797.

(No. 22. C.)—Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.

The ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic lose no time in acceding to the desire expressed by the minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, of conferring with them on the subject of the note which they addressed to him this day.

They have, in consequence, the honour of proposing to him to meet to-morrow morning at eleven o'clock, at the usual place of conference.

They request him to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) LE TOURNEUR.
PLEVILLE LE PELLEY.
HUGUES B. MARET.

Lisle, the 27th Messidor, 5th year of the Republic, one and indivisible.

(*July* 15, 1797.)

COLCHEN, Sec. Gen. of the Legation.

(No. 23.)—Copy of a Dispatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated Downing-street, July 20, 1797.

My Lord,

Your lordship's dispatches by the messenger, Dressins, were received here on the 17th instant, at night, and I lost no time in receiving his majesty's commands on the very important subject of your letter, No. 9.

I am much concerned to be under the necessity of remarking, that the claim brought forward in the note transmitted to your lordship by the French plenipotentiaries, is in itself so extravagant, and so little to be reconciled either with the former professions of those ministers, or with their conduct in the previous stages of the negotiation, that it affords the strongest presumption of a determination to preclude all means of accommodation. If such is really the determination of the directory, nothing can remain for this country, but to persevere in opposing, with an energy and spirit proportioned to the exigency, a system which must tend to perpetuate a state of war and civil tumult in every part of Europe.

The natural step upon the present occasion would therefore have been, to direct your lordship to terminate at once a negotiation, which, on the footing now proposed by the enemy, affords neither the hope nor the means of any favourable conclusion. Nothing being left for treaty, where, as a preliminary step, one party is required to concede every thing, and all compensation from the other is absolutely and at once precluded. His majesty's servants have, however, observed, that in the conclusion of your lordship's conference with the French plenipotentiaries on the subject of the note in question, the president of that mission informed your lordship, that it was not intended to resist all compensation for the immense extent of restitution demanded from his majesty, and for the other obvious circumstances of disadvantage to this country in the situation of Europe, as resulting from the war;

and even added, that he and his colleagues would eventually bring forward propoſals on this head for the deliberation of the king's government. It appeared poſſible that ſome advantage might perhaps ariſe to the great object of peace, from grounding on this declaration a further proceeding, ſuch as might afford to the directory (if they are ſo diſpoſed) the means of replacing the negotiation on a more practicable footing. With the view therefore of leaving nothing untried which can contribute to reſtore peace on any ſuitable terms, his majeſty has been pleaſed to direct that your lordſhip ſhould for that purpoſe aſk another conference with the French plenipotentiaries. In this conference your lordſhip will remark, in ſuch terms as the occaſion muſt naturally to ſuggeſt to you, upon the indefenſible ſpirit and tendency of the demand now made by France. You will obſerve that France, treating in conjunction with her allies, and in their name, cannot, with any pretence of juſtice and fairneſs, oppoſe her treaties with them as an obſtacle in the way of any reaſonable propoſal of peace in which they are to be included. In a ſeparate negotiation, to which they were not parties, ſuch a plea might, perhaps, have been urged; but in that caſe France would have been bound to offer, from her own means, that compenſation which ſhe did not think herſelf at liberty to engage to obtain from her allies. And ſuch was, in fact, as your lordſhip muſt remember, the principle on which his majeſty offered to treat laſt year, when he was really bound by engagements to Auſtria ſimilar to thoſe which are now alleged by France. But it never can be allowed that France, Spain, and Holland, negotiating jointly for a peace with Great Britain, can ſet up, as a bar to our juſt demands, the treaties between themſelves, from which they are at once able to releaſe each other whenever they think fit.

You will further remark, that even if, contrary to all reaſon, ſuch a principle could for a moment have been admitted on our part, ſtill even that principle, inadmiſſible as it is, could only apply to public treaties, known to thoſe who agreed to be governed by them, and not to ſecret articles, unknown even to the French plenipotentiaries, or concealed by one of them from the knowledge of the others.

You will add in explicit, though not offenſive terms, that the whole of this pretence now ſet up by France is inconteſtably frivolous and illuſory; being grounded on a ſuppoſition of a ſtate of things directly contrary to that which is known really to exiſt. It being perfectly notorious that both Spain and Holland, ſo far from wiſhing to continue the war, were compelled by France to engage in it, greatly againſt their own wiſhes; and to undertake, without the means of ſupporting it, a conteſt in which they had nothing to gain, and every thing to loſe. It never, therefore, can be allowed to be a queſtion of any poſſible doubt, but that the directory, if they really wiſh it, muſt already have obtained, or could at any moment obtain, the conſent of thoſe powers to ſuch terms of peace as have been propoſed by his majeſty. If, however, France, from any motive of intereſt

intereſt or engagement, is in truth deſirous to procure for them the reſtitution of poſſeſſions which they were unable to defend, and have no means to re-conquer, the projet delivered by your lordſhip afforded an opening for this; thoſe articles having been ſo drawn as to leave it to France to provide a compenſation to his majeſty, either out of her colonies, or out of thoſe of her allies, reſpectively conquered by his majeſty's arms. The choice between theſe alternatives may be left to the directory; but to refuſe both is, in other words, to refuſe all compenſation. This is nevertheleſs expreſsly declared not to be the intention of thoſe with whom you treat. It is therefore neceſſary that your lordſhip ſhould demand from them a ſtatement of the propoſals which, as they informed you, they have to make, in order to do away this apparent contradiction, which the king's ſervants are wholly unable to reconcile by any ſuggeſtions of theirs, even if it were fitting and reaſonable for them to bring forward any new propoſals immediately after the detailed projet which was delivered on the part of this country at the outſet of the negotiation.

Since the projet is not acceded to, we have evidently, and on every ground, a right to expect a counter projet, equally full and explicit on the part of the enemy. You will therefore ſtate to the French miniſters diſtinctly, that the only hope of bringing this buſineſs to a favourable concluſion, is by their ſtating at once plainly, and without reſerve, the whole of what they have to aſk, inſtead of bringing forward ſeparate points one after the other, not only contrary to the avowed principle of the negotiation propoſed by themſelves, but, as it appears, even contrary to the expectation of the miniſters themſelves who are employed on the part of France. There can be no pretence for refuſing a compliance with this demand, if the plenipotentiaries of France are diſpoſed to forward the object of peace: and the obtaining ſuch a ſtatement from them is, as I have before ſtated to your lordſhip, a point of ſo much importance, in any courſe which this negotiation may take, that it is the king's pleaſure that your lordſhip ſhould uſe every poſſible endeavour to prevent their eluding ſo juſt a demand.

After what has paſſed it is, I fear, very doubtful whether ſuch a counter projet would be framed on principles ſuch as could be admitted here; but it would at all events place the buſineſs on its real iſſue, and bring diſtinctly into queſtion the ſeveral points on which the concluſion of peace, or the prolongation of war, will really depend.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Right Hon. Lord Malmeſbury.

(No. 24.)—Copy of a Diſpatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmeſbury, dated Downing ſtreet, July 20, 1797.

My Lord,

There are two ſeparate points on which it is neceſſary for me to ſay a few words to your lordſhip, in addition to the inſtructions in my other diſpatch, on the general ſubject of negotiation.

The firſt relates to the aſſertion of

of one of the French miniſters, that the Portugueſe ſhips and troops were at Toulon. The fact is very immaterial as to any concluſion that could be drawn from it, to affect the ſituation or juſt claims of the court of Liſbon; becauſe your lordſhip well knows, that it is a principle univerſally recognized in the public law of Europe, that when one of the parties in a defenſive alliance furniſhes to his ally the ſtipulated ſuccours, thoſe ſuccours remain entirely at the diſpoſal of the requiring party, to be employed wherever he ſhall judge proper, ſubject only to the limitations of the treaty which before exiſted; and if the amount of thoſe ſuccours is not encreaſed beyond that engaged for, nor the means of uſing them extended by new facilities, the party furniſhing the ſtipulated aſſiſtance is not underſtood to violate the laws of neutrality.

But the fact, in this caſe, would not bear out the aſſertion, even if the argument to be drawn from it were more concluſive; the troops of her moſt faithful majeſty having been, as I apprehend, no otherwiſe employed than in the two campaigns carried on by land upon the ſouthern part of the frontiers of France and Spain.

The other point relates to what was ſaid to your lordſhip about the treaty of Pilnitz. It would certainly not require much argument to prove that the renewal of ſeveral treaties enumerated by name and date, and the lateſt of which was concluded in 1783, does not imply a renewal of another treaty ſuppoſed to be concluded in 1791. But what is more material to the preſent caſe is, that your lordſhip ſhould take this opportunity to explain, in the moſt diſtinct and unequivocal terms, that if any ſecret treaty was in fact concluded at the interview at Pilnitz, between the late emperor and the king of Pruſſia (which is, to ſay the leaſt, very doubtful in point of fact), this at leaſt is certain, that his majeſty was no party to ſuch treaty; and not only was not then included in it, but has never ſince adhered to it, nor even been appriſed of its contents. The public declaration which was made at that interview ſhews, on the face of it, that his majeſty was no party to it; and it is, indeed, notorious, that it applied to circumſtances which were done away long before the war broke out between Auſtria and France, and that the ſubſequent negotiations for the maintenance of peace between thoſe powers turned on points wholly diſtinct from thoſe ſuppoſed to have been referred to in the pretended treaty of Pilnitz.

This explanation, however little connected with the preſent negotiation, ſeems to be called for by the alluſion made to you upon the ſubject; and, indeed, on a point on which ſo much miſrepreſentation has prevailed, it is uſeful not to omit the opportunity of ſtating the facts as they really are.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Right Hon. Lord Malmeſbury.

(No. 25.)—Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, 25th July, 1797.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acknowledge your lordſhip's diſpatches, Nos. 19 and 20, of the 20th inſt. which

which were delivered to me on Saturday the 22d inſt. by the meſſenger Major.

It was impoſſible that the claim brought forward in the note incloſed in my No. 9, could have produced on your lordſhip's mind any impreſſion different from that which you deſcribe, and I am happy to find that the conduct I obſerved, when it was firſt delivered to me, was ſuch as put it in my power to execute with great conſiſtency the ſpirited inſtructions your lordſhip now ſends me.

Immediately on the arrival of the meſſenger, I propoſed an interview with the French plenipotentiaries, and we met on Sunday the 23d, at one P. M.

I could not obey his majeſty's orders in a manner more likely to command attention, and to impreſs thoſe who heard me with a juſt ſenſe of the mixture of firmneſs and moderation with which his majeſty was pleaſed to conduct this important negotiation, than by employing not only the ſubſtance, but, as far as was practicable in converſation, the very words of your lordſhip's diſpatch, No. 19; and if I ſhould attempt to relate minutely what I myſelf ſaid in this conference it would in fact be little more than a repetition of them.

I began by obſerving, that I was certain the French plenipotentiaries muſt be fully prepared for what I now had it in command to ſay: I reminded them that I had taken upon me to affirm, when we were laſt aſſembled, and immediately before I diſpatched my meſſenger, that the requiring ſuch a preliminary as that propoſed in the note, was putting an end at once to all negotiation, and that I was ſure peace on ſuch terms would not be heard of; that the orders I was then about to communicate to them would prove that I had not made this aſſertion lightly, or in conſequence of any haſty opinion of my own, at the ſame time that it would alſo appear that my royal maſter was as anxiouſly and as ſincerely inclined to liſten to all reaſonable and admiſſible conditions, as he was determined to repel and reject all ſuch as were of an oppoſite deſcription. I then, my lord, took up my arguments on the preciſe grounds ſet forth in your lordſhip's No. 19. I neither omitted any thing, nor inſerted any thing of my own, which could at all alter its ſpirit; and I only varied from the letter in as much as was neceſſary to make it applicable to a conference.

My firſt object was to ſtate, in as forcible a way as poſſible, the utter inadmiſſibility of the pretenſion ſet forth in the note, the frivolous and illuſory reaſons alleged for bringing it forward; and I obſerved that, if it was perſevered in, it muſt lead to this neceſſary concluſion, that there did exiſt, when it was framed, an intention, on the part of the directory, to break off the negotiation in the outſet. My ſecond object in point of reaſoning, though a very primary one in point of importance, was either to prevent the negotiation breaking off at all, or, if this was not to be prevented, to endeavour to be ſo clear and explicit in my language, and to draw the line ſo diſtinctly between ſuch ſacrifices as his majeſty might be inclined to make in order to reſtore ſo great a bleſſing as peace, and thoſe to which the dignity of his crown and intereſt of his ſubjects would

would never allow him to attend, as to make it impoſſible that by any future cavil or ſubterfuge the interruption of the treaty, if unfortunately it ſhould be interrupted, could be imputed to any other cauſe than the exorbitant demands of the French government; and the better to inſure this purpoſe, I explained to them that his majeſty having already in a detailed projet ſtated freely and fully his conditions, and theſe conditions having been at once rejected by a ſweeping claim on the part of the French government, it was not fitting or reaſonable, neither could it be expected, that any new propoſals ſhould originate with his majeſty: and that on every ground the king had a right to expect a *contre-projet* from them, ſtating at once plainly and without reſerve, the whole of what they had to aſk, inſtead of bringing forward ſeparate points, one after another, directly contrary to the principle on which we had agreed to begin the negotiation, and which, from their being inſulated, could only tend to protract and impede its progreſs.

On the firſt point, on the inadmiſſibility of the preliminary conditions as propoſed by the French government, one of the French plenipotentiaries ſaid, it was impoſſible for them to do more than to take it for reference; that the inſtructions they had received when the directory ſent them the note, were preciſe and poſitive, and that they had received none ſince. He therefore had on that point ſimply to requeſt of me, that I would ſtate in writing the ſeveral grounds on which his majeſty rejected this propoſition, in order that the report tranſmitted by them to the directory might be correct; and he aſſured me, that if I did not think it proper to put in writing all the arguments I had uſed to them in the conference, they would have no ſcruple of employing thoſe I omitted in ſuch a way as was the beſt calculated to give them weight, and, to uſe the French miniſter's own expreſſion, to place the negotiation once more on its legs.

In regard to the ſecond point, he had no heſitation in agreeing with me, that the beſt method, and indeed the only one, which could accelerate the whole of the buſineſs, was for them to give in a *contre-projet*; neither did he attempt to diſprove our perfect right to expect one from them before we made any new propoſals. But he ſaid, that it was not neceſſary for him to obſerve, that as long as they were bound by their inſtructions not to give way on the propoſition I had now ſo decidedly rejected, that it was impoſſible for them to move a ſtep without new orders from the directory; that they would aſk for theſe orders immediately, and loſe no time in acquainting me when they were received.

I obſerved, that in our laſt conference he had intimated to me they were empowered to come to ſome explanation with me on the ſubject of compenſation to be made to his majeſty for the great ceſſions he was diſpoſed to make; that, at the time, I conceived theſe explanations were of a nature to qualify the wide claim ſtated in the note, and that if I had abſtained from preſſing him further at the moment, it was from perceiving a reluctance on their part to bring them forward;—that, however, if they really had ſuch propoſals to make me, and

and if they were of a nature to meet in ſubſtance and effect the baſis laid down in the projet I had given, I ſhould be well diſpoſed to liſten to them.

One of the French miniſters, after ſome heſitation and a ſort of ſilent reference to one of his colleagues, ſaid he thought, as matters now ſtood, it would be much better to wait their anſwer from Paris; —that it was a very important period, a criſis in the negotiation, the reſult of which probably would be concluſive as to its fate, and that it ſeemed to be of more conſequence to make this reſult as conformable to what he hoped I was convinced were as much their wiſhes as mine, than to waſte our time in diſcuſſions which were uſeleſs, not to ſay more, till this was aſcertained.

I confined myſelf, in my reply to ſaying, I had no objection whatever to giving to the French plenipotentiaries a paper, ſtating the ſtrong motives on which his majeſty rejected the propoſition made in their note of the 15th; and that as I, on my part, had conſidered it a duty to make my reports as conciliatory as was conſiſtent with truth and correctneſs, ſo I heard, with great pleaſure, the aſſurances he gave me of their intending to obſerve the ſame line of conduct.

That as we ſeemed perfectly agreed as to the propriety of their producing a *contre-projet*, I had nothing to ſay on that point, except to expreſs my moſt ſincere wiſh that it would ſoon appear, and when it did appear, be ſuch a one as would lead to a ſpeedy and ſatisfactory concluſion of the negotiation.

Right Hon. Lord Grenville.

(No. 26.)—Note from Lord Malmeſbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

The miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic majeſty has tranſmitted to his court the note which was delivered to him the 15th of this month, by the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic; and having received the orders of the king, his maſter, on this ſubject he haſtens to repeat to them, in writing, conformably to the deſire which they have expreſſed to him, the following reflections, which he had already ſtated to them verbally, in conſequence of his moſt poſitive inſtructions.

He obſerves, in the firſt place, that to require "As an indiſpenſable preliminary of negotiation "for peace with England, the conſent of his Britannic majeſty to "the formal reſtitution of all the "poſſeſſions which he occupies, as "well thoſe of the French republic, as further and formally thoſe "of Spain and the Batavian republic," is to wiſh to eſtabliſh a previous condition, which excludes all reciprocity, refuſes to the king all compenſation, and leaves no object of ulterior negotiation.

That the French republic, formally authorized by its allies to negotiate the articles of peace in their name, cannot fairly ſet up its partial treaties with them, in oppoſition to reaſonable propoſals of peace, ſince it is univerſally underſtood that the contracting parties always preſerve the power to modify, by mutual conſent, the conditions by which they may be engaged to each other, whenever their common intereſts may require it:—conſequently, the propoſition made

to

to the king of a general and gratuitous reſtitution as an indiſpenſable preliminary, would neceſſarily impute to his catholic majeſty, and to the Batavian republic, diſpoſitions far leſs pacific than thoſe which animate the French republic.

That moreover, in conſequence of what paſſed in the firſt conferences, lord Malmeſbury has always thought himſelf entitled to expect that the king his maſter would find a compenſation for the ſacrifices he was ready to make for peace, by retaining a part of his conqueſts; and he was the leſs able to foreſee any obſtacle, on account of the ſecret articles of the treaties which bind the French republic, as the principle of compenſation was acknowledged by a formal and poſitive declaration, made in the name of the executive directory, and communicated in an official note, dated the 27th of November, 1796; a declaration poſterior to the completion of thoſe treaties.

It was, therefore, in order to remove, as much as poſſible, every difficulty, that, in the projet of a treaty, which lord Malmeſbury has delivered to the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic, the alternative was left to France to ſettle this compenſation on its own poſſeſſions, or on thoſe of its allies: but the abſolute refuſal of this alternative appears to do away the only poſſible means of conciliating every intereſt, and of arriving at an honourable, juſt, and permanent peace.

Lord Malmeſbury, perſuaded that ſuch cannot be the intention of the French government, hopes, that in conſequence of the reaſons herein ſtated, a condition will not be inſiſted upon, to which his Britannic majeſty can by no means conſent.

He again requeſts the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic to accept the aſſurances of his high conſideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Liſle, 24th *July*, 1797.

(No. 27.)—Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, Sunday, Auguſt 6th, 1797.

My Lord,

I fully expected, when I received the incloſed note on Friday, that the conference propoſed was to acquaint me with the inſtructions the French plenipotentiaries had received from the directory, on the note I had given in near a fortnight ago, as an anſwer to that in which the reſtitution of the whole of his majeſty's conqueſts from each of his enemies is required as an indiſpenſable preliminary to all negotiation.

I was therefore ſurpriſed and diſappointed, when I had taken my place at the conference, to hear from the French plenipotentiaries that the letters they had received that morning from Paris did not bring any ſpecific reply to my laſt note, but only went to inform them that the directory had taken the ſubject into their moſt ſerious conſideration, and would acquaint them as ſoon as poſſible with the reſult.

I could not avoid expreſſing my concern and ſurpriſe that there exiſted any heſitation whatever in the mind of the directory on a point, which, although a very important, was certainly a very ſimple one:—that to allow it to remain in doubt whether his majeſty was to have any

any compenſation or not, was in other words to leave it in doubt whether the directory ſincerely meant peace or not:—and that, although I was very far from wiſhing for any improper haſte, or not to move in a matter of ſuch magnitude with becoming prudence and deliberation, yet I could not forbear lamenting that more than a month had now elapſed without our having advanced a ſingle ſtep, notwithſtanding his majeſty had, in the very outſet of the negotiation, manifeſted a moderation and forbearance unprecedented under ſimilar circumſtances:—that anxious as I was not to prejudice it by any repreſentations of mine, I muſt ſay, this delay placed me in a very aukward poſition, as I really did not perceive how I could account for it in a way at all ſatisfactory, at the ſame time that it was quite impoſſible for me to ſuffer a longer ſpace of time to paſs over without writing to my court.

One of the French plenipotentiaries expreſſed his earneſt wiſh that I would write immediately; he was confident this delay would be ſeen in its true light; and added, "Si nous n'avançons pas à pas de géant, j'eſpere que nous marchons d'un pas ſur."—And another of them repeated this phraſe.

I expreſſed my ſincere hope this might be the caſe, but it would have been much better proved by the communication of the counter project they had in a manner pledged themſelves to procure, than by any vague and intermediate aſſurances of what might poſſibly be the reſult of the preſent ſuſpenſion of all buſineſs. They obſerved to me, that the counter project would of courſe be (virtually) contained in their next inſtructions, and that their only motive for wiſhing to ſee me was, to convince me that this delay had neither originated with them, nor been occaſioned at Paris by any want of attention to this important buſineſs, or from any cauſe not immediately and cloſely connected with it.

I deſired to know from them when they thought it probable they ſhould receive poſitive and explicit inſtructions, whether in three, four, or five days?—They ſaid, it would be probably eight or ten.—And one of them obſerved, that as our not meeting more frequently gave riſe to many idle rumours and falſe reports, he would propoſe to me, if I had no objection, to meet every other day at two o'clock: that it was very poſſible that in our next two or three meetings we might have nothing material to ſay, but that we ſhould get better acquainted with each other, and in our converſations mutually ſuggeſt ideas which might be of uſe.—I readily conſented to this.

I had a conference again this morning. As I was very deſirous of being able to tranſmit to your lordſhip ſome more ſatisfactory account as to the motives of this delay, I again preſſed the French plenipotentiaries on this point. They each of them repeated what they had ſaid before; and on my endeavouring to make them feel how impoſſible it was that his majeſty ſhould not be hurt at this demur on ſo very ſimple a point, one of them ſaid, You ought to augur favourably from it; your note was a refuſal to agree to what was ſtated by the directory in their inſtructions to us as a *ſine quâ non*:—if the directory were determined to perſiſt in this

this *fine qua non*, they would have ſaid ſo at once:—"Je vous aſſure qu'ils nous auroient promptement renvoyé le courrier," were his words:—The time they take to deliberate indicates beyond a doubt that they are looking for ſome temperament, and it ſcarce can be doubted that one will be found.—I ſaid I was well pleaſed to hear him ſay this; but that ſtill he muſt be aware that it would not be an eaſy taſk for me to make my diſpatches to-day either intereſting or ſatisfactory.

Another of the French miniſters ſaid, that he really believed that this would be the only great impediment we ſhould have to encounter, that every thing would go on quickly and ſmoothly, and that I muſt admit the preſent to be a very important and difficult point in the negotiation. I agreed with him entirely as to its importance, but could not acquieſce as to its difficulty.

I am very ſorry, my lord, that in ſuch a moment, and after waiting ſo long, I ſhould not be able to ſend you more explicit and deciſive aſſurances; but it is not in my power to compel the French negotiators to move on faſter. All I can do is by my conduct and language to take care that no part whatever of the imputation of delay ſhould attach to me. I have, at every conference I have held, always declared my readineſs to proceed, and I ſhall not fail to repeat this every time we meet.

Right Hon. Lord Grenville.

(No. 28.)—Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

The miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic will be happy to have an opportunity of converſing for a few minutes with lord Malmeſbury; and they have in conſequence the honour of propoſing to him to meet them at two o'clock to-day, or at any other hour which may be more convenient to him, and which he will have the goodneſs to appoint.

They renew, with pleaſure, to lord Malmeſbury, the aſſurances of their high conſideration.

(Signed) LE TOURNEUR.
HUGUES B. MARET.
COLCHEN, ſec. gen. of the Legation of the Republic, Auguſt 4, 1797.

Liſle, 17 *Thermidor*, *5th year of the Republic.*
(Aug. 4, 1797.)

(No. 29.)—Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, Aug. 14th, 1797.

My Lord,

In conſequence of the reſolution we had come to, to meet on the days of the arrival of the poſt from Paris, our conferences for this laſt week have taken place regularly every other morning, except on Thurſday the 10th of Auguſt, which, being the anniverſary of one of their national feſtivals, the French legation could not attend.

I have in mine, No. 17, given your lordſhip an account of every thing which paſſed in theſe conferences, up to that of the 6th. On the 8th nothing was ſaid at all worth tranſmitting, except an intimation flung out by one of the French plenipotentiaries, that it would be neceſſary to take into conſideration the rights of neutral nations

nations on this occaſion. But as he ſpoke very vaguely, and in general terms, I did not chooſe to preſs him for an explanation, as I conſider it more judicious to avoid diſcuſſions on ſeparate and collateral points, and not to enter into negotiation till the whole can be brought under deliberation at once.

What paſſed on the 12th, was rather more intereſting. The return of Mr. Weſley afforded me a very natural opportunity of expreſſing the impatience with which an anſwer to my laſt note was expected by my court; that three weeks had now elapſed ſince its tranſmiſſion, and that, although I by no means wiſhed to inſinuate, that due attention had not been paid to ſo very important a ſubject as that on which we were treating, yet I could not but greatly lament, that day after day ſhould be allowed to paſs away, without our proceeding at all in the great buſineſs for which we were met. One of the French miniſters ſaid, that it was impoſſible I could lament this delay more than they did; that they had already declared to me, that it was occaſioned by a wiſh not to create but remove difficulties; and they could aſſure me poſitively, that the French government had no other object in view, and that I ſhould find, when once we began fairly to negotiate, we ſhould proceed very rapidly.

I replied, it was indeed very material to make good the time we had loſt. The French miniſter anſwered, You would not call it time loſt, if you knew how it was employed. On my expreſſing, by my manner, a wiſh to be informed, he went on, by ſaying, We will not ſcruple to tell you, though we feel we ought not yet to do it officially, that we are conſulting with our allies; that we have communicated to them, all that has paſſed here; we have ſtated that, unleſs they mean to continue the war, they muſt releaſe us from our engagements, and enable us, to a certain degree, to meet your propoſals.

The conference of to-day is this moment over. One of the French plenipotentiaries informed me, that he had received this morning a letter from the preſident of the directory, aſſuring him, that in four or five days they would receive their final inſtructions; and he added of himſelf, that he truſted theſe would be ſuch as would enable us to continue our work without any further interruption. I ſaid, I hoped theſe inſtructions would be in ſubſtance a counter project, as I did not ſee how any thing ſhort of one, could enable us to proceed ſo rapidly as he deſcribed. He agreed with me entirely, and aſſured me, that both he and his colleagues had repeatedly ſtated the neceſſity of a counter project being ſent them; and he obſerved, that he really thought the French government might have foreſeen every thing which had paſſed, and been prepared with one; and that this would have ſaved a great deal of valuable time. As I could not myſelf have ſaid more, I readily gave a full aſſent to what I heard.

(No. 30.)—Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmeſbury, dated Downing-ſtreet, Auguſt 19, 1797.

An expreſſion mentioned in one of your lordſhip's laſt diſpatches,

to have fallen from one of the French plenipotentiaries, leads to the presumption that it is intended, on the part of France, to bring forward some proposal about the navigation of neutral powers in time of war. Your lordship will best judge of the proper opportunity of expressing his majesty's decided and unalterable resolution on this point, not to admit of any proposal for treating with his enemies on the subject of the rights, or claims of neutral powers.

The only other remark with which I have to trouble your lordship by this messenger, relates to an expression in the late message of the directory to the council of five hundred, which, if literally taken, conveys an accusation against his majesty's government, that some delay has arisen on the part of this country in the negotiations at Lisle. This is so avowedly contrary to the fact, that it must be considered as impossible that such a charge could be intended to be made, by a government which had at that moment delayed for three weeks making any answer to his majesty's distinct and liberal proposals of peace, and whose plenipotentiaries were daily apologising to your lordship for this unbecoming, and, as they almost confess, unaccountable delay; but as the point is too important to be left unnoticed, it is the king's pleasure that your lordship should present a note, remarking upon the sense to which these words are liable, expressing your persuasion that such cannot be the intention with which they were used, but asking on the part of your court an explanation to that effect, which cannot be refused without a violation of every thing which truth and justice require on such an occasion.

(No. 31.)—Extract from the Message of the French Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, Aug. 9th, 1797.

In short, this cause is in the same despondency in which all good citizens, and particularly the defenders of the country, are, at seeing deferred at the very moment when its conclusion was thought to be near at hand, and after having bought it with so much blood and so much suffering—a definitive peace, which the heads of the vanquished coalition at length solicited in good earnest, when its conclusion was expected, and which a government, friendly to humanity, were still more earnest to conclude: when, all on a sudden, buoyed up with new hopes, reckoning upon a general dissolution of the government by the failing of its finances, upon its destruction, upon the death or banishment of its bravest generals, and upon the dispersion and loss of its armies, these very same coalesced powers have thrown as much delay into the negociations, as they had shewn anxiety to bring them to an end.

(No. 32.)—Copy of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, August 22, 1797.

My lord,

In my conference of this morning, I took an opportunity of remarking to the French plenipotentiaries, on the very unfair and extraordinary assertion which had appeared in the message of the 9th instant, from the

the directory to the council of five hundred, viz. "Que les puiſſances coaliſées ont mis autant de lenteur dans les negotiations, qu'elles avoient montré de l'ardeur pour les terminer." I obſerved to them, that I had orders from my court to aſk a preciſe explanation, whether this accuſation of delay was meant to apply to the manner in which his majeſty had conducted the negotiation at Liſle, and if it was ſo meant, to declare that no accuſation was ever more deſtitute of foundation, nor a wider deviation from the real fact. I ſaid I was perfectly ready to abide by their determination on this point, convinced that it was impoſſible for them not to acknowledge that the delay (if there had been any blameable delay), reſted with the French government, and not with his majeſty. The French plenipotentiaries admitted this to be moſt ſtrictly true; that the phraſe I had quoted was an ill-judged one, and *mal redigée;* but that it could not in any point of view whatever be conſtrued as applying to England; and they were ready to ſay, that when it was written, the directory alluded ſolely to the court of Vienna; that they could aſſure me they had been very faithful in their reports, and that when they ſaid this, it was ſaying in other words, that I had carried on the negotiation with as much expedition as poſſible, and that if it had proceeded ſlowly for this laſt month, the ſlowneſs aroſe on their ſide and not on mine.

I ſaid I could not for an inſtant call in queſtion their feelings on this point; it was the inſinuation conveyed in the meſſage, and which had gone over Europe, that it was neceſſary for me to clear up, and to know whether the directory thought and felt as they did. One of the French miniſters, with very ſtrong expreſſions, aſſured me the directory certainly did think and feel like them; that no unfair or inſidious alluſion was meant, and added, "Que ce meſſage etoit fait pour ſtimuler les conſeils." I went on by obſerving, it was very eſſential for me to have this fully explained, and that I ſhould give them in a note to this effect; they requeſted I would not, it would lead to diſagreeable diſcuſſions, and would not anſwer the end I propoſed. They would take upon themſelves now to aſſure me in the name of the directory, that nothing at all ſimilar to the conſtruction I put on the phraſe was intended, and that as ſoon as they could receive an anſwer to the report they ſhould make of to-day's converſation, they would ſay the ſame from the directory itſelf.

I hope, my lord, I have, therefore, by obtaining this very preciſe and formal diſavowal of an intention to fix any imputation of delay on his majeſty's government, fulfilled the object of my inſtructions on this particular point. If, when the French plenipotentiaries ſpeak from the directory, the diſavowal ſhould not be equally ſatisfactory and complete, I then will not fail, according to your lordſhip's order, to give in a note.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Right Hon. Lord Grenville.

(No. 33.)—Extract of a Letter from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord

Grenville, dated Liſle, Auguſt 22, 1797.

The four conferences I have held with the French plenipotentiaries, ſince I wrote to your lordſhip on the 4th inſtant, will not, I fear, furniſh very intereſting materials for a diſpatch.

Our conference of this morning was principally employed in what I have related in my other diſpatch; but the French plenipotentiaries aſſured me, that by Thurſday, or at the lateſt by Saturday, they expected to receive their long-expected meſſenger.

(No. 34.)—Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, Aug. 29, 1797.

I am extremely ſorry to be forced to announce to your lordſhip, that freſh delays occur in the progreſs of the negotiation.

The French plenipotentiaries informed me at our conference yeſterday, that the laſt anſwer from Holland was ſo unſatisfactory, that the directory had ordered the miniſter for foreign affairs to return it to the Dutch miniſters at Paris; that the Dutch miniſters could not take upon themſelves to alter it in the way the directory propoſed, but had been obliged to refer to their government for new orders; and that therefore, ſuppoſing no time to be loſt in the deliberation on this ſubject at the Hague, it would be at leaſt a week from to-day before any farther account could be received here.

After lamenting this unexpected procraſtination of our buſineſs, I expreſſed a wiſh to know what the Dutch anſwer had been, what objections the directory had made to it, and the alteration they were deſirous it ſhould undergo.

One of the French plenipotentiaries ſaid, it had not been communicated to them, but that he underſtood it was *complexe, louche, et peu ſatisfaiſante.*—That the directory expected it ſhould be clear and diſtinct, and ſuch an one as would enable them to ſend ſuch inſtructions here, as would allow us to go on with the negotiation in a way to recover the time we had loſt.

(No 35.)—Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, Sept. 5, 1797.

My lord,

I ſhould have conſidered what has paſſed in our conferences, ſince I laſt had the honour of writing to your lordſhip by Mr. Weſley, as in itſelf too unimportant to authoriſe me to diſpatch a meſſenger, but that in general I think it my duty never to leave your lordſhip more than a week without hearing from me; and I was alſo glad of an opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your lordſhip's diſpatch, No. 23, which was delivered to me by the meſſenger Shaw, on the 31ſt Auguſt, at 10 p. m.

Nothing but common converſation paſſed in our conferences of the 30th Auguſt, and of the 1ſt September. In that of the 3d, the French plenipotentiaries confirmed what they had taken upon themſelves to aſſure me on the 22d Auguſt, in conſequence of the repreſentation I had your lordſhip's orders to make on the expreſſions employed by the directory, in their meſſage

meſſage of the 9th Auguſt to the councils, and which expreſſions appeared to fix an imputation of delay on his majeſty's government in the progreſs of the negotiation. They ſaid that they had reported to the directory what I obſerved on this ſubject, and that they were now charged to repeat what I had already heard from them, and to declare that no intention ſimilar to that I ſuppoſed ever exiſted on the part of the directory.

In our conference of this morning, although I had reaſon to expect that the anſwer from the Hague was arrived at Paris, yet it was not admitted by the French plenipotentiaries.

(No. 36.)—Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, 9th Sept. 1797.

I need not ſay that the two conferences which have been held ſince I diſpatched the meſſenger Brooks, were not likely, under the preſent circumſtances of this country, to afford any thing extremely important or intereſting.

In that of Thurſday the 7th, one of the French plenipotentiaries began, on my entering the room, by announcing a wiſh that the great event which had taken place at Paris, ſhould not interrupt for a long time our negotiation, or deſtroy the pleaſing proſpect we had of its ſoon terminating ſucceſsfully; and from his manner I clearly ſaw, he meant to convey the idea that it was his opinion it would not. I endeavoured to diſcover, whether he ſpoke in conſequence of any private intelligence he had received from Paris, or ſimply from his own private judgment, and I found it was entirely from the latter.

In our conference of this morning, he ſaid they were ſtill without any letters from M. Talleyrand (which rather ſurpriſed him); but he could aſſure me, with certainty, that by Monday they ſhould be empowered to go on with the negotiation, and that I might ſafely ſay ſo to my court.

(No. 37.)—Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmeſbury, dated Downing-ſtreet, September 11, 1797

Your lordſhip's diſpatches by the meſſenger, Shaw, were received here this morning.

It would be premature in the preſent moment, to enter into any reaſoning on the effect which the extraordinary events at Paris may be expected to have on the important negotiation with which your lordſhip is charged. A very few days muſt now probably ſhew, in the moſt unequivocal manner, what are the views which are entertained by the now predominant party at Paris, reſpecting the queſtion of peace or war with Great Britain: and it becomes his majeſty's government to wait the event, with the ſame deſire for accommodation on reaſonable terms, and the ſame firmneſs, with reſpect to undue and inſulting demands, which has actuated every part of the conduct held by your lordſhip.

(No. 38.)—Copy of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord

Grenville, dated Liſle, Monday, September 11, 1797.

My lord,

On my going to the conference this morning, the French plenipotentiaries informed me that the whole French legation was recalled, and that Meſſrs. Treilhard and Bonnier d'Alco were appointed in their room. They ſaid, their orders were to communicate this event to me immediately, and at the ſame time to add, in the name of the French government, that this alteration, in the choice of the negotiators, would not produce any whatever in the diſpoſition of the directory, to bring the negotiation to a happy iſſue.

I aſſured them I was extremely ſorry to hear that they were recalled. That we had hitherto acted together ſo cordially, that it was to be lamented any circumſtances had ariſen, which made the French government think it adviſeable to put the negotiation into other hands.

That I received with ſatisfaction what they told me, as to the ſentiments manifeſted by the directory, relative to the negotiation, and that I could aſſure them, they were ſuch as certainly exiſted in the breaſt of my royal maſter.

I then ſuggeſted to them, whether it would not be proper to give me an official note on this occaſion, ſince it made a very marked period in the negotiation; and as they perfectly agreed with me on the propriety of this, they ſent me that I now enclose.

I conſider this event as ſo material, that I do not loſe a moment in diſpatching one of my ſervants to England, as I have at preſent no meſſenger with me.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Right Hon. Lord Grenville.

(No. 39.)—Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

The miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic, have the honour to inform lord Malmeſbury, that they have received, by this day's poſt, a decree of the executive directory, ſignifying their recall, and the nomination of citizens Treilhard and Bonnier to ſucceed them, and to continue the negotiations entered upon with England.

The miniſter for foreign affairs, in ſending to the underſigned miniſters plenipotentiary this decree of the directory, of the 22d of this month, orders them to wait the arrival of their ſucceſſors. It alſo directs them to inform the miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic majeſty, that the change of the negotiators does not carry with it any change in the diſpoſition of the directory, with regard to the negotiation.

The miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic, have the honour to renew to lord Malmeſbury the aſſurances of their high conſideration.

(Signed) LE TOURNEUR.
HUGUES B. MARET.

Liſle, 25th Fructidor, 5th year of the Republic, September 11, 1797.

COLCHEN,
ſec. gen. of the legation.

(No. 40.)

(No. 40.)—Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

The minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic have addressed him, communicating the decree of the executive directory, which signifies their recall and the nomination of the ministers destined to succeed them, and to continue the negotiations already commenced. He receives at the same time, with satisfaction, and will transmit without delay, to his court, the assurance, that this change of the negotiators does not bring with it any change in the disposition of the directory, as to the negotiation.

Lord Malmesbury, in thanking the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic for this communication, begs them to be persuaded of his personal regret on account of their departure, and to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Lisle, Sept. 12, 1797.

(No. 41.)—Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, 17th September, 1797.

My lord,

The new French plenipotentiaries, Messrs. Treilhard and Bonnier d'Alco, with their principal secretary, M. Derché, and two private secretaries, arrived here at five o'clock A. M. on Wednesday the 13th instant. At eleven, A. M. they sent M. Derché to acquaint me with their arrival, and to enquire at what hour I would receive their visit. In consequence of my saying whenever it was convenient to them, they came immediately, attended by Messrs. Le Tourneur, Maret, and Colchen.

On taking leave, M. Le Tourneur came forward and said to me, in his name and that of his colleagues, that they could not terminate their mission without expressing the satisfaction they had felt from the openness and candour (*loyauté et franchise*) with which I had acted during the whole of the negotiation, or take leave of me, without expressing their sincere personal regrets; that the recollection of my conduct would always be agreeable to them, and that it had given me the strongest title to their esteem and good wishes.

After giving the new plenipotentiaries as much time as was necessary to return to their own house, I sent Mr. Ross to ask at what hour I might return their visit; and in consequence of their answer, I went to them, attended by lord Morpeth and Mr. Ellis.

I took an opportunity of returning the compliment M. Le Tourneur had made me; and I must in justice repeat, my lord, what I have already said, that his conduct and that of his colleagues has, in every point which has depended on them, been perfectly fair and honourable, and in no instance contrary to the principles they announced, and the professions they made. It is therefore impossible for me not to regret them, and not to consider the change of negotiators at least as a very unpleasant, if not a very unfortunate incident.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

(No. 42.)—Copy of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, 17th September, 1797.

My lord,

I ſhall endeavour in this diſpatch, to give your lordſhip as circumſtantial an account, as my memory will allow me to do, of what has paſſed in the two conferences I have held with the new French plenipotentiaries.

In that of Friday the 14th, after communicating to me the *arrêt* of the directory, appointing them to ſucceed Meſſrs. Le Tourneur and Maret, and empowering them to continue the negotiation with me, one of them began by making the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the ſincere deſire entertained by the directory for peace. He obſerved, that if this deſire had manifeſted itſelf ſo ſtrongly at a moment when the two great authorities of the country were at variance, it muſt naturally become ſtronger, and be exerted with more effect, when all ſpirit of diviſion was ſuppreſſed, and when the government was ſtrengthened by the perfect concord which now reigns between all its branches: that the firſt and moſt material point to be aſcertained in every negotiation, was the extent of the full powers with which the negotiators are veſted; that I ſhould find theirs to be very ample; and that, as it was neceſſary for the ſucceſs of our diſcuſſions that mine ſhould be equally ſo, they had it in command to preſent a note, the object of which was to enquire, whether I was authorized to treat on the principle of a general reſtitution of every poſſeſſion remaining in his majeſty's hands, not only belonging to them, but to their allies; that I was not unacquainted with their laws and with their treaties; that a great country could not on any occaſion act in contradiction to them; and that, aware as I muſt be of this, I could not but expect the queſtion contained in the note, neither could I conſider the requiſition of an explicit anſwer, previous to entering upon the negotiation, as ariſing from any other motive than that of the moſt perfect wiſh, on the part of the directory, to bring it to a ſucceſsful, and, above all, to a ſpeedy concluſion.

I replied, that if, after what I heard, I could allow myſelf to hope for ſuch an event as he ſeemed to think probable, or give any credit to the pacific diſpoſitions he announced on the part of the French government, ſuch hope muſt ariſe ſolely from the confidence I might place in his aſſurances; ſince the meaſure itſelf now adopted by the directory, was certainly calculated to make a directly contrary impreſſion on my mind; that I could not conceal from him, that, far from expecting ſuch a queſtion, its being now put ſurprized me beyond meaſure, and ſtill more ſo, when from his comment upon it I was to infer, that he wiſhed me to conſider it as tending to promote a ſpeedy pacification; that the queſtion expreſſed in the note he had delivered (for he had given it to me, and I had read it over as he ended his ſpeech) was word for word the ſame as that put to me by his predeceſſors ſo long ago as the 14th July; that on the 15th I had, from my own authority, given an anſwer, and that this anſwer I confirmed fully and diſtinctly by order of my court on the

the 24th July; that these notes had to the present hour remained unnoticed, and a delay of two months had occurred; that the reasons assigned for this delay were, as I was repeatedly told, a decided resolution on the part of the French government to listen to the reasonable proposals made by his majesty; but that being bound by their engagements with the court of Madrid and the Batavian republic, and wishing to treat their allies with due consideration, they were desirous of consulting with them previous to any positive declaration, and obtaining from them a voluntary release from those engagements, sufficient to enable the French plenipotentiaries here to admit the basis his majesty had established, and to ground on it all future discussions which might arise in the course of the negotiation; that if he had read over the papers left, undoubtedly, in his possession by his predecessors, he would find what I stated to be strictly true; and that of course it could not be difficult to account for my surprise, when, after being told that he and his colleague were to take up the negotiation precisely where they found it, it now became evident, that it was to be flung back to the very point from which we started, and flung back in a way which seemed to threaten a conclusion very different from that he foretold.

I shall not attempt to follow the French minister through the very elaborate and certainly able speech he made in reply, with a view to convince me, that the enquiry into the extent of my full powers was the strongest proof the directory could furnish of their pacific intention, and the shortest road they could take to accomplish the desired end. It was in order to give activity to the negotiation (*activer* was his word), and to prevent its stagnating, that this demand was made so specifically; and he intimated to me, that it was impossible for the directory to proceed, till a full and satisfactory answer had been given to it. I interrupted him here, by saying, their manner of acting appeared to me calculated to decide the negotiation at once, not to give it activity, since it must be known, I could not have powers of the description he alluded to; and even supposing I had, the admitting it would be in fact neither more nor less than a complete avowal of the principle itself, which once agreed on, nothing would be left to negotiate about. The other French plenipotentiary interposed here, by saying, "that would not be the case; many articles would still remain to be proposed, and many points for important discussion." I said, every word I heard seemed to present fresh difficulties. Without replying to me, the first-mentioned minister went on by endeavouring to prove, that the avowal of having powers to a certain extent, did not imply the necessity of exercising them; that it was the avowal alone for which they contended, in order to determine at once the form the negotiation was to take; that the note, and the time prescribed in it, were in consequence of the most positive orders from the directory; and that if I drew from it a conclusion different from the assurances they had made me in the name of the directory, I did not make the true inference. I replied, that, although the prescribing

prefcribing the day on which the queftion was put to me, as the term within which I was to give my anfwer to it, was both a very unufual and abrupt mode of proceeding, yet as a day was much more than fufficient for the purpofe, I fhould forbear making any particular remark on this circumftance: that as to the inference to be drawn from the pofitive manner in which they appeared to maintain the queftion put to me, I really could not make it different from that I had already expreffed: that the reverting, after an interval of two months, to a queftion already anfwered, and which queftion involved the fate of the negotiation, certainly could not be confidered as wearing a very conciliatory appearance: that in regard to my anfwer, it could not be different from that I had given before: that my full powers, which were in their hands, were as extenfive as any could be, and it did not depend on me to give them more or lefs latitude; but that in fact their queftion went not to the extent of my full powers, but to require of me to declare the nature of my inftructions; and on this point they certainly would forgive me, if I did not fpeak out, till fuch time as the circumftances of the negotiation called upon me to do it.

The French minifter ftrove to prove to me, what he had before attempted, that the claiming a right of enquiry into the nature of the difcretionary authority confided in a minifter, by no means implied an intention of requiring of him to act up to its utmoft limits. I obferved, if no fuch intention exifted, why inftitute the enquiry? and if it did exift, why not fay fo at once? —He faid, what we now afk is little more than a matter of form; when you have given us your anfwer, we fhall follow it up by another ftep, which we are ordered to take. I faid, my anfwer was given two months ago; that although I was ready to give it them again, and in writing, as one to their note, yet, as it could not be different, I did not fee why they fhould not proceed immediately to the other ftep, by which I was told the queftion was to be followed up. It would be premature, faid the French minifter; but in drawing up your anfwer, do not forget the force of the arguments I have ufed, or in your report to your court, the affurances we have given of the earneft wifh of the directory to terminate the war.

I replied, that I ftill muft maintain, that, from the manner in which they thought proper to define full powers, I could fee no diftinction between acknowledging the power and admitting the principle; and that the queftion itfelf could not be put with any other intention.—(Your lordfhip will obferve, from the fubfequent notes which paffed between us, that I was perfectly grounded in this aflertion.) That in my reports, they might be fully affured I fhould act up to that conciliatory fpirit which from the earlieft period of the negotiation, had always decided my conduct; and that, inaufpicious as appearances were, I certainly would be careful not to make them look hoftile. At the word hoftile, both the French plenipotentiaries were moft warm in their proteftations, that nothing could be lefs fo; that the idea of the negotiation breaking off was as far from their thoughts as from their wifhes. I faid,

ſaid, that although I heard this with pleaſure, yet I could not avoid adverting to facts, and that when, inſtead of an anſwer, and the favourable anſwer which I had every reaſon to expect, I received only the repetition of a demand which had been already ſatisfied two months ago, I certainly could not think this a good omen. If it did not bode an immediate rupture of the treaty, it aſſuredly did not announce a near and ſucceſsful termination of it.' The above-mentioned miniſter perſiſted I was miſtaken; that the buſineſs would end ſpeedily; that ſpeed was their wiſh, and ſpeed with peace for its object.

On breaking up our conference, I ſaid, that I took it for granted we ſhould meet again at the uſual hour, on Sunday. He ſaid, that perhaps it might not be neceſſary, but that they certainly would let me know in time; and this conveyed to me the firſt idea of what has ſince taken place.

I incloſe your lordſhip the note A, I received in this conference from the French plenipotentiaries, and the anſwer B, which I made to it yeſterday morning at 10 A. M.

At 6 P. M. the note C was tranſmitted to me; to which at 8 P. M. I returned the anſwer D, by Mr. Roſs, whom I ſent in order that he might bring me the paſſports I aſked for; but at a quarter before 10 P.M. M. Derché, ſecretary of the French legation, delivered to me the paper marked E; and this morning at 9, A. M. I replied by the note F, which immediately produced that marked G.

The notes ſent me by the French plenipotentiaries ſpeak for themſelves; and it is unneceſſary to enter into any reflections on them. I am willing to hope that the anſwers I have made were ſuch as became the ſituation in which I ſtand, the importance of the cauſe entruſted to me, and the ſteady but temperate conduct which the ſpirit of my inſtructions injoins me to hold.

It was my wiſh to give every opening to the French plenipotentiaries to recal the violent ſtep they had taken; and, if poſſible, to convince them of its extreme impropriety. And it was with this view, and with a moſt anxious deſire not to exclude all hope of the reſtoration of peace, that I determined on ſuggeſting the idea of our meeting once more before I left Liſle.

This meeting took place to-day at noon: I opened it by obſerving, that the ſeveral notes they had received from me ſince the preceding evening, had been too expreſſive of the ſurprize I felt at the meaſure the directory had thought proper to adopt, to make it neceſſary for me to enlarge upon it in this conference; and, indeed, my ſole motive for ſuggeſting that it might be for our mutual ſatisfaction that it ſhould be held, was, becauſe this meaſure appeared to me to be in ſuch direct contradiction to the very ſtrong aſſurances I had ſo conſtantly and repeatedly heard from them, and to the pacific intentions with which they declared they were ſent, that it was my earneſt wiſh (before I conſidered their conduct as forcing me to a ſtep which muſt ſo materially affect the ſucceſs of the negotiation), to be perfectly certain that I underſtood clearly and diſtinctly the preciſe meaning of their official notes. On their admitting that nothing

nothing could be more reaſonable, than that I ſhould, on ſo important a point, require explanation, or more ſatisfactory to them than to give it to me (as far as lay in their power), I proceeded by ſaying, that it appeared to me that I was called upon to produce immediately my full powers, or rather my inſtructions (for however different theſe were in themſelves, in their demand they ſeemed conſtantly blended); and that if either I refuſed to conſent to this, or if on conſenting to it, it was found that I was not authoriſed to treat on the principle they laid down, I was then in the ſpace of twenty-four hours to leave Liſle, and return to my court; and that I was required to obtain full authority to admit this principle, if it was wiſhed the negotiation ſhould proceed. This I ſaid appeared to me to be the evident ſenſe of the notes, and I begged to know whether I had miſtaken it or not. One of the French plenipotentiaries ſaid, "You have underſtood it exactly; I hope you equally underſtand the intention of the French government, which is to accelerate peace by removing every obſtacle which ſtands in its way."

I replied, that having now no doubt left on my mind as to their exact meaning, and being quite ſure, notwithſtanding the obſervation they had made, *que j'avais faiſi la veritable intention de leur note*, it would, I feared, be a very unprofitable employment of our time to argue, either on the nature of the principle they announced as a *ſine quâ non*, to even a preliminary diſcuſſion, or on the extreme difficulty of reconciling the peremptory demand with which they opened their miſſion, to the pacific profeſſions that accompanied it; that if they were determined to perſiſt in this demand, it was much better to avoid all uſeleſs altercation; and nothing in that caſe remained for me to do, but to aſk for my paſſports, and to ſignify to them my intention of leaving France at an early hour the next morning. They ſaid, they had their hands tied by an *arrêt* of the directory, and were bound to obſerve the conduct they had followed by the moſt poſitive orders; and, although we remained together ſome time longer, not a hint dropped from them expreſſive of a wiſh, that, inſtead of going myſelf for new inſtructions, I ſhould either write for them by a meſſenger, or obtain them by ſending to England one of the gentlemen who are with me. I endeavoured, by every indirect means, to ſuggeſt to them the neceſſity of adopting ſome ſuch modification, if they meant that their wiſhes for peace, in the expreſſion of which they were this morning more eager than ever, ſhould meet with the ſlighteſt degree of credit: I again brought to their recollection, that I was authoriſed to receive any propoſal, any *contre projét* they tendered me, but that they muſt be aware that it was not poſſible for me to alter the orders I had received, or to aſſume an authority with which I was not inveſted. I dwelt particularly and repeatedly on my being competent to take any thing they ſaid for reference; but this availed nothing, except drawing from one of them a remark, that the full powers which authoriſed a miniſter to hear propoſals, were widely different from

thoſe

thoſe which would enable him to accede to them; and that it was ſuch full powers that the directory required me to ſolicit.

An eaſy anſwer preſented itſelf to this mode of reaſoning; but I ſaw no advantage to be derived from prolonging a converſation, which, after the poſitive declaration they had made, could lead to nothing: I therefore ended the conference, by declaring my reſolution to begin my journey at a very early hour the next morning, and by ſaying, that immediately on my arrival in England, I would make an exact report of every thing that had paſſed ſince their arrival.

I truſt, my lord, I ſhall not incur cenſure for having declined to offer, in diſtinct terms, to wait at Liſle till I could know his majeſty's pleaſure on the peremptory propoſal made to me: but when I conſidered the nature of the propoſal itſelf, the avowal that this would not be the laſt, nor perhaps the moſt humiliating condition required of us, and the imperious ſtyle with which I was enjoined to depart in twenty-four hours, it was utterly impoſſible for me to aſſume a language, or affect a manner, that could be interpreted into ſolicitation or entreaty. I felt myſelf called upon to treat the whole of this extraordinary proceeding with calmneſs and temper; and, notwithſtanding the deep and poignant concern I muſt feel, at an event which I fear will remove all probability of an immediate pacification, I truſt that in the expreſſion of this ſentiment I have not uſed a language unbecoming the character with which I am inveſted, or the greatneſs of the ſovereign and country whoſe dignity and intereſts it is my primary duty to conſult and to maintain.

I have the honour to be,
with great reſpect, my lord,
your lordſhip's moſt obedient
humble ſervant,
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Right Hon. Lord Grenville.

(No. 43. A.) Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

The underſigned miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic, commiſſioned to treat of peace with England, have the honour to aſſure lord Malmeſbury, miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic majeſty, that the French government wiſhes as ſincerely, as ſtrongly as ever, a peace, deſired by the two nations; but, unable to conclude any other peace than ſuch an one as is founded on the laws and on the treaties which bind the French republic; perſuaded that, to arrive at this end, it is neceſſary to explain itſelf with entire frankneſs, and deſirous of giving to the negotiation the greateſt rapidity, the executive directory has expreſsly charged the underſigned to demand of lord Malmeſbury, whether he has ſufficient powers for reſtoring, in the treaty which may be concluded, to the French republic and to its allies, all the poſſeſſions, which, ſince the beginning of the war, have paſſed into the hands of the Engliſh.

The underſigned are equally charged by the executive directory, to demand of lord Malmeſbury an anſwer in the courſe of the day.

They

They requeſt him to accept the aſſurance of their high conſideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

Liſle, 29 *Fructidor*,
5th year of the Republic,
(*Sept.* 15, 1797.)

By the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic, the ſec. gen.
DERCHE.

(No. 44. B.) Note from Lord Malmeſbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

The underſigned miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic majeſty, receives, with great ſatisfaction, the expreſſion of the ſincere deſire for peace, which the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic announced to him yeſterday, in the name of their government. He has the honour to aſſure them, that the king, his maſter, is animated with the ſame deſire, and has nothing more at heart than to put an end to the calamities of the war.

With regard to the queſtion which the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic addreſſed to lord Malmeſbury, concerning the extent of his full powers, he conſiders himſelf as having already given the moſt unequivocal anſwer upon this ſubject, in the two notes which he delivered to their predeceſſors on the 15th and 24th of July.

However, to avoid all miſunderſtanding, he renews the declaration which he made yeſterday; that is to ſay, that he neither can nor ought to treat upon any other principle than that of compenſations; a principle which has been formally recogniſed as the baſis of a treaty, equally juſt, honourable, and advantageous to the two powers.

Lord Malmeſbury requeſts the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic to accept the aſſurances of his high conſideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Liſle, *Saturday*, 16*th Sept.* 1797. 10 A. M.

(No. 45. C.) Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

The miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic, commiſſioned to treat of peace with England, have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the anſwer of lord Malmeſbury, to the note which was preſented to him in the conference of yeſterday.

It appears from this anſwer, and from the two notes of the 15th and 24th of July, to which it refers, that lord Malmeſbury has not powers for agreeing to the reſtitution of all the poſſeſſions which his Britannic majeſty occupies, whether from the French republic, or from its allies.

In conſequence, while they reiterate to lord Malmeſbury the moſt poſitive aſſurance of the ſentiments of the French government, the underſigned apprize him of a decree of the executive directory, which ſignifies that, in caſe lord Malmeſbury ſhall declare himſelf not to have the neceſſary powers for agreeing to all the reſtitutions which the laws and the treaties which bind the French republic make indiſpenſable, he ſhall be desired to return, in four-and-twenty hours,

to

to his court, to ask for sufficient powers. Lord Malmesbury can see in this determination of the executive directory, nothing else than an intention to hasten the moment when the negotiation may be followed up with the certainty of a speedy conclusion.

The ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic request lord Malmesbury to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

Lisle, 30 *Fructidor*,
5th year of the Republic,
(*Sept.* 16, 1797.)

By the ministers plenipotentiary, the sec. gen. of the legation.

DERCHE.

(No. 46. D.) Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note of this day, which has been sent him by the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic.

Whatever regret he may experience, at seeing the hope of a speedy conciliation thus destroyed, he can return no other answer to a refusal so absolute, to continue the negotiation on grounds which appeared to have been already agreed upon, than by demanding the necessary passports for himself and his suite, in order that they may set off within the four-and-twenty hours, and return immediately to England.

He requests the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.
Lisle, Saturday, 16*th Sept.* 8 *P. M.*

(No. 47. E.) Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.

The undersigned ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic, commissioned to treat of peace with England, have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of lord Malmesbury's answer to the note which they addressed to him this day.

They think it right to observe to him, that he does not appear to have seized the real meaning of their note; that it by no means contains a refusal to continue the negotiations, but, on the contrary, the means for giving them activity, and for following them up with a success, no less desirable to the two nations, than it would be flattering to the ministers charged with the conduct of them.

The French government is so far from entertaining the intentions which the note of lord Malmesbury appears to impute to them, that the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic have received no order to quit Lisle, after the departure of the minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty.

The ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic request lord Malmesbury to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

By the ministers plenipotentiary, the sec. gen. of the legation.

DERCHE.

Lisle, 30 *Fructidor*,
5th year of the Republic,
(*Sept.* 16, 1797.)

(No. 48. F.) Note from Lord Malmeſbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

The underſigned miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic majeſty, has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic tranſmitted to him yeſterday, through the hands of the ſecretary general of their legation. He thinks he cannot anſwer it better than by ſubmitting to them in his turn the following obſervations.

That having already by his note, dated July 24, and in obedience to the expreſs orders of his court, given an anſwer to the queſtion, which is now ſo unexpectedly renewed; a queſtion that, in appearance, relates ſolely to the limits of his full powers (which are in the moſt ample form), but which does in fact require a declaration of the whole extent of his inſtructions; and not being authoriſed to quit the place of his deſtination without the expreſs orders of the king his maſter, in any caſe except that of the rupture of the negotiation; he could not help conſidering a note enjoining him, in conſequence of a decree of the executive directory, to return to his court in the ſpace of four-and-twenty hours, as ill calculated to accelerate the concluſion of peace; nevertheleſs, to anſwer the aſſurances of the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic, and to teſtify his deſire to ſeize their real meaning, with reſpect to which he ſhould be very ſorry to deceive himſelf, he thinks that it would be more ſatisfactory to meet once more; and if the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic ſhould be of the ſame opinion, lord Malmeſbury would propoſe that this meeting ſhould take place at an earlier hour than uſual, in order that he may have time to take ſuch ſteps as the reſult of their conferences may render neceſſary. He deſires the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic to accept the aſſurances of his high conſideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Liſle, Sunday, Sept. 17, 1797.

(No. 49. G.) Note from the Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

The underſigned miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic, commiſſioned to treat of peace with England, have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which the miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic majeſty has tranſmitted to them this morning. Referring to the notes addreſſed to lord Malmeſbury on the 29th and 30th Fructidor, and eſpecially to the firſt of yeſterday, they agree to the meeting which lord Malmeſbury appears to deſire, and propoſe the hour of noon.

They requeſt lord Malmeſbury to accept the aſſurances of their high conſideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

Liſle, 1ſt complimentary day, 5th year of the French Republic, (17*th Sept.* 1797.)

By the miniſters plenipotentiary, the ſec. gen. of the legation.

DERCHE.

(No.

(No. 50.)—Diſpatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmeſbury, dated Downing-ſtreet, Sept. 22, 1797.

My Lord,

I have had the honour of laying before his majeſty your lordſhip's diſpatches, in which you have given an account of the extraordinary conduct of the new plenipotentiaries of the French republic, of the anſwers given by your lordſhip to their unjuſtifiable demand, and of your conſequent departure from Liſle.

I have the ſatisfaction to be able to aſſure your lordſhip, that his majeſty has been pleaſed to expreſs his entire approbation of your lordſhip's judicious and temperate conduct in the unprecedented ſituation in which you were placed, and of the manner in which you expreſſed yourſelf, both in your official notes, and in your converſations with the French plenipotentiaries, as well as of that in which you have conducted yourſelf during the whole courſe of the negotiation, which ſeems too likely to be now brought to its cloſe.

As it appears, however, that ſome further anſwer will probably be expected by the French government to their late extraordinary demand, notwithſtanding the full and concluſive reply given in your lordſhip's notes, I have received the king's commands to tranſmit to you the incloſed draft of a note, which it is his majeſty's pleaſure that your lordſhip ſhould tranſmit to the plenipotentiaries at Liſle, by a meſſenger whom I ſhall direct to be in readineſs for that purpoſe.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Right Hon. Lord Malmeſbury.

(No. 51.)—Note from Lord Malmeſbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

The underſigned miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic majeſty, has rendered to his court a faithful account of the circumſtances that have interrupted the exerciſe of thoſe important functions, which his majeſty had been pleaſed to intruſt to him. His majeſty has deigned to honour with his entire approbation, the anſwers which the underſigned has already made to the extraordinary and unexpected demands, which the new plenipotentiaries of the French republic addreſſed to him, immediately upon their arrival at Liſle.

But in order to leave no doubt reſpecting the nature and object of this demand, the underſigned has been expreſsly ordered to declare in the name of his court,

1. That the full powers with which his majeſty had thought proper to furniſh him, for negotiating and concluding a treaty of peace, are conceived and expreſſed in the moſt ample form, authorizing the underſigned fully, and without reſerve, to ſign any treaty upon which he might agree with the French plenipotentiaries, whatever its nature or conditions might be; conforming himſelf, in all caſes, to the inſtructions which he might receive from his court.

2. That theſe full powers have been received and recognized as ſufficient, as well by the plenipotentiaries with whom he has hitherto treated, as by the directory themſelves, and that there is, conſequently, no room for any new diſcuſſion upon a ſubject which has already been cloſed by common

agreement, and which, moreover, is not liable to any doubt or difficulty whatever; every thing which has been done hitherto upon this ſubject, being entirely conformable to cuſtoms long eſtabliſhed and recognized by all the nations of Europe.

3. That the demand of the directory, therefore, in reality, refers not to the full powers of the underſigned but to the extent of his inſtructions, of which the directory could not, under any circumſtances, require any communication, further than as the underſigned himſelf might judge ſuch a communication conducive to the ſucceſs of the negotiation; and that very far from being in a ſituation to be called upon for any new explanations whatever, the underſigned had every reaſon to expect, from the repeated communications which had been made to him by the French plenipotentiaries, that he ſhould immediately receive a *contre projet*, of a nature to facilitate the further progreſs of the negotiation, which had been ſuſpended for more than two months.

4. That the court of London had good reaſon to be ſtill more aſtoniſhed at the ſubſtance of the new demand made to the underſigned; a demand relating to preliminary conditions, which had already been rejected at the very commencement of the negotiation, and from which the French plenipotentiaries had in effect departed, by a formal notification of the meaſures which the directory were, in conſequence, taking, for the purpoſe of coming to ſome arrangement with their allies.

5. That it is, therefore, only by conſenting to treat upon the baſis of the projet, detailed with ſo much openneſs, which was preſented by the underſigned a few days after his arrival at Liſle, or by returning a *contre projet* of a conciliatory nature, agreeably to the aſſurances which he received ſo long ago, that it appears poſſible to continue the negotiation, which the plenipotentiaries have ſo ſtrongly aſſured him that the directory did not wiſh to break off, notwithſtanding the meaſures lately adopted with reſpect to him: a meaſure which the underſigned forbears to characterize, but which could not fail to produce in this country the impreſſion of a diſpoſition by no means pacific on the part of the directory.

The underſigned is directed to add, that his majeſty would ſee with real regret the certainty of the exiſtence of ſuch a diſpoſition, ſo little compatible with the ardent deſire with which he is animated to reſtore peace to the two nations; but that if, without having himſelf contributed to it on his part, he ſhould again find himſelf under the neceſſity of continuing the war, he will conduct himſelf upon every occaſion agreeably to the ſame principles, doing every thing which can depend upon him for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, but perſiſting to defend, with an unſhaken firmneſs, the dignity of his crown, and the intereſts of his people.

The miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic majeſty requeſts the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic to accept the aſſurance of his high conſideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

London, the 22d of September, 1797.

(No. 52.)—Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

The miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic, commiſſioned to treat of peace with England, have received the note, dated from London, which has been brought to them by an extraordinary meſſenger, from lord Malmeſbury. They have the honour to anſwer to him, that their note of the 29th Fructidor, to which they refer, offered the double aſſurance of the ſettled intention of the French government to continue the negotiations for peace, and of its conſtant determination not to agree to any other conditions, than ſuch as are compatible with the dignity of the French republic.

A peace, of which the baſis ſhould be contrary to the laws, or to the engagements taken with its allies, would never ſatisfy the hopes of the nation. It is a point from which the executive directory has never departed, and upon which its ſentiments have never varied.

Lord Malmeſbury having formally declared in his notes of the 15th and 24th of July, and in the laſt inſtance in that of the 17th September, that he had not the powers neceſſary for reſtoring the Dutch and Spaniſh poſſeſſions, occupied by the troops of his Britannic majeſty, the executive directory has given a new proof of its openneſs, and of its deſire to accelerate the concluſion of peace, in requiring lord Malmeſbury to return to his court, for the purpoſe of obtaining the authority, without which he cannot conclude; a meaſure rendered neceſſary by the declaration of the miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic majeſty, and upon which it is impoſſible to give a wrong impreſſion to any thinking and impartial mind.

The miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic requeſt lord Malmeſbury to accept the aſſurances of their high conſideration.

(Signed TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

Liſle, 4th Vendemaire,
5th Year of the Republic.
(*Sept.* 25, 1797.) DERCHE.

(No. 53.)—Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

The miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic, charged to treat for peace with England, have the honour to inform lord Malmeſbury, that having ſent a copy of his laſt note to their government, the executive directory has directed them to declare in its name, that it has never ceaſed to wiſh for peace; that it gave an unequivocal proof of the ſentiment which animates it, when it ordered the miniſters plenipotentiary of the republic to require a categorical explanation, as to the powers given by the Engliſh government to its miniſter plenipotentiary; that this demand had, and could have, no other object but to bring the negotiation to a ſpeedy and ſucceſsful iſſue:

That the order given to the plenipotentiaries of the republic to remain at Liſle after the departure of lord Malmeſbury, is another proof that the directory had deſired and foreſeen his return with powers that ſhould not be illuſory, and the limitation of which ſhould no longer be a pretext for delaying the concluſion of peace:

That such are still the hopes and intentions of the executive directory, which enjoins the ministers plenipotentiary of the republic not to quit Lisle till the continued absence of the negotiator, shall no longer leave any doubt of the intention of his Britannic majesty to break off all negotiation:

That consequently the 25th Vendemaire (16th of October, old style) is the period fixed for the recall of the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic, supposing that at that time the minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty shall not have arrived at Lisle.

The executive directory will feel the greatest regret that a reconciliation, already twice attempted, should not be perfected; but its conscience, and the whole of Europe, will bear it testimony, that it is the English government alone that will have inflicted the scourge of war upon the two nations.

The ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic entreat the minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

Lisle, 10th Vendemaire, 6th Year of the French Republic.
(*October* 1, 1797.)

The sec. of the legation,
DERCHE.

(No. 54.)—Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

The undersigned having laid before the king's ministry, the note of the plenipotentiaries of the French republic, is directed to observe to them,

That it is only in consequence of the formal and positive injunction of the directory that he quitted Lisle; that his powers were neither illusory nor limited; and that nothing was omitted on his part to accelerate the negotiation, which has been only retarded by the delays of the directory, and which at this moment is only suspended by its act.

With regard to the renewal of the conferences, the undersigned can only refer to his last note, where he has explained with frankness and precision the only means which remain for continuing the negotiation; observing at the same time, that the king could no longer treat in an enemy's country, without being certain that the customs established amongst all civilized nations, with regard to public ministers, and especially to those charged to negotiate for the re-establishment of peace, would be respected for the future in the person of his plenipotentiary.

The minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty requests the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic to accept the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.
London, 5th Oct. 1797.

Declaration of the King of *Great Britain* to the People, respecting the Rupture of the late Negotiation.

HIS majesty's benevolent endeavours to restore to his people the blessings of secure and honourable peace, again repeated without success, have again demonstrated, beyond the possibility of doubt, the determined and persevering hostility of

of the government of France, in whoſe unprovoked aggreſſion the war originated, and by whoſe boundleſs and deſtructive ambition it is ſtill prolonged. And while, by the courſe of theſe tranſactions, continued proofs have been afforded to all his majeſty's faithful ſubjects, of his anxious and unremitting ſolicitude for their welfare, they cannot, at the ſame time, have failed to recognize, in the uniform conduct of the enemy, the ſpirit by which the councils of France are ſtill actuated, and the objects to which they are directed.

His majeſty could not but feel how much the means of peace had been obſtructed, by the many additional difficulties which his enemies had ſo repeatedly thrown in the way of every negotiation. Nevertheleſs, on the very firſt appearance of circumſtances in ſome degree more favourable to the intereſts of humanity, the ſame ardent deſire for the eaſe and happineſs of his ſubjects induced his majeſty to renew his overtures for terminating the calamities of war: thus availing himſelf of every opening which could in any manner lead to ſecure an honourable peace; and conſulting equally the wiſhes of his own heart, and the principles by which his conduct has invariably been guided.

New obſtacles were immediately interpoſed by thoſe who ſtill directed the councils of France, and who, amidſt the general deſire for peace, which they could not at that time openly diſclaim, ſtill retained the power of fruſtrating the wiſhes of their own country, of counteracting his majeſty's benevolent intentions, and of obſtructing that reſult which was ſo neceſſary for the happineſs of both nations. Difficulties of form were ſtudiouſly created; modes of negotiation were inſiſted upon, the moſt inconſiſtent with their own conduct in every other inſtance; the ſame ſpirit appeared in every ſtep which was taken by them; and while the moſt unwarranted inſinuations were thrown out, and the moſt unfounded reproaches brought forward, the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms and uſages, which have long prevailed in Europe, were purpoſely departed from, even in the ſimple acts which were to be done on their part for the renewal of the negotiations. All theſe things his majeſty determined to diſregard; not as being inſenſible of their purport and tendency, nor unmindful of the importance of theſe points, in the public intercourſe of great and independent nations, but reſolving to defeat the object of theſe artifices, and to ſuffer no ſubordinate or inferior conſideration to impede, on his part, the diſcuſſion of the weighty and extenſive intereſts on which the termination of the war muſt neceſſarily depend.

He directed his miniſter to repair to France, furniſhed with the moſt ample powers, and inſtructed to communicate at once an explicit and detailed propoſal and plan of peace, reduced into the ſhape of a regular treaty, juſt and moderate in its principles, embracing all the intereſts concerned, and extending to every ſubject connected with the reſtoration of public tranquillity. The communication of this paper, delivered in the very firſt conference, was accompanied by ſuch explanations as fully ſtated and detailed the utmoſt extent of his majeſty's views, and at the ſame time gave ample room for the examination of every diſputed point, for

mutual arrangement and conceſſion, and for reciprocal facilities ariſing out of the progreſs of fair diſcuſſion.

To this proceeding, open and liberal beyond example, the conduct of his majeſty's enemies oppoſes the moſt ſtriking contraſt. From them no counter-project has ever yet been obtained: no ſtatement of the extent or nature of the conditions, on which they would conclude any peace with theſe kingdoms. Their pretenſions have always been brought forward either as detached or preliminary points, diſtinct from the main object of negotiation, and accompanied, in every inſtance, with an expreſs reſerve of farther and unexplained demands.

The points which, in purſuance of this ſyſtem, the plenipotentiaries of the enemy propoſed for ſeparate diſcuſſion in their firſt conferences with his majeſty's miniſter, were at once frivolous and offenſive; none of them productive of any ſolid advantage to France, but all calculated to raiſe new obſtacles in the way of peace. And to theſe demands was ſoon after added another, in its form unprecedented, in its ſubſtance extravagant, and ſuch as could originate only in the moſt determined and inveterate hoſtility. The principle of mutual compenſation, before expreſsly admitted by common conſent, as the juſt and equitable baſis of negotiation, was now diſclaimed; every idea of moderation or reaſon, every appearance of juſtice, was diſregarded; and a conceſſion was required from his majeſty's plenipotentiary, as a preliminary and indiſpenſable condition of negotiation, which muſt at once have ſuperſeded all the objects, and precluded all the means of treating. France, after incorporating with her own dominions ſo large a portion of her conqueſts, and affecting to have deprived herſelf, by her own internal regulations, of the power of alienating theſe valuable additions of territory, did not ſcruple to demand from his majeſty the abſolute and unconditional ſurrender of all that the energy of his people, and the valour of his fleets and armies, have conquered in the preſent war, either from France, or from her allies. She required that the power of Great Britain ſhould be confined within its former limits, at the very moment when her own dominion was extended to a degree almoſt unparalleled in hiſtory. She inſiſted, that in proportion to the increaſe of danger, the means of reſiſtance ſhould be diminiſhed; and that his majeſty ſhould give up, without compenſation, and into the hands of his enemies, the neceſſary defences of his poſſeſſions, and the future ſafeguards of his empire. Nor was even this demand brought forward as conſtituting the terms of peace, but as the price of negotiation; as the condition on which alone his majeſty was to be allowed to learn what further unexplained demands were ſtill reſerved, and to what greater ſacrifices theſe unprecedented conceſſions of honour and ſafety were to lead.

Whatever were the impreſſions which ſuch a proceeding created, they did not induce the king abruptly to preclude the means of negotiation. In rejecting without a moment's heſitation a demand, which could have been made for no other reaſon than becauſe it was inadmiſſible, his majeſty, from the fixed

fixed reſolution to avail himſelf of every chance of bringing the negotiation to a favourable iſſue, directed that an opening ſhould ſtill be left, for treating on reaſonable and equal grounds, ſuch as might become the dignity of his crown, and the rank and ſtation in Europe in which it has pleaſed the divine Providence to place the Britiſh nation.

This temperate and conciliatory conduct was ſtrongly expreſſive of the benevolence of his majeſty's intentions; and it appeared for ſome time to have prepared the way for that reſult, which has been the uniform object of all his meaſures. Two months elapſed after his majeſty had unequivocally and definitively refuſed to comply with the unreaſonable and extravagant preliminary, which had been demanded by his enemies. During all that time the negotiation was continued open, the conferences were regularly held, and the demand thus explicitly rejected by one party was never once renewed by the other. It was not only abandoned, it was openly diſclaimed; aſſurances were given in direct contradiction to it. Promiſes were continually repeated, that his majeſty's explicit and detailed propoſals ſhould at length be anſwered by that which could alone evince a real diſpoſition to negotiate with ſincerity, by the delivery of a counter-project, of a nature tending to facilitate the concluſion of peace; and the long delays of the French government in executing theſe promiſes were excuſed and accounted for by an unequivocal declaration, that France was concerting with her allies for thoſe ſacrifices on their part, which might afford the means of proceeding in the negotiation. Week after week paſſed over in the repetition of theſe ſolemn engagements, on the part of his majeſty's enemies. His deſire for peace induced him to wait for their completion, with an anxiety proportioned to the importance of the object; nor was it much to expect that his miniſter ſhould at length be informed, what was the extent and nature of the conditions on which his enemies were diſpoſed to terminate the war.

It was in this ſtage of the buſineſs that, on the 11th of September, the appointment of new plenipotentiaries was announced on the part of France, under a formal promiſe that their arrival ſhould facilitate and expedite the work of peace.

To renew, in a ſhape ſtill more offenſive than before, the inadmiſſible demand ſo long before brought forward, and ſo long abandoned, was the firſt act of theſe new meſſengers of peace. And ſuch was now the undiſguiſed impatience of the king's enemies to terminate all treaty, and to exclude all proſpect of accommodation, that even the continuance of the king's plenipotentiary at the appointed place of negotiation was made by them to depend on his immediate compliance with a condition which his court had, two months before, explicitly refuſed, and concerning which no further diſcuſſion had ſince occurred. His reply was ſuch as the occaſion required; and he immediately received a poſitive and written order to depart from France.

The ſubſequent conduct of his majeſty's enemies has aggravated even this proceeding, and added freſh inſult to this unexampled outrage.

The insurmountable obstacles which they threw in the way of peace, were accompanied with an ostentatious profession of the most pacific dispositions. In cutting off the means of negotiation they still pretended to retain the strongest desire to negotiate: in ordering the king's minister to quit their country, they professed the hope of his immediate return to it: and in renewing their former inadmissible and rejected demand, they declared their confident expectation of a speedy and favourable answer. Yet before any answer could arrive, they published a declaration, announcing to their country the departure of the king's messenger, and attempting, as in every former instance, to ascribe to the conduct of Great Britain the disappointment of the general wish for peace, and the renewal of all the calamities of war. The same attempt has been prolonged in subsequent communications, equally insidious and illusory, by which they have obviously intended to furnish the colour and empty pretence of a wish for peace, while they have still studiously and obstinately persisted in evading every step which could lead to the success of any negotiation; have continued to insist on the same inadmissible and extravagant preliminary, and have uniformly withheld all explanation either on the particulars of the proposals of peace, so long since delivered by his majesty's minister, or on any other terms on which they were themselves ready to conclude: and this in the vain hope that it could be possible by any artifice to disguise the truth of these transactions, or that any exercise of power, however despotic, could prevent such facts from being known, felt, and understood, even in France itself.

To France, to Europe, and to the world, it must be manifest that the French government (while they persist in their present sentiments) leave his majesty without an alternative, unless he were prepared to surrender and sacrifice to the undisguised ambition of his enemies, the honour of his crown and the safety of his dominions. It must be manifest that, instead of shewing, on their part, any inclination to meet his majesty's pacific overtures on any moderate terms, they have never brought themselves to state any terms (however exorbitant) on which they were ready to conclude peace. They have asked as a preliminary (and in the form the most arrogant and offensive), concessions which the comparative situation of the two countries would have rendered extravagant in any stage of negotiation; which were directly contrary to their own repeated professions; and which, nevertheless, they peremptorily required to be complied with in the very outset; reserving an unlimited power of afterwards accumulating, from time to time, fresh demands, increasing in proportion to every new concession.

On the other hand, the terms proposed by his majesty have been stated in the most clear, open, and unequivocal manner. The discussion of all the points to which they relate, or of any others, which the enemy might bring forward as the terms of peace, has been, on his majesty's part, repeatedly called for, as often promised by the French plenipotentiaries, but to this day has never yet been obtained. The rupture of the negotiation is not, therefore,

therefore, to be aſcribed to any pretenſions (however inadmiſſible) urged as the price of peace; not to any ultimate difference on terms, however exorbitant; but to the evident and fixed determination of the enemy to prolong the conteſt, and to purſue, at all hazards, their hoſtile deſigns againſt the proſperity and ſafety of theſe kingdoms.

While this determination continues to prevail, his majeſty's earneſt wiſhes and endeavours to reſtore peace to his ſubjects muſt be fruitleſs. But his ſentiments remain unaltered. He looks with anxious expectation to the moment, when the government of France may ſhew a diſpoſition and ſpirit in any degree correſponding to his own. And he renews, even now, and before all Europe, the ſolemn declaration, that, in ſpite of repeated provocations, and at the very moment when his claims have been ſtrengthened and confirmed by that freſh ſucceſs, which by the bleſſing of Providence, has recently attended his arms, he is yet ready (if the calamities of war can now be cloſed) to conclude peace on the ſame moderate and equitable principles and terms which he has before propoſed: the rejection of ſuch terms muſt now, more than ever, demonſtrate the implacable animoſity and inſatiable ambition of thoſe with whom he has to contend; and to them alone muſt the future conſequences of the prolongation of the war be aſcribed.

If ſuch unhappily is the ſpirit by which they are ſtill actuated, his majeſty can neither heſitate as to the principles of his own conduct, nor doubt the ſentiments and determination of his people. He will not be wanting to them, and he is confident they will not be wanting to themſelves. He has an anxious, but a ſacred and indiſpenſable duty to fulfil: he will diſcharge it with reſolution, conſtancy, and firmneſs. Deeply as he muſt regret the continuance of a war, ſo deſtructive in its progreſs, and ſo burthenſome even in its ſucceſs, he knows the character of the brave people whoſe intereſts and honour are entruſted to him. Theſe it is the firſt object of his life to maintain; and he is convinced, that neither the reſources nor the ſpirit of his kingdoms will be found inadequate to this arduous conteſt, or unequal to the importance and value of the objects which are at ſtake. He truſts that the favour of Providence, by which they have always hitherto been ſupported againſt all their enemies, will be ſtill extended to them; and that, under this protection, his faithful ſubjects, by a reſolute and vigorous application of the means which they poſſeſs, will be enabled to vindicate the independence of their country, and to reſiſt with juſt indignation, the aſſumed ſuperiority of an enemy, againſt whom they have fought with the courage, the ſucceſs, and glory of their anceſtors; and who aims at nothing leſs than to deſtroy at once whatever has contributed to the proſperity and greatneſs of the Britiſh empire, all the channels of its induſtry, and all the ſources of its power; its ſecurity from abroad, its tranquillity at home; and above all, that conſtitution, on which alone depends the undiſturbed enjoyment of its religion, laws, and liberties.

Weſtminſter,
October 25, 1797.

His Majeſty's Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, Nov. 2, 1797.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

IT is matter of great concern to me, that the earneſt endeavours which I have continued to employ, ſince I laſt met you in parliament, to reſtore to my ſubjects the bleſſings of peace, on ſecure and honourable terms, have unhappily been rendered ineffectual.

The declaration which I have cauſed to be publiſhed, and the other papers which I have directed to be laid before you, will, I am confident, abundantly prove to you, and to the world, that every ſtep has been taken on my part, which could tend to accelerate the concluſion of peace; and that the long delay and final rupture of the negotiation are ſolely to be aſcribed to the evaſive conduct, the unwarrantable pretenſions, and the inordinate ambition of thoſe with whom we have to contend, and, above all, to their inveterate animoſity againſt theſe kingdoms.

I have the fulleſt reliance, under the bleſſing of Providence, on the vigour and wiſdom of your counſels, and on the zeal, magnanimity, and courage, of a great and free people; ſenſible that they are contending for their deareſt intereſts, and determined to ſhow themſelves worthy of the bleſſings which they are ſtruggling to preſerve.

Compelled as we are, by the moſt evident neceſſity, to perſevere in the defence of all that is dear to us, till a more juſt and pacific ſpirit ſhall prevail on the part of the enemy, we have the ſatisfaction of knowing that we poſſeſs means and reſources proportioned to the objects which are at ſtake.

During the period of hoſtilities, and under the unavoidable preſſure of accumulated burthens, our revenue has continued highly productive, our national induſtry has been extended, and our commerce has ſurpaſſed its former limits.

The public ſpirit of my people has been eminently displayed; my troops, of every deſcription, have acquired freſh claims to the eſteem and admiration of their country; and the repeated ſucceſſes of my navy over all our different enemies, have been recently crowned by the ſignal and deciſive victory with which Providence has rewarded the exertions of my fleet under the command of admiral lord Duncan.

No event could be attended with more important and beneficial conſequences, or form a more brilliant addition to the numerous and heroic exploits which, in the courſe of the preſent war, have raiſed to a pitch hitherto unequalled the naval glory of the country.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have directed the eſtimates for the enſuing year to be laid before you. The ſtate of the war, joined to the happy conſequences of our recent ſucceſs, will, I truſt, admit of ſome diminution of expence, conſiſtently with the vigorous efforts which our ſituation indiſpenſably requires. In conſidering what may be the beſt mode of defraying the heavy expence which will ſtill be unavoidable, you will, I am perſuaded, bear in mind that the preſent criſis preſents every motive to animate you to the moſt effectual and ſpirited exertions; the true value

of any temporary ſacrifices which you may find neceſſary for this purpoſe, can only be eſtimated by comparing them with the importance of ſupporting effectually our public credit, and convincing the enemy that, while we retain an ardent deſire for the concluſion of peace on ſafe and honourable terms, we poſſeſs the means, as well as the determination, to ſupport with vigour this arduous conteſt, as long as it may be neceſſary for maintaining the ſafety, honour, and independence of theſe kingdoms.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

After the experience I have had of your loyalty and attachment to me, and of your anxious regard for the intereſts of my ſubjects, I have only to recommend to you a perſeverance in the ſame principles and conduct.

The events of every day muſt more and more impreſs you with a juſt ſenſe of the bleſſings which we derive from our civil and religious eſtabliſhments, and which have ſo long diſtinguiſhed us among all the nations of Europe. Theſe bleſſings can only be preſerved by inculcating and enforcing a due reverence and obedience to the laws, by repreſſing with promptitude every attempt to diſturb our internal tranquillity, and by maintaining inviolate that happy conſtitution which we inherit from our anceſtors, on which the ſecurity and happineſs of every claſs of my ſubjects eſſentially depend.

Addreſs of the Houſe of Peers to the King.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your majeſty our humble thanks for your majeſty's moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne; and to expreſs to your majeſty the juſt ſenſe which we entertain of your majeſty's paternal anxiety for the welfare of your ſubjects, manifeſted in the earneſt deſire expreſſed by your majeſty for the reſtoration of peace, on ſecure and honourable terms.

We return your majeſty our humble thanks for the communications which you have directed to be laid before us; and we aſſure your majeſty, that we ſhall proceed, without delay, to the conſideration of thoſe meaſures which the circumſtances of the preſent criſis require; and that, while we participate with your majeſty in the concern which your majeſty feels at the failure of your earneſt endeavours to procure for your people the bleſſings of peace, we are fully confident, from the uniform tenour of your majeſty's conduct, that every ſtep has been taken by your majeſty, which could tend to accelerate that object; and that it is to the unwarrantable pretenſions and inordinate ambition of the enemy, and, above all, to their inveterate animoſity againſt theſe kingdoms, that the long delay and final rupture of the negotiation are to be aſcribed.

We intreat your majeſty to believe that, impreſſed as we are with the neceſſity and the magnitude of the conteſt in which we are engaged, as well as of the value of the intereſts which we have at ſtake, no exertions will be wanting on our part to enable your majeſty to proſecute the war with vigour, until a more juſt and pacific ſpirit ſhall prevail

prevail on the part of the enemy; and to employ, in the defence of every thing that is deareſt to us, thoſe means and reſources which the preſent ſituation of our country holds out.

We aſſure your majeſty, that we reflect with peculiar ſatisfaction on the public ſpirit which has been diſplayed by your majeſty's ſubjects, and on the conduct by which your majeſty's troops, of every deſcription, have acquired freſh claims to our eſteem and admiration.

We are particularly deſirous of embracing the earlieſt opportunity to offer to your majeſty our warm and heartfelt congratulations on that ſignal and deciſive victory, which has crowned the ſeries of ſplendid ſucceſſes obtained by your majeſty's fleets over all our different enemies in the courſe of the preſent war; a victory no leſs important in its conſequences, than glorious in the circumſtances by which it is diſtinguiſhed.

We are deeply ſenſible of the manner in which your majeſty is pleaſed to expreſs your gracious acceptance of our beſt endeavours to teſtify by our conduct our anxious regard for the intereſts of our country, and our invariable attachment to your majeſty's perſon and government.

Senſible of the bleſſings which, under your majeſty's paternal care, are derived to us from our civil and religious eſtabliſhments, and which diſtinguiſh us from among all the nations of Europe; and perſuaded that theſe bleſſings can only be preſerved by inculcating and enforcing a due reverence and obedience to the laws, and by repreſſing with promptitude every attempt to diſturb our internal tranquillity,—it ſhall be the firſt object of our attention to contribute, by every means in our power, to the maintenance of that happy conſtitution which we inherit from our anceſtors, and on which the ſecurity and happineſs of every claſs of your majeſty's ſubjects eſſentially depend.

ANSWER.

My Lords,

I thank you for this loyal, dutiful, and affectionate addreſs.

In a criſis of ſo much importance to the ſecurity and happineſs of every claſs of my ſubjects, it is a great ſatisfaction to me to know that you entertain a juſt ſenſe of the nature, magnitude, and neceſſity of the conteſt in which we are engaged; and that I may rely with confidence on your ſupport in my fixed and unalterable determination to maintain to the utmoſt the laws, liberties, and religion of my people, and the dignity, honour, and independence of my kingdoms.

The humble Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons to the King, moved by Mr. Wilbraham Bootle.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of Great Britain, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your majeſty our humble thanks for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne, and for the communication of the declaration, and the other papers reſpecting the negotiation with France, which your majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to direct to be laid before us.

Permit us to aſſure your majeſty, that we ſhall not fail to apply ourſelves, with the utmoſt diligence and

and attention, to the conſideration of the meaſures which the preſent criſis requires; but we cannot refrain from expreſſing, at the earlieſt moment, our firm determination to afford your majeſty the moſt effectual ſupport in reſiſting every unwarrantable pretenſion, and checking every attempt dictated by inordinate ambition on the part of thoſe with whom we have to contend.

We entertain a firm perſuaſion, that all your majeſty's faithful ſubjects feel as they ought the value of the bleſſings which they are ſtruggling to preſerve, and will not fail, in every ſituation, to ſupport your majeſty, in defence of their eſſential intereſts, with the zeal, magnanimity, and courage, worthy of a great and free people: and we muſt, at the preſent moment, obſerve, with peculiar ſatisfaction, the proofs afforded of our means and internal reſources, in the flouriſhing ſtate of the revenue, induſtry and commerce of the country.

With the utmoſt gratitude we acknowledge the ſenſe which your majeſty expreſſes of the public ſpirit which has been ſo eminently diſplayed by your people, and of the conduct of your majeſty's troops of every deſcription, which has juſtly entitled them to the additional eſteem and admiration of their country.

And we moſt heartily congratulate your majeſty on the ſignal and deciſive victory, with which Providence has rewarded the exertions of your fleet under the command of admiral lord Duncan; an event which has crowned the repeated maritime ſucceſſes obtained over all our enemies, and has, indeed, afforded a brilliant addition to the numerous and heroic exploits which, in the courſe of the preſent war, have raiſed to the higheſt pitch the naval glory of the country.

It will afford us great ſatisfaction to find that any branches of our expence will admit of reduction, conſiſtently with the continuance of thoſe vigorous efforts which muſt be neceſſary for our ſafety, and which, at all events, cannot fail to be attended with heavy expence. In conſidering what may be the beſt mode of defraying it, we ſhall, undoubtedly, bear in mind the nature of the preſent criſis; and, in eſtimating the value of any temporary ſacrifices, we ſhall not loſe ſight of the infinite importance of ſupporting effectually our public credit, and of convincing the enemy that, while we join in your majeſty's anxious deſire for the concluſion of peace, on ſafe and honourable terms, we poſſeſs the means, as well as the determination, to ſupport with vigour this arduous conteſt, as long as it may be rendered neceſſary, for maintaining the ſafety, honour, and independence of theſe kingdoms.

We beſeech your majeſty to believe that our loyalty and attachment to your majeſty, and our anxious regard for the intereſts of your ſubjects, will enſure our perſeverance in that line of conduct which may beſt preſerve the advantages reſulting to your people, from your majeſty's auſpicious government.

The bleſſings which we derive from our civil and religious eſtabliſhments have long been deeply imprinted on our minds; and we cannot but feel more and more, from the events of every day, how much they diſtinguiſh us among all the nations of Europe: We ſhall never be unmindful that they can only

only be preſerved by inculcating and enforcing a due reverence and obedience to the laws, by repreſſing with promptitude every attempt to diſturb our internal tranquillity; and by maintaining inviolate that happy conſtitution which we inherit from our anceſtors, on which the ſecurity and happineſs of every claſs of your majeſty's ſubjects eſſentially depend.

ANSWER:

Gentlemen,

I return you my warmeſt thanks for this loyal and dutiful addreſs, and for the expreſſions of your affectionate attachment to my perſon and government. The aſſurances of your firm determination to reſiſt, to the utmoſt, the unwarrantable pretenſions and inordinate ambition of the enemy, afford me the higheſt ſatisfaction at this important conjuncture. They juſtify the reliance which I have uniformly placed on the vigour and wiſdom of your councils, and leave me no room to doubt that the ſtrength and reſources of theſe kingdoms will be effectually employed in ſupporting our deareſt intereſts, maintaining our happy conſtitution, and vindicating the honour and independence of the country.

Proteſt of Earl Fitzwilliam, *on the rejection of his Amendment* to the Address of their Lordships, November* 2.

DISSENTIENT,

1ſt. BECAUSE the amendment, which has been rejected, appeared to me neceſſary to ſave the honour of this houſe from being implicated in approving a negotiation, of which we knew little more than that it has drawn down new contumelies and indignities, new injuries and outrages, on his majeſty and his people. Of theſe indeed too much is already known. His majeſty has been adviſed to ſet forth a detailed account of them to France, to Europe, and to the world, as if the late abrupt concluſion of the negotiation by the directory, and the inſulting diſmiſſion of our ambaſſador, were not the notorious and immediate conſequence of the public voice of France having been over-ruled by force and terror; and as if all Europe, however in great part ſubdued alſo by force and terror, and America, the only part of the world out of Europe which is directly connected with the ſyſtem of Europe, were not too well acquainted before with the diſpoſition and principles of the common enemy. On his ſide, we are told that there was a ſtudied accumulation of every thing that could offend and irritate a high-minded people, ſuch as the people of England once was;—a wanton violation of all the mutually reſpectful forms which long uſage has eſtabliſhed in the interconſe of free nations;—and a final demand (to which, from the moment of our firſt pacific overtures, that arrogant power has conſtantly recurred) of a direct ſurrender of our independence, by taking his laws and treaties for the baſis of negotiations, and indeed for a preliminary to all diſcuſſion. On our ſide, it is avowed that there was a departure from all the rules of common prudence, by diſcloſing all our objects before

* The amendment was to leave out that part of the addreſs of the lords, which implied approbation of the attempt to negotiate.

we

we could learn any one definitive pretenſion of the enemy, as the price of peace; and a patience that, it is too much to be feared, France, Europe, and the world, to which it is declared, may miſtake for puſillanimity. The circumſtances which could warrant ſuch a conduct, ſo contrary to all common policy, ought indeed to be weighty and grave, if not imperious and irreſiſtible, under our preſent circumſtances. To take any ſtep which may ſeem, however diſtantly, to approve that conduct, can only tend to deceive his majeſty's miniſters as to the ſentiments of this houſe, and induce ſtill greater humiliation, which muſt terminate in ruin as well as in diſhonour. No country can be ſafe which is not reſpected; no country can hope to be reſpected that does not firſt reſpect itſelf.

2dly. Becauſe, having recorded my ſentiments on the journals of this houſe when this train of meaſures was new, and the reſult of the firſt experiment yet in ſuſpenſe, I have now the affliction of finding, that whatever I had apprehended from it has been very much exceeded by its effects, in raiſing the inſolence and audacity of the enemy, and in breaking down that ſpirit and energy of government, which can alone work out our ſafety in this awful juncture, or give dignity and glory to our fall.

3dly. Becauſe the ſacrifices which his majeſty has lately been adviſed to offer, and ſtill to declare himſelf ready to make, cannot now have the ſame object which the ſame, or ſimilar offers, had on a former occaſion. We were then anxious, by the ceſſion of our own acquiſitions, to redeem the moſt important part of the ancient eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of Europe, in which a breach had been made, and which was menaced with ſtill greater danger. In different treaties of peace, ſometimes England, ſometimes France, ſometimes other ſtates, according to the circumſtances of the juncture, have ſurrendered more or leſs of their actual conqueſts for the purpoſe of reſtoring the general balance of power, for the general ſafety. In ſuch a peace we ſhould have had ſome apparent ſecurity, though ſlender indeed, againſt the ambition and principles of republican France. But our laſt propoſed ſacrifices were offered merely to obtain peace. For that, and for that alone, we were prepared to give up poſſeſſions which, under the laws of war, had become our own, whilſt the enemy had invariably inſiſted on keeping almoſt every thing which his arms had conquered from the other great powers of Europe. Every thing that may be neceſſary to give rational ſecurity to an enemy ſhewing a true pacific diſpoſition, would be well ſurrendered without any compenſation; but a propoſal to purchaſe peace, as a valuable conſideration in itſelf, is a diſtinct admiſſion of inferiority, or a proof of puſillanimity, never honourable, and therefore never ſafe to a great nation, eſpecially in the face of an enemy who meaſures all right by power and audacity; and againſt whom, it was admitted in debate by his majeſty's miniſters, "That no ſecurity could be found in peace, without uncommon caution, and an uncommon degree of warlike preparation." A treaty formed on ſuch a principle may be complimented with the name of peace, but it will be in effect only a ſuſpenſion of active hoſtility, without any of the advantages

advantages of peace, and ſubject to all the expences and dangers of war.

4thly. Becauſe the whole conduct, as well as declarations of the enemy, ſince the opening of the laſt ſeſſion, had been particularly pointed againſt this country, ſo as to leave no rational ground of expecting any event from negotiation but that which has followed, of unavailing humiliation. The original treaty of France with America was moſt unjuſtly infringed, and avowedly becauſe the latter country would not inſiſt on our granting nominally to her, but really to France, exceptions and immunities which derogated from the general maritime law reſpecting neutral nations, while no one word of conciliation was ever uſed towards us. Our ally the emperor was by turns menaced and careſſed, to induce him to liſten to a ſeparate peace: And in the very outſet of our late negotiation, his majeſty has declared, that "Modes were inſiſted upon, the moſt inconſiſtent with the enemy's own conduct in every other inſtance." What has never yet been demanded by that inſolent government from any other great ſtate of Europe, was exacted from us, that we ſhould become acceſſaries in violating all the ancient uſages, invented and received to guard the independency and dignity even of the weakeſt powers. No tolerably ſecure and honourable peace could have come, or ever can come, from a negotiation commenced and continued in that ſpirit.

5thly. Becauſe, while his majeſty perſiſted in a diſpoſition to treat, and when he again offered in his public declaration to ratify the terms before propoſed by him, the whole ground had failed on which alone his majeſty had been induced, on the 8th of December, 1793, to declare, for the firſt time, a deſire of meeting any diſpoſition which the enemy might manifeſt to negotiate a general peace on juſt and ſuitable terms. That ground, as it was previouſly explained to us by his majeſty's ſpeech on the opening of that ſeſſion; and as all his majeſty's miniſters conſtantly argued in debate, was the eſtabliſhment in France "of an order of things compatible with the tranquillity of other countries, and affording a reaſonable expectation of ſecurity and permanence in any treaty which might be concluded." Such an order of things was benevolently hoped by his majeſty to have been eſtabliſhed in the third new conſtitution made in the fourth year of the French republic. In the interim between our two negotiations at Paris and at Liſle, the firſt election, not immediately controuled by an armed force, came on under that conſtitution. The true voice of the majority of France was for the firſt time heard, and heard againſt the actual government of that wretched country. The armies were called in to ſtifle that voice. The principal leaders of the two legiſlative councils were ſeized and tranſported, without any form of trial:—a new and unheard-of thing even in the hiſtory of their injuſtice: — nearly two-thirds of France were diſfranchiſed; the preſs ſilenced; the clergy again proſcribed, and the moſt arbitrary and ferocious meaſures threatened, as well as ſome abſolutely taken, againſt all that remains of the nobility, gentry, and magiſtracy of the ancient monarchy. The power now

now eſtabliſhed is notoriouſly the very ſame in character, in maxims, and in conduct, as well as for the moſt part exerciſed or ſupported by the ſame men, with the government which exiſted at, and ſoon after, the commencement of the war; and which was truly deſcribed in his majeſty's declaration of the 29th of October, 1793, as a "ſtate of things that could not exiſt in France without involving all the ſurrounding powers in one common danger, without giving them the right, without impoſing it upon them as a duty, to ſtop the progreſs of an evil which exiſted only by the ſucceſſive violation of all law and all property; and which attacked the fundamental principles by which mankind are united in the bonds of civil ſociety." It was againſt that government "that his majeſty then called upon the people of France to join the ſtandard of an hereditary monarchy, in order to unite themſelves once more under the empire of law, of morality, and religion." The continuance of the ſame ſort of government, changing never as to its fundamental principles, though fluctuating perpetually as to the perſons of the uſurpers who occaſionally tyrannize over the enſlaved people, has confirmed me more than ever in my full aſſent to the wiſdom of his majeſty's declaration then made.

6thly. Becauſe, though the moſt abſolute and overruling neceſſity could hardly palliate, much leſs juſtify, the ſacrifices which the late negotiation would have made of our dignity, honour, and independence, together with our acquiſitions; yet we have the ſatisfaction of knowing how and when his majeſty's miniſters adviſed him in his declaration to repeat his offers of peace. They alſo know that nothing in any degree approaching to ſuch neceſſity exiſts. The relative ſituation of this kingdom with regard to France, is much improved ſince laſt year. We have loſt nothing:—we have gained ſomething. The extenſion of the enemy's dominion, under the name of protection, in the interior of Italy, gives him little additional means of immediately annoying us. The marine of thoſe allies, through whom alone he hoped to act againſt us, has been crippled by our glorious victories. We are ſecure from him, and he is left open, by the indiſputed ſuperiority of our navy, to our attack, if his majeſty ſhall be adviſed to call forth the ſpirit and energy of his people, and to carry ſuccour and aſſiſtance to the majority of that nation groaning under the tyranny of the uſurpation, and manifeſting, on every occaſion, ſentiments of diſaffection and hoſtility towards the eſtabliſhment deceitfully and cruelly impoſed on them as a mild and beneficent conſtitution. This is a ſtate of things not the reſult of my ſpeculation, but derived from the admiſſion of the uſurpers themſelves. It is by them brought forward in their late declarations as their juſtification, and as the imperious and irreſiſtible motive for violently diſfranchiſing ſo large a majority of the nation of thoſe rights and privileges upon which, as upon an unalterable baſis, the pretended liberties of their republic were built and eſtabliſhed. The pecuniary diſtreſs and embarraſſments of the enemy have encreaſed, ſo as to have been a pretence for ſome of the late violent proceedings in France; while, on

the contrary, the enquiries of our committees have long ſince prepared the houſe to anticipate the pleaſing aſſurances of his majeſty, "That we poſſeſs means and reſources proportionate to the objects which were at ſtake; that our revenue has continued highly productive, our national induſtry has been extended, and our commerce has ſurpaſſed its former limits."

WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM.

Joint Addreſs of both Houſes of Parliament to his Majeſty, preſented Nov. 15, 1797.

WE, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled, have taken into our moſt ſerious conſideration the papers which your majeſty has been pleaſed to direct to be laid before us, on the ſubject of the negotiation into which your majeſty had entered, with the view of reſtoring to your people a ſecure and honourable peace.—In every ſtage of that tranſaction we have recognized your majeſty's invariable and unremitted ſolicitude for our proſperity and welfare, while we have ſeen, on the other hand, the moſt abundant proofs of the continuance of that ſpirit of inveterate animoſity and deſperate ambition, on the part of our enemies, in which the preſent conteſt firſt originated. Your majeſty's conduct, characterized by an unexampled moderation, openneſs, and conſiſtency, has left to the enemy no means of evaſion, no ſubterfuge of diſguiſe or artifice. It can no longer be denied, that their conduct is actuated by a fixed determination of excluding all means of peace, and of purſuing, at all hazards, their hoſtile deſigns againſt the happineſs and ſafety of theſe kingdoms; even the vain pretence of pacific diſpoſitions is now abandoned, and the real purpoſe of all their councils, and of all their meaſures, at length openly and publicly avowed. It is to our laws and government that they have declared their irreconcileable hatred. No ſacrifice will content them but that of our liberty; no conceſſion but that of our envied and happy conſtitution.

Under ſuch circumſtances, we feel the duty which we owe, in this great criſis, to God and to our country. Animated by the ſame ſentiments which your majeſty has been pleaſed to declare to your people, and to the world—attached to your majeſty by principles of duty and gratitude, and ſenſible that it is only from courage and firmneſs that we can look for preſent ſafety, or permanent peace, we are determined to defend, with unſhaken reſolution, your majeſty's throne, the lives and property of our fellow-ſubjects, the government and conſtitution of our country, and the honour and independency of the Britiſh empire. We know that great exertions are neceſſary; we are prepared to make them: And, placing our firm reliance on that Divine protection which has always hitherto been extended to us, we will ſupport your majeſty to the utmoſt, and ſtand or fall with our religion, laws, and liberties.

ANSWER.

My lords, and gentlemen,

Nothing could be more ſatisfactory to me, than this unanimous declaration

declaration of the ſentiments of my two houſes of parliament. They are ſuch as the conduct and declared intention of the enemy could not fail to produce. We are engaged in a cauſe which is common to us all, and contending for every intereſt which a free and independent nation can have to maintain. Under the bleſſing of Providence, I look with confidence to the iſſue of this great conteſt: but in every event my reſolution is taken. It is ſuch as I owe to God, to my country, and to myſelf; and it is confirmed by the ſentiments which you have this day declared to me. I will not be wanting to my people, but will ſtand, or fall, with them, in the defence of our religion, and in the maintenance of the independence, laws, and liberties of theſe kingdoms.

Note of Lord Malmeſbury.

The following Commentary on the concluding Note of Lord Malmeſbury, *appears in the Redacteur of the 13th inſtant.*

IT is difficult, we muſt confeſs, to withhold a few obſervations on this note. Why ſhould lord Malmeſbury aſſume an air of ſorrow at quitting Liſle, on what he calls "the formal and poſitive injunction" of the directory? This is ſorrow expreſſed without reaſon. He had been ſent to Liſle with powers, of which he could not avail himſelf. When, in fine, we were at a loſs to know to what we were to attribute his tergiverſations, he was aſked to ſay truly, and all theology apart, whether he had the power to employ his powers; that is to ſay, whether he could negotiate on the baſis of our laws and our treaties? To this queſtion, with which it was neceſſary to end, and with which, perhaps, we ought to have begun, lord Malmeſbury, in a melancholy tone, anſwered, No! What courſe do our plenipotentiaries then adopt? In fact, that which was the beſt for his lordſhip. "My lord," ſay they, "you have a court which treats you very ill—they make a jeſt of you, and you were never formed for ſuch a purpoſe. The firſt time they ſuffered you to depart without powers; and the ſecond time, with powers which were powerleſs! This is nothing more than a game—a mere myſtification. Return quickly, and ſay, in a firm tone, to the cabinet which has treated you ſo unworthily, That they either ſhould not in future charge you with their commiſſions, or ſhould give you ſuch powers as are neceſſary to carry them into effect!

"Do you know, my lord, to what you bear a reſemblance? To a man who comes in haſte, and out of breath, to a place agreed upon, from whence he is to ſtart in a car on a rapid and brilliant courſe; but comes the firſt time without horſes; and the ſecond time with horſes that are lame! Let your friends, my lord, give you horſes, and horſes that will not halt!"

In the event, it appears that lord Malmeſbury regrets his quitting Liſle. He thought that the beſt mode of remaining there for a long time, was to do nothing. The moment at length arrived, which proved that this was not the method to remain there. But let him not complain; we have pointed out to him the means of enſuring his return.

His powers, he ſays, were not deluſive. This may be; but it muſt be admitted, that, if any thing ever reſembled a deluſion, it is thoſe powers, which could lead to nothing but a negotiation on blank paper, and propoſitions, of which every line offered an *hiatus*.

"His powers," he ſays, "were not limited." Good God! why did he not ſay this at Liſle? Why does he poſtpone this declaration until his arrival at London? Even ſo much as this was not aſked of him. If he could have negotiated on the baſis of the laws and treaties by which we are bound, this would have been ſufficient for the purpoſes of negotiation, though he had afterwards announced every poſſible limitation. Why did he not ſay, "I have actual powers to treat on theſe conditions, but I feel it alſo to be an incumbent duty to propoſe to you ſuch and ſuch things?" Why did not he, who on his firſt journey could neither ſpeak nor dream but of the principle of compenſation, and who for three months ſcarcely uſed another word—why did not he, on his ſecond voyage, ſay, (if his powers were unlimited,) "I have the power to reſtore every thing, becauſe I am poſſeſſed of every power, but I demand certain compenſations?" There would not have been much of good faith in ſuch a proceeding, but there would, at leaſt, have been ſome dexterity. In fine, his powers were limited at Liſle. He goes to London, and he finds them to be unlimited! Which ſhall we believe; this tardy declaration, or the prior confeſſion which eſcaped from his rare frankneſs, when he was among us?

As to the reſumption of the conferences offered by our negotiators remaining at Liſle, the "Underſigned," refers to his preceding note, "where he has pointed out, with frankneſs and preciſion, the only mode which remains for reopening the negociation." This preceding note, which bears date the 23d of September, and of which we have received a copy from London, imports, "that the negotiation cannot be reſumed but on the baſis of the detailed *projet* which he had produced early after his arrival at Liſle, or by paſſing to him a *contre-projet* of a conciliatory nature." This *projet*, "detailed with ſo much frankneſs," is, as we know, a *projet* all in blanks. A *contre-projet*, made up alſo of blanks, might be in uniſon, but it could not be regarded as conciliatory!

Lord Malmeſbury, in the end, declares, that the king, his maſter, cannot treat in an enemy's country, unleſs aſſured that proper reſpect be paid to his miniſter plenipotentiary, &c.

Is there any deficiency of that reſpect which is due to ourſelves as well as to the nation with whom we treat, in demanding from a plenipotentiary thoſe powers which are neceſſary for an actual negotiation? The true reſpect, on ſuch an occaſion, conſiſts in negotiators ſhewing themſelves ſparing of the blood of the people—in not ſacrificing their happineſs to the unworthy play of diplomacy—in not loſing an inſtant in vain ſuſceptibility, when the object is to reſtore peace to the world. It is a breach of this reſpect, which is conſecrated by all the uſages, and all the laws of nations, to dare to ſend away an ambaſſador for a cauſe, which is totally foreign to the power with whom he reſides. Lord Malmeſbury well knows what power it

it is that has indulged itſelf in this flagrant violation of every principle!

What is in itſelf at once ridiculous and diſguſting, is, to pretend that the power which could commit ſuch an outrage, is not the real author of the war which followed, and which has cauſed the effuſion of ſeas of blood.

On the late Negotiation at Liſle. From the Redacteur.

TAKE a map of the world, and let the pen of the obſerver trace from London the line of domination which England deſcribes on the globe, to the injury of the nations which inhabit it. View that criminal policy which ſeizes Corſica; reigns in the name of Louis at Toulon; violates, by aſſaſſination, the neutrality of Genoa; renders Naples the dupe of its artifices; aſſociates its pope with the pope of Rome; would procure the exchange of the valuable rock of Malta for ſome fertile ſettlements in the Windward Iſlands; domineers at Leghorn; ſubſidizes the royal gaoler of the Alps; makes of our traitors at Quiberon and at Mole Nicholas, points of aim for the guns of our batteries; directs the ſabres of the Algerines, and the ſcalping knives of the Indian ſavages againſt independent America. It founded Sierra Leone; but no philanthropic ſpirit animated this undertaking. Its object was to approximate its power to the Canaries and Cape Verd Iſlands, and to ſeize them when an opportunity occurred. Not far from the ſeat of its hypocritical humanity, the monſter of its ferocious avarice roars for prey! By the ſide of Sierra Leone, its negro merchants trade in ivory, gold-duſt, and in men; its avaricious ſpirit produces a horrible and eternal ſeparation between huſband and wife, between father and ſon, for a few knives, or ſome trinkets! It devours the Cape of Good Hope; and, ſeating itſelf on Table Mountain, it menaces the Iſles of France and Reunion. Trincomalé, the theatre of French glory in 1778, falls into its power: Ceylon excites its thirſt of gain and dominion. A part of the ſurface of the globe, larger than France, favoured by the beſt gifts of nature, and rendered flouriſhing by all the arts and manufactures of Aſia, groans under the tyranny of its merchants. Though Bengal appears to be only the property of the native princes, thoſe bend under the yoke of the Engliſh Company. The innumerable agents of Haſtings have laid waſte this opulent country: they have devoured both the princes and the people, while they irritated them againſt each other. This infamous policy branches even to China. Its ambaſſadors, more dangerous than the jeſuits, enter in triumph into Pekin, where they ſolicit an interdiction on the commerce of every nation but their own. It extends its chain over New Guinea, Otaheite, and all the iſlands of the South Sea. There it is ſeparated into two branches: one threatens Acapulco, Mexico, Nootka Sound, and all the coaſt of North America, which it ſeeks to join to Canada. The other covets the ſouthern hemiſphere, penetrates the Streights of Magellan, appropriates to itſelf the Molucca Iſlands, and carries at once crime and virtue to the ſhores

of Botany Bay. To have extended its empire over three quarters of the globe, and to have perceived from new continents the South Pole, does not ſatisfy its inordinate ambition. It has not forgotten the propoſitions made in 1773, by the oppreſſed people of Spaniſh America, to deliver up Carthagena and the plate of the churches for the protection of a republic, to be formed on the wreck of the Spaniſh and Portugueſe poſſeſſions. It cuts down the precious wood of Campechy, and foſters the diſcontents of the Indians of that coaſt. It takes poſſeſſion of the Iſland of Trinidad, and makes the trade-wind of the Gulph of Mexico the ſport and the inſtrument of its proſperity. This iſland is the firſt of the Windward Iſlands, and joins to that incalculable advantage, the greateſt fertility. In concert with the planters of Guadaloupe and Martinico, it conquered theſe iſlands, and obtained by treaſon the almoſt entire poſſeſſion of St. Domingo. It has fortified the Mole, the Gibraltar of the new world, from the ſummit of which it views the poſſeſſions of the powers of Europe, and hopes to ſubdue the Spaniards of America, and both the Guyanas: it intends to ſhut the Gulph of Mexico againſt the Swedes and Danes. It menaces Cuba and Porto Rico. It watches the treaſures which Cadiz receives annually. It has already ſaid, *This ſuperb gulph belongs to us excluſively.* By Trinidada, it has the key of the entry to this vaſt bay; and by the poſſeſſion of the Floridan Archipelago, it has that of its outlet. At the Bahama iſlands, and at Providence, it maintains hordes of pirates, more voracious than the ſharks of theſe ſeas. Between rocks and ſands, it watches every veſſel going to the United States or to Europe. It blockades New Orleans, Penſacola, St. Auguſtin, and St. Marian. It ſends agents into France, to ſell the lands of the ſavages of America, that the purchaſers may be deſtroyed when they attempt to take poſſeſſion. It ſells ſcalping-knives to theſe ſavages, and a liquor which ſtimulates them to acts of madneſs, and leads them to death. It makes every flag ſtrike to its bloody ſtandard; and thoſe who eſcape from its plunderers in the narrow ſtreights of the Bahama Iſlands, do not eſcape its pirates and the ſhoals on the coaſt of Bermuda. By its pride and its avarice, it loſt its colonies of North America; by its gold and its intrigues, it is about to recover them. The majority of the ſenate of the United States are its planters, its debtors, or its tributaries. A new treaty leaves the Americans only the burthen of adminiſtration, and gives to England the net profits of the produce of that vaſt country. It has had the addreſs to break through all the bonds which ſecured the independence and the glory of the United States. It hopes to transform the preſident's chair into a throne for one of the ſons of George III.; and, in the execution of this plan, it will be ſeconded by all the rich, who dread the poor, and who abhor virtue. It is, above all, from Canada that it hopes to extend itſelf to the more temperate regions of America. It therefore favours, by every means in its power, the population within the line that it has traced from the eaſt to the weſt of the

the continent. It knows from hiſtory, that invaſions are never made by the ſouth on the north, and that the inhabitants of the ſouthern countries always become the prey of northern conquerors, whenever the ſentiment of liberty or the ſtimulus of fanaticiſm, does not rouſe them from that torpor which the climate naturally creates. The Engliſh population, when once become too great for Canada, will ſpread itſelf on the United States and Spaniſh America, to communicate with the gulph of Mexico and the coaſt of Panama.

This ſtatement is not the offspring of a delirious imagination. It is the policy of England to have an eye on the paſt, to catch at the preſent, and to ſpeculate on the future.—No moral motive arreſts its courſe. It wiſhes that its nation may be eternal to command—that the people of every nation may be eternal to be enſlaved: and the road that it takes to arrive at its aim, is that which the bird flies. With this deſign, it eſtabliſhes at Halifax a conſiderable port for the protection of its ſouthern ſquadrons during the winter, and for the purpoſe of watching on the right, the harbours of the United States, and on the left for ſeizing all veſſels from Newfoundland, the improvements of which it is deſirous to appropriate to itſelf. It then extends itſelf to the Arctic Pole, which, by the chain of its navigation, it has joined to the Antarctic. The ſterility of the *myſtanine* lakes, the appearance of the ſhining mountains, the ices of Greenland, cannot arreſt its progreſs—it wiſhes to direct the induſtry of all nations. It ſtimulates the tributary ſavage to the murder of the Anglo-American; by its adventurers and dealers in furriery, it opens a paſſage to the Japaneſe ſea, and renders a deſcent to California eaſy and feaſible; it appropriates to itſelf, by means of the treaty with Waſhington, the excluſive navigation of the Miſſiſſippi. Return to Europe, and it makes ſubject to her manufactures, Sweden, Pruſſia, and Denmark; Ruſſia may be conſidered in her hand as a bale of goods bearing its mark, which ſhe ſends to the factors of London. It deadens the Batavian genius, the moment it is deſirous of reſuming its former activity; it blocks up our ports, and reduces the firſt power in the world to the neceſſity of carrying on ſecretly a mere coaſting trade. It makes the country of the Albuquerques, and the Pombals, a province ſubjected to it, a vineyard, of which it alone derives the fruit. It bombards Spain; it blocks up the Streights of Gibraltar, from whoſe inacceſſible height it laughs at the weakneſs of Spain, at the number of her veſſels, and at the lethargy of her cabinet. Its gold nouriſhes and ſupports the ſcattered remains of the coalition, ſuſpends the peace of the French republic with the empire, encourages the audacity of our counter-revolutioniſts, aſſembled in every part of our territory where the ſound of liberty is not heard. In the commerce that Britiſh policy has carried on during this war, at the expenſe of Europe, ſhe has found the means of continuing the carnage neceſſary to prevent the diſcovery of its plots for ſubjugating the world, being unmaſked; and it is upon the wrecks of all the governments, whether regal or popular, whom it wiſhes to preſerve,

though in a ſtate of poverty and miſery, that it promiſes to erect the odious ſtandard of univerſal tyranny.

Such is the frightful, but imperfect picture of this Britiſh ſphynx, the myſtery of which the French Œdipus is deſtined to diſcloſe. Carthage was far more dangerous to Rome, than London is to Paris; but CARTHAGE WAS DESTROYED!

Additional Inſtructions to the Commanders of all our Ships of War and Privateers that have, or may have, Letters of Marque againſt France, Spain, or the Subjects of the United Provinces, inhabiting within any of their Countries, Territories, and Dominions. Given at our Court at St. James's, the 20th day of November 1797, in the 38th year of our reign.

George R.

WHEREAS we have thought it expedient that permiſſion ſhould be given to veſſels belonging to the ſubjects of his catholic majeſty, having not more than one deck, to trade between the free ports eſtabliſhed in the iſland of Jamaica, and alſo in the Bahama iſlands, and the Spaniſh colonies in America, according to the regulations of the ſeveral acts for eſtabliſhing free ports in our Weſt India iſlands, notwithſtanding the preſent hoſtilities: And whereas we have thought it expedient that, notwithſtanding the ſaid hoſtilities, permiſſion ſhould likewiſe be given to any Britiſh veſſels navigated according to the laws now in force, to trade between the ſaid free ports in the iſland of Jamaica, and in the ſaid Bahama iſlands, and the Spaniſh colonies in America, provided ſuch Britiſh and Spaniſh veſſels that ſhall trade between the ſaid free ports in the iſland of Jamaica and the ſaid Spaniſh colonies, ſhall have a licence from the governor or commander in chief of our iſland of Jamaica; and that ſuch Britiſh and Spaniſh veſſels that ſhall trade between the free ports in the Bahama iſlands, and the ſaid Spaniſh colonies, ſhall have a licence from the governor or commander in chief of the Bahama iſlands; and provided ſuch Britiſh and Spaniſh veſſels ſhall import into the free ports of Jamaica and the Bahama iſlands ſuch goods only as are hereafter enumerated, viz. wool, cotton-wool, indigo, cochineal, drugs of all ſorts, cocoa, tobacco, logwood, fuſtic, and all ſorts of wood for dyers uſe; hides, ſkins, and tallow; beaver, and all ſorts of furs; tortoiſe-ſhells, hard wood, or mill-timber, mahogany, and all other woods for cabinet-ware; horſes, aſſes, mules, and cattle, being the growth and production of any of the colonies or plantations in America, belonging to the crown of Spain; and all coin or bullion, diamonds or precious ſtones, coming from thence; and provided ſuch Britiſh and Spaniſh veſſels ſhall export from ſuch free ports only the ſaid goods and commodities; and alſo rum, the produce of any Britiſh iſland, and negroes, which ſhall have been legally imported; and alſo all goods, wares, merchandizes, and manufactures, which ſhall have been legally imported, except maſts, yards, or bow-ſprits, pitch, tar, turpentine, and all other naval or military ſtores, and tobacco: The commanders

manders of our ſhips of war, and of ſhips commiſſioned with letters of marque, are hereby required and enjoined not to detain or moleſt any ſuch Spaniſh veſſels, or any Britiſh veſſels, trading between the free ports in the ſaid iſlands, and the Spaniſh colonies in America, provided they are *bona fide* employed in carrying on their trade, conformably to the reſpective regulations hereinabove deſcribed, and have a licence for that purpoſe from the governor or commander in chief of the ſaid iſlands reſpectively; and in caſe ſuch ſhip ſo licenſed ſhould be captured and brought into any port, through miſapprehenſion or breach of our order, our courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty are hereby required to liberate the ſame, as being under the protection of our ſpecial commiſſion.

By His Majeſty's command,
(Signed) PORTLAND.

PLAN SENT TO ALL THE PARISHES OF GREAT BRITAIN, MAY, 1797.

Plan of a General Aſſociation of the Inhabitants of the Pariſh of to ſerve without Pay, for the protection thereof, in caſe of any emergency, at the requiſition of the Civil Power, to be ſubmitted to the conſideration of a Veſtry, to be called for that purpoſe.

1ſt. A GENERAL Aſſociation ſhall be formed; which aſſociation ſhall be compoſed of houſeholders, and ſuch other inmates as ſhall be recommended by two houſeholders at the leaſt, being themſelves members of the aſſociation, and approved, if judged neceſſary, by a committee of the aſſociation, to be choſen at a general meeting.

2d. That the members of the aſſociation ſhall put down their names and places of abode, in a book to be provided and kept in the veſtry for that purpoſe.

3d. The pariſh to be divided into diſtricts; the inhabitants of each diſtrict who enrol themſelves, to be divided into claſſes of fifty each, to be commanded by an inhabitant of that diſtrict, who ſhall be conſidered as captain of the claſs, and act as ſuch, under a commiſſion from his majeſty. This officer to be recommended by a committee of the aſſociation, to the lord lieutenant. Each claſs ſhall carry a flag to diſtinguiſh it, and the perſon who is to carry it, ſhall be nominated by the captain of each claſs.

4th. The majority of any claſs ſhall be empowered to reject from that claſs any individual, whether houſeholder or inmate, who ſhall appear to them to be an unfit member thereof.

5th. In caſe of alarm, and at the requiſition of the civil power, the claſs to be aſſembled at a rendezvous, which ſhall be previouſly appointed by the captain.

6th. Place of general rendezvous for all the claſſes, ſhall be appointed by the committee of aſſociation.

7th. All perſons enrolling themſelves, to furniſh their own arms; which arms ſhall be either firelocks and bayonets, pikes, or any other arms which ſhall be approved of by the committee.

8th. A liſt of the members in each claſs to be made, and a copy lodged with each member in that claſs, together with a copy of ſuch inſtructions,

inſtructions, ſigned by the captain of the claſs, as may be found neceſſary for their more ſpeedily collecting together, in caſe of alarm, and for regulating the proper quantity of ammunition which each member furniſhed with a firelock, ſhall conſtantly be provided with.

9th. No member of the aſſociation to be required to meet to exerciſe; but each claſs may be muſtered with their arms, by its captain, at ſuch convenient and ſtated times as ſhall be agreed upon; thoſe who furniſh themſelves with firelocks will, at their requeſt, be allowed a ſerjeant or corporal by government, to teach them the uſe of fire-arms, in order that they may more conveniently act together, either in ſeparate claſſes, or jointly with others in the ſame claſs, as ſhall be agreed upon by the members of the aſſociation*.

10th. A hat and feather, or ſome other mark of diſtinction, to be adopted; or thoſe provided with firelocks, if formed into claſſes by themſelves, to have an uniform, if they chuſe it†.

11th. Not to go out of the pariſh, except of their own accord.

12th. No perſon who is engaged in any military corps, or other aſſociation, to be appointed as captain; but ſuch perſons may enrol themſelves, and only engage to join this aſſociation, when not called away by other duties.

N.B. The above plan is only ſuggeſted as a general outline, which may be varied and modified in ſuch manner as may beſt ſuit the local ſituations and convenience of the inhabitants of ſuch pariſhes as ſhall think proper to aſſociate for the mutual ſecurity and protection of themſelves and their property, upon the principle here laid down.

As ſome ſmall expences muſt neceſſarily be incurred for the purchaſe of flags for the different claſſes, paying for the ſtamps of the commiſſions (his majeſty being graciouſly pleaſed to grant them free of every other expence) and ſome other trifling incidental charges, a ſubſcription to be opened, where every houſeholder who approves of this plan, and will give it his ſupport, may ſubſcribe any ſmall ſum that he pleaſes, not exceeding the amount of _____ ſhillings, to defray the ſame.

Such female houſeholders as are willing to ſignify their approbation of this plan, and give their ſupport to it, to be requeſted to authorize ſome houſeholder in the pariſh, who is himſelf a member of the aſſociation, to ſign their names, and to atteſt that it is by their authority; and in that caſe ſuch female houſeholder may, in concurrence with another houſeholder, being a member of the aſſociation, recommend any houſeholders or inmates, being proper perſons, to join in the aſſociation; and the perſon ſo recommended, ſhall be inrolled in like manner as the other members of the aſſociation.

* This will be determined in each pariſh, upon a conſideration of what may beſt ſuit the mutual convenience of the ſeveral members, according to their relative ſituations in point of neighbourhood, and to the arms which they mean to furniſh themſelves with.

† This will be governed by the agreement which the aſſociation ſhall come to upon the 9th article.

PAPERS

PAPERS RELATIVE TO THE MUTINY.

Petitions of the Seamen.

To the Right Honourable and the Honourable Citizens and Burgeſſes in Parliament aſſembled,

The humble Petition of the Seamen and Marines on board his Majeſty's Ships, in behalf of themſelves,

Humbly ſheweth,

THAT your petitioners, relying on the candour and juſtice of your honourable houſe, make bold to lay their grievances before you, hoping that, when you reflect on them, you will pleaſe to give redreſs, as far as your wiſdom ſhall deem neceſſary.

We beg leave to remind your auguſt aſſembly, that the act of parliament paſſed in the reign of king Charles II. wherein the wages of all ſeamen ſerving on board his majeſty's fleet was ſettled, paſſed at a time when the neceſſaries of life, and ſlops of every denomination, were at leaſt thirty per cent. cheaper than at the preſent time; which enabled ſeamen and marines to provide better for their families than we can do now with one half advance.

We therefore requeſt your honourable houſe will be ſo kind as to reviſe the act before mentioned, and make ſuch amendments therein, as will enable your petitioners, and their families, to live in the ſame comfortable manner as ſeamen and marines did at that time.

Your petitioners, with all humility, laid their grievances before the honourable earl Howe, and flattered ourſelves with the hopes that his lordſhip would have been an advocate for us, as we have been repeatedly under his command, and made the Britiſh flag ride triumphantly over that of our enemies. But, to our great ſurpriſe, we find ourſelves unprotected by him, who has ſeen ſo many inſtances of our intrepidity, in carrying the Britiſh flag into every part of the ſeas, with victory and ſucceſs.

We profeſs ourſelves as loyal to our ſovereign, and zealous in the defence of our country, as the army or militia can be, and eſteem ourſelves equally entitled to his majeſty's munificence; therefore with jealouſy we behold their pay augmented, and their out-penſions of Chelſea college increaſed to thirteen pounds per annum, while we remain neglected, and the out-penſioners of Greenwich have only ſeven pounds per annum.

We, your petitioners, therefore humbly implore, that you will take theſe matters into conſideration, and, with your accuſtomed goodneſs and liberality, comply with the prayer of this petition—and your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

We, the delegates of the fleet, hereunto ſign our names for the ſhips companies:

Royal George, Valentine Joyce, John Morris:—*Queen Charlotte*, Patrick Glynn, John Udleſon:—*Royal, Sovereign*, Joſeph Green, John Richardſon:—*London*, Alexander Harding, William Ruly:—*Glory*, Patrick Dugan, John Bethell:—*Duke*, Michael Adams, William Anderſon:—*Mars*, Thomas Allen, James Blithe:—*Marlborough*, John Vaſſia, William Senator:—*Ramilies*, Charles Berry, George Clear:—*Robuſt*, David Wilſon, John Scrivener:—*L'Impetueux*, John Witna, William Porter:—*Defence*, George Gallaway,

Gallaway, James Barrenck:—*Terrible*, Mark Turner, George Salkeld:—*La Pompee*, William Potts, James Melvin:—*Minotaur*, Dennis Lawley, George Crofland:—*Defiance*, John Saunders, John Husband.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

My Lords,

We, the seamen of his majesty's navy, take the liberty of addressing your lordships in an humble petition, shewing the many hardships and oppressions we have laboured under for many years, and which, we hope, your lordships will redress as soon as possible. We flatter ourselves that your lordships, together with the nation in general, will acknowledge our worth and good services, both in the American war, as well as the present; for which good service your lordships petitioners do unanimously agree in opinion, that their worth to the nation, and laborious industry in defence of their country, deserve some better encouragement than that we meet with at present, or from any we have experienced. We, your petitioners, do not boast of our good services, for any other purpose than that of putting you and the nation in mind of the respect due to us, nor do we ever intend to deviate from our former character; so far from any thing of that kind, or that an Englishman or men should turn their coats, we likewise agree in opinion, that we should suffer double the hardships we have hitherto experienced, before we would suffer the crown of England to be in the least imposed upon by that of any other power in the world; we therefore beg leave to inform your lordships of the grievances which we at present labour under.

We, your humble petitioners, relying that your lordships will take into early consideration the grievances of which we complain, and do not in the least doubt but your lordships will comply with our desires, which are every way reasonable.

The first grievance we have to complain of, is, that our wages are too low, and ought to be raised, that we might be the better able to support our wives and families in a manner comfortable, and whom we are in duty bound to support, as far as our wages will allow; which, we trust, will be looked into by your lordships, and the honourable house of commons in parliament assembled.

We, your petitioners, beg that your lordships will take into consideration the grievances of which we complain, and now lay before you.

First, That our provisions be raised to the weight of sixteen ounces to the pound, and of a better quality; and that our measures may be the same as those used in the commercial trade of this country.

Secondly, That your petitioners request your honours will be pleased to observe, there should be no flour served while we are in harbour, in any port whatever, under the command of the British flag; and also, that there might be granted a sufficient quantity of vegetables, of such kind as may be the most plentiful in the ports to which we go; which we grievously complain and lay under the want of.

Thirdly, That your lordships will be pleased seriously to look into the state of the sick on board his majesty's

jeſty's ſhips, that they may be better attended to, and that they may have the uſe of ſuch neceſſaries as are allowed for them in time of ſickneſs; and that theſe neceſſaries be not on any account embezzled.

Fourthly, That your lordſhips will be ſo kind as to look into this affair, which is nowiſe unreaſonable; and that we may be looked upon as a number of men ſtanding in defence of our country; and that we may in ſomewiſe have grant and opportunity to taſte the ſweets of liberty on ſhore, when in any harbour, and when we have completed the duty of our ſhip, after our return from ſea: And that no man may encroach upon his liberty, there ſhall be a boundary limited, and thoſe treſpaſſing any further, without a written order from the commanding officer, ſhall be puniſhed according to the rules of the navy; which is a natural requeſt, and congenial to the heart of man, and certainly to us, that you make the boaſt of being the guardians of the land.

Fifthly, That if any man is wounded in action, his pay be continued until he is cured and diſcharged; and if any ſhip has any real grievances to complain of, we hope your lordſhips will readily redreſs them, as far as in your power, to prevent any diſturbances.

It is alſo unanimouſly agreed by the fleet, that, from this day, no grievances ſhall be received, in order to convince the nation at large, that we know when to ceaſe to aſk, as well as to begin, and that we aſk nothing but what is moderate, and may be granted without detriment to the nation, or injury to the ſervice.

Given on board the Queen Charlotte, by the delegates of the fleet, the 18th day of April, 1797.

[*The ſignatures to this Petition are exactly the ſame as thoſe affixed to the preceding one.*]

Anſwer of the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. to the above Petitions.

Having taken into conſideration the petitions tranſmitted by your lordſhip, from the crews of his majeſty's ſhips under your command; and having the ſtrongeſt deſire to attend to all the complaints of the ſeamen of his majeſty's navy, and to grant them every juſt and reaſonable redreſs; and having conſidered the difference of the price of the neceſſaries of life at this and at that period when the pay of ſeamen was eſtabliſhed, we do hereby require and direct your lordſhip to take the ſpeedieſt method of communicating to the fleet, That we have reſolved to recommend it to his majeſty, to propoſe to parliament to increaſe the wages of ſeamen in his majeſty's navy, in the following proportions; viz.

To add four ſhillings per month to the wages of petty officers and able ſeamen:

Three ſhillings per month to the wages of ordinary ſeamen; and

Two ſhillings per month to the wages of landmen.

That we have reſolved, that ſeamen wounded in action ſhall be continued in pay until their wounds

are

are healed, or until, being declared unſerviceable, they ſhall receive a penſion, or be received into the royal hoſpital at Greenwich; and that having a perfect confidence in the zeal, loyalty, and courage of all the ſeamen in the fleet, ſo generally expreſſed in their petition, and in their earneſt deſire of ſerving their country with that ſpirit which always ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed Britiſh ſeamen, we have come to this reſolution the more readily, that the ſeamen may have, as early as poſſible, an opportunity of ſhewing their good diſpoſitions, by returning to their duty, as it may be neceſſary that the fleet ſhould ſpeedily put to ſea, to meet the enemy of the country.

Given under our hands, at Portſmouth, 18th April 1797.

SPENCER,
ARDEN,
W. YOUNG.

To the Right Hon. Lord Bridport.

THE SEAMEN'S REPLY.

We received your lordſhips anſwer to our petition; and in order to convince your lordſhips, and the nation in general, of our moderation, beg leave to offer the following remarks to your conſideration; viz. —That there never has exiſted but two orders of men in the navy, able, and ordinary, therefore the diſtinction between ordinary and landmen, is totally new; we therefore humbly propoſe to your lordſhips, that the old regulations be adhered to: that the wages of able ſeamen be raiſed to one ſhilling per day, and that of petty officers, and the ordinary, in the uſual proportion: And as a further proof of our moderation, and that we are actuated by a true ſpirit of benevolence towards our brethren, the marines, who are not noticed in your lordſhips' anſwer, we humbly propoſe, that their pay be augmented, while ſerving on board, in the ſame proportion as ordinary ſeamen. This we hope and truſt will be a convincing proof to your lordſhips, that we are not actuated by a ſpirit of contradiction, but that we earneſtly wiſh to put a ſpeedy end to the preſent affair. We beg leave to ſtate to your lordſhips, the penſions from Greenwich college, which we earneſtly wiſh to be raiſed to ten pounds per annum; and, in order to maintain which, we humbly propoſe to your lordſhips, that every ſeaman employed in the merchant ſervice, inſtead of ſixpence per month, which he now pays, ſhall hereafter pay one ſhilling per month, which, we truſt, will raiſe a fund fully adequate to the purpoſe; and as this, in time of peace, muſt be paid by your petitioners, we truſt it will give a convincing proof of our diſintereſtedneſs and moderation:— We would alſo recommend that this regulation be extended to the ſeamen in the ſervice of the Eaſt India company, as we know by experience, that there are few ſailors employed by them, but who have been in the royal navy; and we have ſeen them with our own eyes, after ſickneſs or other accident has diſabled them, without any hope of relief or ſupport, but from their former ſervices in the navy.—As to proviſions: That they be augmented to ſixteen ounces to the pound of bread and meat; cheeſe, butter, and liquor in proportion, of a better quality, and a ſufficient quantity of vegetables;

vegetables; and that no flour be ſerved with freſh beef. And we further beg leave to inform your lordſhips, that it is unanimouſly agreed, that until the grievances before ſtated are redreſſed, and an act of indemnity paſſed, we are determined not to lift an anchor: And the grievances of particular ſhips muſt be redreſſed.

Given under our hands, the delegates of the fleet, on board the Queen Charlotte, at Spithead, April 19, 1797.

By the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c,

Having taken into conſideration a paper containing ſeveral repreſentations from the ſeamen of his majeſty's ſhips at Spithead, reſpecting an advance of their wages, and being deſirous of granting them every requeſt that can with any degree of reaſon be complied with, we have reſolved to recommend it to his majeſty, that an addition of five ſhillings and ſixpence per month be made to the wages of petty officers and ſeamen belonging to his majeſty's navy, which will make the wages of able ſeamen one ſhilling per day, clear of all deductions; an addition of four ſhillings and ſixpence per month to the wages of every ordinary ſeaman; and an addition of three ſhillings and ſixpence to the wages of the landmen; and that none of the allowance made to the marines when on ſhore, ſhall be ſtopped, on their being embarked on board any of his majeſty's ſhips. We have alſo reſolved, that all ſeamen, marines, and others, ſerving in his majeſty's ſhips, ſhall have the full allowance of proviſions, without any deduction for leakage or waſte; and that until proper ſteps can be taken for carrying this into effect, ſhort-allowance money ſhall be paid to the men, in lieu of the deduction heretofore made; and that all men wounded in action, ſhall receive their full pay until their wounds ſhall be healed, or until, being declared incurable, they ſhall receive a penſion from the cheſt at Chatham, or ſhall be admitted into the royal hoſpital at Greenwich. And your lordſhip is hereby required and directed to communicate this our determination to the captain of each of his majeſty's ſhips under your orders, directing him to make it known to the ſhip's company under his command, and to inform them, that ſhould they be inſenſible to the very liberal offers now made to them, and perſiſt in their preſent diſobedience, they muſt no longer expect to enjoy thoſe benefits to which, by their former good conduct, they were entitled; that in ſuch caſe, all the men now on board the fleet at Spithead, ſhall be incapable of receiving any ſmart-money or penſion from the cheſt of Chatham, or of being admitted at any time into the royal hoſpital at Greenwich; and that they muſt be anſwerable for the dreadful conſequences which will neceſſarily attend their continuing to tranſgreſs the rules of the ſervice, in open violation of the laws of their country. On the other hand, he is to inform them, that we promiſe the moſt perfect forgiveneſs of all that has paſſed on this occaſion, to every ſhip's company who, within one hour after the communication to them of the above-mentioned reſolutions, ſhall return to their duty in every particular, and ſhall ceaſe to hold further intercourſe with

with any men who continue in a ſtate of diſobedience and mutiny.

Given under our hands at Portſmouth, the 20th of April, 1797.

(Signed) SPENCER,
ARDEN,
W. YOUNG.

To the Right Hon. Lord Bridport.

ANSWER OF THE SEAMEN.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty.

We, the ſeamen and marines in and belonging to his majeſty's fleet now lying at Spithead, having received with the utmoſt ſatisfaction, and with hearts full of gratitude, the bountiful augmentation of pay and proviſions which your lordſhips have been pleaſed to ſignify ſhall take place in future in his majeſty's royal navy, by your order, which has been read to us this morning, by the command of admiral lord Bridport;

Your lordſhips having thus generouſly taken the prayer of our ſeveral petitions into your ſerious conſideration, you have given ſatisfaction to every loyal and well-diſpoſed ſeaman and marine belonging to his majeſty's fleets: and from the aſſurance which your lordſhips have given us reſpecting ſuch other grievances as we thought right to lay before you, we are thoroughly convinced, ſhould any real grievance or other cauſe of complaint ariſe in future, and the ſame be laid before your lordſhips in a regular manner, we are perfectly ſatisfied that your lordſhips will pay every attention to a number of brave men who ever have, and ever will be, true and faithful to their king and country.

But we beg leave to remind your lordſhips, that it is a firm reſolution that, until the flour in port be removed, the vegetables and penſions augmented, the grievances of private ſhips redreſſed, an act paſſed, and his majeſty's gracious pardon for the fleet now lying at Spithead be granted, that the fleet will not lift an anchor: and this is the total and final anſwer.

April 22*d*, 1797.

A Proclamation for pardoning ſuch Seamen and Marines of the Squadron of his Majeſty's Fleet ſtationed at Spithead, as have been guilty of an Act of Mutiny or Diſobedience of Orders, or any Breach or Neglect of Duty; and who ſhall, upon Notification of ſuch Proclamation on board their reſpective Ships, return to the regular and ordinary Diſcharge of their Duty.

George R.

Upon report of the lords commiſſioners of the Admiralty, of the proceedings of the ſeamen and marines of the ſquadron of our fleet ſtationed at Spithead, and of the meaſures taken by the ſaid lords commiſſioners in conſequence thereof; and, in order to manifeſt our deſire to give due encouragement to all thoſe who ſhall return to the regular and ordinary diſcharge of their duty, according to the rules and practice of the navy; we have thought fit, by the advice of our privy council, to iſſue this our royal proclamation, and do hereby promiſe our moſt gracious pardon to all ſeamen and marines ſerving on board the ſaid ſquadron, who ſhall, upon notification hereof on board their reſpective ſhips, return

to

to the regular and ordinary diſcharge of their duty: and we do hereby declare, that all ſuch ſeamen and marines ſo returning to their duty, ſhall be diſcharged and releaſed from all proſecutions, impriſonments and penalties, incurred by reaſon of any act of mutiny or diſobedience of orders, or any breach or neglect of duty previouſly committed by them, or any of them.

Given at our court at Windſor, the twenty-ſecond day of April, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-ſeven, and in the thirty-ſeventh year of our reign.

God ſave the king.

Correct Statement of the Demands of the Sailors belonging to his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels at the Nore, and at Sheerneſs.

Art. 1ſt. That every indulgence granted to the fleet at Portſmouth be granted to his majeſty's ſubjects ſerving in the fleet at the Nore, and places adjacent.

2d. That every man, upon a ſhip's coming into harbour, ſhall have liberty (a certain number at a time, ſo as not to injure the ſhip's duty) to go and ſee their friends and families; a convenient time to be allowed to each man.

3d. That all ſhips, before they go to ſea, ſhall be paid all arrears of wages down to ſix months, according to the old rules.

4th. That no officer that has been turned out of any of his majeſty's ſhips ſhall be employed in the ſame ſhip again, without the conſent of the ſhip's company.

5th. That when any of his majeſty's ſhips ſhall be paid, that may have been ſome time in commiſſion, if there are any preſſed men on board that may not be in the regular courſe of payment, they ſhall receive two months advance to furniſh them with neceſſaries.

6th. That an indemnification be made any men who run, and may now be in his majeſty's naval ſervice, and that they ſhall not be liable to be taken up as deſerters.

7th. That a more equal diſtribution be made of prize-money to the crews of his majeſty's ſhips and veſſels of war.

8th. That the articles of war, as now enforced, require various alterations, ſeveral of which to be expunged therefrom; and if more moderate ones were held forth to ſeamen in general, it would be the means of taking off that terror and prejudice againſt his majeſty's ſervice, on that account too frequently imbibed by ſeamen, from entering voluntarily into the ſervice.

The committee of delegates of the whole fleet, aſſembled in council on board his majeſty's ſhip Sandwich, have unanimouſly agreed that they will not deliver up their charge until the appearance of ſome of the lords commiſſioners of the Admiralty to ratify the ſame.

Given on board his majeſty's ſhip Sandwich, by the delegates of the fleet, May 20th, 1797.

RICHARD PARKER, Preſident.

Anſwer from the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty.

To the Seamen and Marines of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels at the Nore, and at Sheerneſs.

Sheerneſs, May 22, 1797.

In purſuance of orders communicated to me by the lords commiſſioners of the Admiralty, I am directed to acquaint the crews of

his majeſty's ſhips and veſſels at the Nore and at Sheerneſs, that after the very liberal attention of his majeſty, in encreaſing the wages and proviſions of the ſeamen and marines in his majeſty's ſervice, for which they have in general expreſſed themſelves not only ſatisfied, but highly grateful, their lordſhips are extremely ſurpriſed to find the ſeamen and marines of his majeſty's ſhips at the Nore and Sheerneſs ſhould be ſtill in a ſtate of diſobedience, and bringing forward further requeſts. Their lordſhips therefore have commanded me to inform you, that ſince all that could reaſonably be expected by the ſeamen and marines has been already granted them, their lordſhips cannot accede to any ſuch requeſt.—With reſpect to the firſt article of the conditions, preſented by the ſeamen and marines at this port, their lordſhips direct me to inform you, as has already been explicitly declared, that all additional allowances of wages and proviſions, and every other regulation announced at Portſmouth, have been eſtabliſhed by his majeſty's order in council, and by act of parliament, and extended to all ſeamen and marines in his majeſty's ſervice.—That with reſpect to the ſecond article of the ſaid conditions, the nature of the ſervice, in time of war, does not admit of the men having leave to go to their families, except under very particular circumſtances, of which the captains or other ſuperior officers alone can judge.—That with reſpect to the third and fifth articles, the ſhip's company ſhall be paid in the manner pointed out in the ſeveral acts of parliament at preſent in force for the encouragement of ſeamen and marines employed in his majeſty's ſervice, as they always are, unleſs ſome very urgent neceſſity prevents it: but as it ever has been the practice of the ſervice to ſhew attention to thoſe who, with the true ſpirit of Britiſh ſeamen, voluntarily ſtand forth in defence of their country, their lordſhips are deſirous of giving every poſſible encouragement to volunteers; and it is not their intention to direct that advance ſhould be paid to impreſſed men.—With reſpect to the fourth article, all arrangements concerning the officers to be employed in the ſhips of the ſquadron, muſt be ſettled by the admiral or commanding officer for the time being, conformably to the inſtructions of their lordſhips, according to the circumſtances of each particular place.—That with reſpect to the ſixth article, if it ſhould be his majeſty's pleaſure to pardon all who may have deſerted from his ſervice in the navy, it muſt be the effect of his majeſty's royal clemency alone, and not of any requiſition; that although their lordſhips thought proper to go to Portſmouth, for the purpoſe of obtaining more perfect information of the grievances which the ſeamen and marines in general might have to repreſent, and of adopting moſt expeditiouſly ſuch meaſures as might be neceſſary, and granting ſuch farther indulgences as might render their ſituation more comfortable, and enable them better to provide for the ſupport of their families, no ſimilar reaſon exiſts for their taking ſuch a ſtep on the preſent occaſion.—That the repreſentations made at Portſmouth have been fully conſidered, and the regulations made in conſequence have already been extended to the whole fleet, and eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed by the higheſt authority. Their lordſhips therefore direct me to acquaint you, that it is to me, and to the officers under whom you ſerve, that ſhips' companies are to look up, to whom their petitions are always to be preſented, and through whom their lordſhips determinations are to be expected. It is their lordſhips direction that I ſhould alſo inform you that, notwithſtanding all that you have done, his majeſty's moſt gracious pardon, and their lordſhips order to all officers to bury in oblivion all that has paſſed, are now offered to you; which, ſhould you refuſe, you will have to anſwer for all the melancholy conſequences which muſt attend your perſiſting in the preſent ſtate of diſobedience and mutiny. When the ſeamen and marines at the Nore and at Sheerneſs reflect that the reſt of the fleets have returned to their duty, and have proceeded to ſea in ſearch of the enemies of their country, their lordſhips have no doubt that they will no longer ſhew themſelves ungrateful for all that has ſo liberally been granted to them, but will ſtrive who ſhall be firſt to ſhew his loyalty to his king, and his love to his country, by returning to that ſtate of obedience and diſcipline, without which they cannot expect any longer to enjoy the confidence and good opinion of their country.

(Signed) CHARLES BUCKNER,

Vice-admiral of the white, and commander of his majeſty's ſhips and veſſels in the river Medway, and at the buoy of the Nore.

To the Seamen and Marines of his Majeſty's Ships at the Nore, and at Sheerneſs.

Sheerneſs, May 24, 1797.

Purſuant to directions from the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, which I received this afternoon, I am again to call the attention of the ſeamen and marines on board his majeſty's ſhips and veſſels at the Nore and Sheerneſs, to the gracious offer already made to them, and to declare that I am inſtructed and authorized by their lordſhips to repeat the offer of a pardon, which will include all offences committed by the ſeamen and marines during the diſorders that have and do prevail, on condition of their returning to their duty. And when the ſeamen and marines above mentioned ſhall reflect that they have pledged themſelves to be perfectly ſatisfied with and abide by the determination of their friends at Portſmouth, who, ſenſible of the indulgence granted to them, have returned with alacrity to their duty, and are now in purſuit of the enemies of their king and country, it is hoped that the ſeamen and marines at this port will no longer ſhew themſelves ungrateful for all that has been ſo liberally granted, and which has ſo completely ſatisfied the companies of his majeſty's ſhips compoſing the Channel fleet; but, on the contrary, that they will be forward in following ſo laudable an example, and cheerfully expreſs their readineſs to accept his majeſty's moſt gracious pardon, now offered to them a ſecond time, and to return to their duty like Britiſh ſeamen: And I have alſo their lordſhips commands further to inform you, that

they do not ſee the propriety or expediency of their holding a board of admiralty at Sheerneſs; and that they do not mean to encourage a repetition of demands by any further conceſſion; alſo, that it now reſts with the ſeamen and marines of his majeſty's ſhips and veſſels at the Nore and Sheerneſs, to decide whether it may not be for their intereſt to return to their duty, and thereby avail themſelves of his majeſty's moſt gracious pardon, rather than expoſe themſelves to thoſe conſequences which muſt follow from their continuance in a ſtate of diſobedience.

(Signed) CHARLES BUCKNER,
Vice-admiral of the white,
&c. &c.

To the Lords Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.

I am commanded by the delegates of the whole fleet, aſſembled in council on board his majeſty's ſhip Sandwich, to inform your lordſhips that they have received your letter from admiral Buckner, which informs them that it was not your intention of coming to Sheerneſs. The ſame has been communicated to his majeſty's ſhips and veſſels lying here, and the determination of the whole is, that they will not come to any accommodation until you appear at the Nore, and redreſs our grievances.

(Signed) RICHARD PARKER,
Preſident.

By order of the committee of delegates of the whole fleet.

His majeſty's ſhip Sandwich,
May 25th, 1797.

PROCLAMATION.

George R.

Whereas it has been repreſented unto us, that, notwithſtanding the declarations made in our name, and by our authority, by our lords commiſſioners of our admiralty, of our gracious intentions to recommend to the conſideration of parliament to augment the wages and allowances of the ſeamen and marines of our fleet, which our gracious intentions and declarations have ſince been carried into effect by an act of parliament; and notwithſtanding the communication made by our right truſty and right well-beloved couſin and counſellor Richard earl Howe, admiral of our fleet, of our gracious intentions towards the ſeamen and marines of our fleet, for the pardon of the offences by them committed, and our royal proclamation thereupon, bearing date the 11th day of May inſtant; and notwithſtanding the ſentiments of duty and gratitude with which the ſame were received by the ſeamen and marines of our other ſquadrons, yet the crews on board certain of our ſhips at the Nore, have not only, ſince the full manifeſtation of all theſe our gracious intentions and declarations, been guilty of divers acts of mutiny and diſobedience of orders, but have even proceeded to other acts of the moſt heinous and treaſonable nature, by firing upon ſome of our ſhips, in order to compel them to ſubmit to their direction; have threatened and taken meaſures for ſtopping the commerce of the kingdom paſſing to and from the port of London; and have, by terror of their force, compelled two frigates to deſiſt from executing a particular ſervice,

ſervice, which, by our order, they were directed to perform: We, thinking it right to warn all our ſeamen and marines on board the ſaid ſhips, of the heinous nature of the offences by them committed, and of the dangerous conſequences thereof to the ſpirit and diſcipline of the Britiſh navy, and to the welfare of their country, as well as to their own ſafety, do hereby earneſtly require and enjoin all our ſaid ſeamen and marines immediately, on the notification of this our royal declaration, to return to the regular diſcharge of their duty, as has already been done by the crews of our other ſquadrons and fleets, ſtationed at Portſmouth and Plymouth, and elſewhere:

And whereas we are well aſſured that a great part of the ſeamen and marines on board the ſaid ſhips at the Nore, abhor and deteſt the criminal proceedings which are ſtill perſiſted in on board the ſaid ſhips, and are deſirous to return to their duty;

Now we, being deſirous to extend our gracious intentions of pardon to all ſuch ſeamen and marines ſo ſerving on board our ſaid ſhips at the Nore, who may have returned or ſhall return, upon the notification of this our royal declaration, to the regular and ordinary diſcharge of their duty, have authorized, and do hereby authorize and empower our ſaid lords commiſſioners of our admiralty, or any three of them, to ſignify to all ſuch ſeamen and marines who may have been guilty of any of the treaſonable acts aforeſaid, or of any mutiny, or diſobedience of orders, or neglect of duty, and who have returned, or who ſhall, upon notification hereof on board the reſpective ſhips, return to the regular and ordinary diſcharge of their duty, our royal intentions to grant to all ſuch ſeamen and marines our moſt gracious pardon, and to promiſe in our name to all ſuch ſeamen and marines who have ſo returned, or ſhall ſo return to the regular and ordinary diſcharge of their duty, our moſt gracious pardon accordingly. And we do hereby declare, that all ſuch ſeamen and marines who ſhall have ſo returned, or ſhall ſo return to their duty, and to whom the ſaid lords commiſſioners of our admiralty, or any three of them, ſhall ſo promiſe our pardon, ſhall receive the ſame accordingly, and ſhall be diſcharged and releaſed from all proſecutions, impriſonments and penalties, incurred by reaſon of any of the acts aforeſaid, or by reaſon of any act of mutiny or diſobedience of orders, or any breach or neglect of duty, previouſly committed by them, or any of them; hereby declaring at the ſame time, that all ſuch ſeamen and marines who ſhall not take the benefit of this our gracious pardon, ſhall, from henceforth, be conſidered as liable, according to the nature of their offences, to ſuch puniſhment as the articles of war and the law have provided for the ſame.

Given at our court at Saint James's, the twenty-ſeventh day of May, 1797, in the thirty-ſeventh year of our reign.

By his majeſty's command,

PORTLAND.

Order of the Lords of the Admiralty, to the Commanders of his Majeſty's Fleet.

Whereas, from the diſpoſition lately ſhewn by the ſeamen belonging

to ſeveral of his majeſty's ſhips, it is become highly neceſſary that the ſtricteſt attention ſhould be paid by all officers in his majeſty's naval ſervice, not only to their own conduct, but to the conduct of thoſe who may be under their orders; the more effectually to inſure a proper ſubordination and diſcipline; and to prevent, as far as may be, all diſcontent among the ſeamen, your lordſhip is hereby directed to be particularly careful to enforce, ſo far as the ſame may depend on you, and to give orders to the officers employed under your command to enforce all the regulations for the preſervation of diſcipline and good order in his majeſty's navy, which are at preſent eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe:—And you are more eſpecially to give the following directions; viz.

That the flag officers of the ſquadron under your command do frequently muſter the crews of the ſhips belonging to their reſpective diviſions; that the captains and commanders of the ſhips and veſſels of your ſquadron never be abſent themſelves, nor allow any officers under their orders to be abſent from on board their reſpective ſhips for twenty-four hours at one time, without our permiſſion, or leave obtained from yourſelf for that purpoſe.

That all flag officers, captains, and other officers, do wear their reſpective uniforms, not only whilſt they are on board the ſhips to which they belong, but alſo when they are on ſhore in or near any ſea-port town.

That the captains and commanders of his majeſty's ſhips and veſſels do cauſe the Articles of War to be read on board their reſpective ſhips to the companies thereof, at leaſt once in every month, agreeably to their inſtructions; that they alſo ſee that the arms and ammunition belonging to the marines be conſtantly kept in good order and fit for immediate ſervice, as well in harbour as at ſea; and that they are in future to be very careful to rate their ſhips companies according to the merits of the men, in order that thoſe who may not be deſerving thereof, may not receive the pay of able or ordinary ſeamen.

That particular attention be paid to the regulations relating to the cutting up of freſh beef, that choice pieces be never purpoſely ſelected for the officers from that which is cut up for the ſhip's company; and that choice pieces of ſalt meat be never taken for the officers out of the tub or veſſel from which it may be ſerved to the ſhip's company.

That officers do not ſelect caſks of the beſt wine or ſpirits for their own uſe from thoſe intended for the ſhip's company, nor exchange any wine or ſpirits of their own for that which has been ſent on board for the uſe of the ſhip.

That the captains and commanders of his majeſty's ſhips do ſtrictly enjoin the ſurgeons belonging to their reſpective ſhips not to take out of the ſhip any part of the medicines or neceſſaries intended for the uſe of the ſick, but ſtrictly to apply them to the purpoſes for which they were ſent on board.

That the captains and commanders of his majeſty's ſhips be particularly attentive to the conduct of the men under their command, and that they be ready, on the

the firſt appearance of mutiny, to uſe the moſt vigorous means to ſuppreſs it, and to bring the ringleaders to puniſhment.

Given, &c. 1ſt May, 1797.

By the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.

Whereas his majeſty has been moſt graciouſly pleaſed to iſſue his royal proclamation, dated the 11th inſtant, and thereby to declare that all ſuch ſeamen and marines on board any ſhips of the fleet who may have been guilty of any act of mutiny, or diſobedience of orders, or neglect of duty, and who have returned, or ſhall, upon notification of ſuch his majeſty's proclamation, return to the regular and ordinary diſcharge of their duty, ſhall be diſcharged and releaſed from all proſecutions, impriſonments and penalties, incurred by reaſon of any act of mutiny or diſobedience of orders, or any breach or neglect of duty previouſly committed by them, or any of them:

And whereas it is our intention, that on no occaſion hereafter the minds of the ſeamen and marines, to whom the benefit of the ſaid proclamation has been extended, ſhall be diſquieted by any reproof or reproach in reſpect of all or any ſuch acts of mutiny, diſobedience of orders, or breach or neglect of duty as before mentioned, but that a total oblivion of ſuch offences ſhould, as far as poſſible, obtain in conſequence thereof; we have therefore thought fit, by theſe our orders, to ſignify ſuch meaning and intention to the ſeveral flag officers, captains, commanders, and all their ſubordinate officers in the fleet; and they are hereby required and directed to conform to theſe our orders and intentions accordingly.

Given under our hands the 14th day of May, 1797.

SPENCER.
GAMBIER.
YOUNG.

To the ſeveral Flag Officers, Captains, and Commanders of his Majeſty's Fleet.

By command of their Lordſhips.
MARSDEN.

BY THE KING.—A Proclamation for the Suppreſſion of the Mutinous and Treaſonable Proceedings of the Crews of certain of our Ships at the Nore.

George R.

Whereas, upon the repreſentation of our lords commiſſioners of our admiralty reſpecting the proceedings of the ſeamen and marines on board certain of our ſhips at the Nore, we were pleaſed to command our ſaid lords commiſſioners of our admiralty to ſignify to the ſaid ſeamen and marines our gracious intentions, expreſſed in our royal declaration, under our ſign manual, bearing date at St. James's, the twenty-ſeventh day of May inſtant:—[*Here the proclamation recites verbatim that already publiſhed, ſigned* PORTLAND] and whereas our right truſty and right well-beloved couſin and counſellor George John earl Spencer, our truſty and well-beloved Charles George lord Arden, of our kingdom of Ireland, and W. Young, eſq. rear-admiral of the white, being three of the lords commiſſioners of our admiralty, did cauſe our gracious intentions, expreſſed in ſuch our declaration, to be ſignified to the crews of our ſhips at the Nore, and

did require such crews to return to their due obedience accordingly: And whereas it has been represented to us, that some of the crews of our said ships have been desirous of returning to their obedience accordingly, but have been prevented from so doing by violence; and other of our ships, in the actual discharge of their duty, have been fired upon, and attempts have been made to prevent some of our ships from proceeding, according to the orders of their commanders: And whereas, such continued perseverance in rebellious and treasonable attempts against our crown and dignity, after repeated admonitions and offers of our gracious pardon, render it necessary for us to call on all our loving subjects to be aiding and assisting in repressing the same; we have thought fit, by the advice of our privy council, to issue this our royal proclamation; and we do hereby strictly enjoin and command all our admirals, generals, commanders, and officers, of our forces by sea and land, and all magistrates whatsoever, and all others our loving subjects, that they, in their several stations, do use their utmost endeavours, according to law, to suppress all such mutinous and treasonable proceedings, and to use all lawful means to bring the persons concerned therein, their aiders and abettors, to justice: And we do hereby strictly enjoin and command all our loving subjects whatsoever, not to give any aid, comfort, assistance or encouragement whatsoever, to any person or persons concerned in any such mutinous or treasonable proceedings, as they will answer the same at their peril; and also, to the utmost of their power, and according to law, to prevent all other persons from giving any such aid, assistance, comfort or encouragement.

May 31. ——

London Gazette Extraordinary, Wednesday, June 7.

At the Court at the Queen's House, June 6, 1797, present, The King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas, by an act passed in the present session of parliament, intituled, "An act for more effectually restraining intercourse with the crews of certain of his majesty's ships now in a state of mutiny and rebellion, and for the more effectual suppression of such mutiny and rebellion," it is enacted, That it shall be lawful for the commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral, or any three or more of them, being thereto authorized by order of his majesty in council, to declare the crew of any of his majesty's ships who have been guilty of acts of mutiny and rebellion, and who still persist therein, and also the crew of any other of his majesty's ships, who shall be guilty of any of the like offences, to be in a state of mutiny and rebellion; and, by such declaration, to warn all his majesty's faithful subjects to abstain from all communication or intercourse with the crews of the said ships: And it is further enacted, that it shall be lawful for the said commissioners, or any three or more of them, in such manner as his majesty shall authorize and require, to accept the submission of the crew of any ship which shall have been so declared to be in a state of mutiny and rebellion, or of any person or persons, part of such crew, or of any person or persons on board of any

any of ſuch ſhips, or to declare any ſuch perſon or perſons to have returned to their duty, and thereupon to declare the perſon or perſons whoſe ſubmiſſion ſhall be ſo accepted, or who ſhall be ſo declared to have returned to their duty, to be exempted and relieved from all or any of the penalties and forfeitures in the ſaid act contained, in ſuch manner, and under ſuch terms and reſtrictions, as his majeſty ſhall think fit:

And whereas the ſaid lords commiſſioners have repreſented to his majeſty, that it appears to them that the crews of the ſhips hereinafter-mentioned, that is to ſay, the Sandwich, Montagu, Director, Inflexible, Monmouth, Belliqueux, Standard, Lion, Naſſau, Repulſe, Grampus, Proſerpine, Brilliant, Iris, Champion, Comet, Tyſiphone, Pylades, Swan, and Inſpector, have been guilty of acts of mutiny and rebellion, particularly by taking the command of the ſaid ſhips from his majeſty's officers, by combining to obſtruct the trade and navigation of the port of London, and by other acts of the moſt heinous nature, and that ſome of ſuch crews had actually fired on divers of his majeſty's ſhips, and that all the ſaid crews ſtill perſiſted in ſuch their mutiny and rebellion; his majeſty, in purſuance of the powers veſted in him by the above recited act, is hereby pleaſed, by and with the advice of the privy council, to authorize, and by this his order in council doth authorize the ſaid commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high admiral, or any three or more of them, to declare the crews of the ſaid ſhips to be in a ſtate of mutiny and rebellion, and to warn all his majeſty's faithful ſubjects to abſtain from all communication or intercourſe with the crews of the ſaid ſhips, in the manner directed by the ſaid act.

And his majeſty is hereby further pleaſed, with the advice aforeſaid, to authorize and require the ſaid commiſſioners, or any three or more of them, to accept the ſubmiſſion of the crew of any of the ſaid ſhips, or of any perſon or perſons, part of ſuch crew, or of any perſon or perſons on board of any of the ſaid ſhips, or to declare any ſuch perſon or perſons to have returned to their duty; and thereupon to declare the perſon or perſons whoſe ſubmiſſion ſhall be ſo accepted, or who ſhall be declared to have returned to their duty, to be exempted and relieved from all or any of the penalties and forfeitures in the ſaid act contained, in ſuch manner, and under ſuch terms and reſtrictions, as his majeſty ſhall think fit.

W. FAWKENER.

(L. S.) By the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.

By virtue of an order of his majeſty in council, bearing date the 6th day of June inſtant, and in purſuance of the proviſions of an act paſſed in the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, intituled, "An act for more effectually reſtraining intercourſe with the crews of certain of his majeſty's ſhips, now in a ſtate of mutiny and rebellion, and for the more effectual ſuppreſſion of ſuch mutiny and rebellion," we do hereby declare, that the crews of his majeſty's ſhips hereinafter mentioned, that

that is to say, the Sandwich, Montagu, Director, Inflexible, Monmouth, Belliqueux, Standard, Lion, Naſſau, Repulſe, Grampus, Proſerpine, Brilliant, Iris, Champion, Comet, Tyſiphone, Pylades, Swan, and Inſpector, having been guilty of acts of mutiny and rebellion, and perſiſting therein, are, and are to be deemed and taken to be, in a ſtate of mutiny and rebellion: And, in further purſuance of the proviſions of the ſaid act, we do hereby warn all his majeſty's faithful ſubjects to abſtain from all communication and intercourſe with the crews of the ſaid ſhips: And we do hereby notify, that, by virtue of the ſaid act, any perſon who ſhall wilfully and adviſedly have any communication or intercourſe, whether perſonally or by letter, meſſage, or otherwiſe, with the crew of any of the ſaid ſhips, or with any perſon or perſons being part of ſuch crew, or with any perſon who ſhall, after this day, remain on board any of the ſaid ſhips, will, on conviction thereof, be adjudged guilty of felony, and ſuffer death: And alſo, that any perſon who ſhall wilfully and adviſedly in any manner ſupply and comfort or aſſiſt ſuch crew, or any part thereof, or any perſon remaining on board any of the ſaid ſhips, after this day, will, on conviction thereof, be adjudged guilty of felony, and ſuffer death: And alſo, that from and after this day, all wages and other allowances payable to the crews of the ſaid ſhips, will ceaſe and determine, and be no longer payable; and that they will reſpectively, from thenceforth, forfeit and loſe all wages and other allowances, and all ſhares of prizes then due to them reſpectively, and all benefits and advantages to which they might otherwiſe be entitled from Greenwich hoſpital, or the cheſt at Chatham, and all other benefits and advantages whatſoever to which they might otherwiſe be entitled, in conſequence of their having ſerved as ſeamen or marines on board his majeſty's ſhips; and that all perſons voluntarily remaining on board any of the ſaid ſhips, after having had knowledge of this declaration, will, on conviction thereof, be adjudged guilty of piracy and felony, and will ſuffer death:

And whereas the penalties of the ſaid act do not extend to ſuch communication or intercourſe with the ſaid crews as may be carried on by our order or authority, or by the order and authority of ſuch perſon or perſons as may be authorized by us to grant permiſſion, and give directions in that behalf, we do hereby notify, that we have authorized Charles Buckner, eſq. vice-admiral of the white, and commander in chief of his majeſty's ſhips and veſſels in the river Medway, and at the buoy of the Nore, to hold communication or intercourſe with the ſaid crews, and to grant permiſſion, and give directions in that behalf. And we do further notify and declare, that we are authorized by his majeſty, in purſuance of the ſaid act, to accept the ſubmiſſion of the crew of any of the ſaid ſhips, or of any perſon or perſons on board of any ſuch ſhips, and to declare any ſuch perſon or perſons to have returned to their duty, and thereupon to declare the perſon or perſons whoſe ſubmiſſion ſhall be ſo accepted, or who ſhall be ſo declared to have returned to their duty, to be exempted and relieved from all or any

any of the penalties and forfeitures in the ſaid act.

Given under our hands and the ſeal of the office of admiralty, this 7th day of June 1797.

SPENCER, PH. STEPHENS,
ARDEN, J. GAMBIER,
CH. S. PYBUS, W. YOUNG,
H. SEYMOUR.

By command of their lordſhips,
Evan Nepean.

Copy of the Rules and Orders obſerved by the Sailors, during the Mutiny.

RULES AND ORDERS.

1. EVERY ſhip ſhall diligently keep a quarter watch; and every man found below in his watch, ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed.

2. Every ſhip ſhall give three cheers, morning and evening.

3. No woman ſhall be permitted to go on ſhore from any ſhip; but as many may come in as pleaſe.

4. Any perſon attempting to bring liquor into the ſhip, or any perſon found drunk, ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed.

5. The greateſt attention to be paid to the officers orders; any perſon failing in the reſpect due to them, or neglecting their duty, ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed.

6. Every ſeaman and marine ſhall take an oath of fidelity, not only to themſelves, but to the fleet in general.

7. No ſhip ſhall lift their anchors to proceed from this port, until the deſires of the fleet be ſatisfied.

8. That there be no liberty given from ſhip to ſhip till all are ſettled.

No private letters to be ſent on ſhore.

Proclamation by Order of the Duke of York, *announcing the increaſed Pay, and other advantages conferred on the Army.*

WHEREAS, over and above the proviſion made for clothing, for Chelſea hoſpital, for lodgings, and for medical aſſiſtance; and likewiſe over and above the allowance of beer, and other articles provided in barracks and quarters, and of bread provided at a reduced rate in camp, the private ſoldier of infantry of the line ſerving at home, heretofore received the pay of ſixpence per day, which, together with the ſum of two-pence farthing per day, granted to him by his majeſty's warrant for eſtabliſhing and conſolidating certain other allowances lately given him, amounts to the ſum of eight-pence farthing; his majeſty having been graciouſly pleaſed to take the ſame into conſideration, is pleaſed to direct, that, under the following regulations, there ſhall, from the 25th of this preſent month of May, be paid to each private ſoldier of infantry, in addition to the ſaid ſum of eight-pence farthing, the farther ſum of three-pence three-farthings, making, in the whole, the ſum of one ſhilling daily. Out of this advance of pay, the ſoldier is to pay the extra price of bread and meat, now paid by the public, which at preſent amounts, upon an average, to the daily ſum of one penny three farthings; ſo that the net increaſe in future to each ſoldier, will be two-pence per diem.

With reſpect to the diſburſement of this ſhilling per day, his majeſty has been pleaſed to order, that a ſum, not exceeding four ſhillings per week, ſhall be applied towards the

the expence of the ſoldier's meſs, (including vegetables, &c.) unleſs he himſelf ſhall chooſe to appropriate a farther part of his pay to that purpoſe:

That a ſum, not exceeding one ſhilling and ſixpence a week, ſhall be retained for neceſſaries, to be accounted for, as uſual, monthly: That the remainder of his pay, amounting to one ſhilling and ſixpence per week, ſhall be paid to the ſoldier, ſubject to the accuſtomed deduction for waſhing, and articles for cleaning his clothes and appointments: And his majeſty, out of his royal bounty, is farther pleaſed to order and direct, for the benefit of the ſoldier—That, in camp, he ſhall receive the ſum of five-pence farthing per week, being the difference between the allowance and value of bread and beer, in quarters, or barrack, and the ordinary (increaſed) ſupply of bread in camp:—That if meat, of the quality proper to be provided for him, ſhould exceed the price of ſixpence per pound, or bread of the houſehold quality, the price of one penny halfpenny per pound, ſuch extra price ſhall be allowed by the public, upon a quantity not exceeding three quarters of a pound of meat, and one pound of bread, per day for each man:—That when any ſoldier ſhall, with the approbation of his commanding officer, provide himſelf with lodgings, and the ſeveral articles of ſmall beer, &c. to which his billet would entitle him, he ſhall receive the ſame allowance as the publican would have been entitled to, under ſuch billet.

His majeſty is farther pleaſed to order,—That the pay and allowances to a drummer, ſhall be, daily, thirteen-pence farthing;—That the pay and allowances to a corporal ſhall be, daily, fourteen-pence farthing;—That the pay and allowances to a ſerjeant ſhall be, daily, eighteen-pence three farthings.

His majeſty is farther pleaſed to order, that the pay and allowances of the invalids ſhall be, daily,—To a private, eleven-pence farthing;—to a drummer, thirteen-pence farthing;—to a corporal, thirteen-pence three farthings;—to a ſerjeant, eighteen-pence farthing:—and that the ſerjeants, drummers, and private men of the militia and fencible infantry, ſhall be placed on the ſame footing, reſpectively, as thoſe of the line. His majeſty is farther pleaſed to order, that the like net addition of two-pence per diem ſhall be made to all his ſoldiers ſerving out of Great Britain.

Field-marſhal the duke of York is happy to announce the king's gracious intentions towards the whole of his army.

His royal highneſs reſts aſſured, that theſe new inſtances of the liberality of parliament, and of his majeſty's paternal care, will rivet that affection for their king and country, which has ever been the pride of Britiſh ſoldiers; and that a continuance in ſteady diſcipline and honourable conduct will merit thoſe gracious favours that have been repeatedly ſhewn them.

On this occaſion, his royal highneſs cannot but add, that, however incredible it may appear, that there ſhould exiſt a wretch, ſo loſt to honour and humanity, as to league with the enemy, and to aim at the utter ruin of his country, yet there are certainly many deſperate perſons, who have perſevered in methodizing treachery and ſedition; and who, under ſpecious and deluſive pretences,

pretences, taking the advantage of unguarded moments, have endeavoured to ſeduce ſoldiers from their duty, and render them accomplices in their treaſons; the direct object of which is univerſal confuſion and rapine, and the overthrow of that happy ſyſtem of religion and government ſecured to us by the blood of our anceſtors; and which, for ſo many ages, has rendered Britain the admiration and envy of the world!

His royal highneſs is convinced, that the love and attachment of the ſoldier to his king and country, are firm and unſhaken; and that, holding in abhorrence all baſe and ſcandalous attempts to ſhake his loyalty and true affection, every good ſoldier will repel with indignation, the inſtigators of ſuch wickedneſs, and glory in the opportunity of expoſing them to the exemplary juſtice of their inſulted country.

By command of field-marſhal his royal highneſs the duke of York.

WILLIAM FAWCETT,
adjutant-general.

Treaty of Navigation and Commerce between His Britannic *Majeſty and the Emperor of all the* Ruſſias, *ſigned at* Saint Peterſburgh, *February* 10-21, 1797.

In the name of the moſt holy and undivided Trinity.

HIS majeſty the king of Great Britain, and his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias, already united by the ties of the moſt intimate alliance; and having it equally at heart to cement more and more the good correſpondence which ſubſiſts between them and their reſpective kingdoms, and, as much as it is in their power, to make the reciprocal commerce between their ſubjects proſper, have judged it proper to collect under one point of view, and to fix the reciprocal rights and duties upon which they have agreed amongſt themſelves, in order to encourage and facilitate the mutual exchanges between the two nations: In conſequence of which, and in order without delay to proceed to the perfection of ſo ſalutary a work, their ſaid majeſties have choſen and nominated for their plenipotentiaries, that is to ſay, his majeſty the king of Great Britain, the Sieur Charles Whitworth, his envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary at the imperial court of Ruſſia, knight of the order of the Bath; and his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias, the Sieur Alexander count of Beſborodko, his actual privy counſellor of the firſt claſs, ſenator miniſter of the council of ſtate, director general of the poſts, and knight of the order of St. Andrew, of St. Alexander Newſky, of St. Anne of the firſt claſs, and grand croſs of St. Wladimir of the firſt claſs; the ſieur Alexander prince of Kourakin, his vice-chancellor, actual privy counſellor, miniſter of the council of ſtate, actual chamberlain, and knight of the order of St. Andrew, of St. Alexander Newſky, and of St. Anne of the firſt claſs; as alſo of the orders of Denmark, of Danebrog, and of the perfect Union; and the ſieur Peter of Soimonow, his privy counſellor, ſenator, preſident of the college of commerce, and knight grand croſs of the order of St. Wladimir of the ſecond claſs; who, in virtue of their full powers, have agreed and concluded upon the following articles:

Article

Article I. The peace, friendſhip, and good intelligence, which have happily hitherto ſubſiſted between their majeſties the king of Great Britain and the emperor of all the Ruſſias, ſhall be confirmed and eſtabliſhed by this treaty, in ſuch manner, that, from the preſent and for the future, there ſhall be between the crown of Great Britain on one ſide, and the crown of all the Ruſſias on the other, as alſo betwixt the ſtates, countries, kingdoms, domains, and territories under their dominion, a true, ſincere, firm, and perfect peace, friendſhip, and good intelligence, which ſhall laſt for ever, and ſhall be inviolably obſerved equally by ſea and by land, and upon the freſh waters; and the ſubjects, people, and inhabitants on each ſide, of whatever ſtate or condition they may be, ſhall mutually treat each other with every poſſible kind of benevolence and aſſiſtance, without doing each other any wrong or damage whatſoever.

II. The ſubjects of the two high contracting powers ſhall have perfect freedom of navigation and of commerce in all their dominions ſituated in Europe, where navigation and commerce are permitted at preſent, or ſhall be ſo hereafter, by the high contracting parties, to any other nation.

III. It is agreed that the ſubjects of the two high contracting parties may enter, trade, and remain with their ſhips, veſſels, and carriages, laden or empty, in all the ports, places, and cities, where the ſame is permitted to the ſubjects of any other nation whatſoever; and the ſailors, paſſengers, and ſhips, whether Britiſh or Ruſſian (although amongſt their crews there ſhould be found the ſubjects of ſome other foreign nation) ſhall be received and treated as the moſt favoured nation; and neither the ſailors nor the paſſengers ſhall be forced to enter, againſt their will, into the ſervice of either of the two contracting powers, with the exception of ſuch of their ſubjects whom they may require for their own ſervice: and if a ſervant or ſailor ſhall deſert from his ſervice or ſhip, he ſhall be reſtored. It is in like manner agreed, that the ſubjects of the high contracting parties may purchaſe all ſorts of things which they may be in want of at the current price; —repair and refit their ſhips, veſſels, and carriages; buy all the proviſions neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence or voyage; ſtay or depart at their pleaſure, without moleſtation or hindrance, provided that they conform themſelves to the laws and ordinances of the reſpective dominions of the high contracting parties, where they may be. In like manner, the Ruſſian ſhips which ſhall be at ſea for the purpoſe of navigation, and ſhall be met by Engliſh ſhips, ſhall not be hindered in their navigation, provided that in the Britiſh ſea they conform themſelves to cuſtom; but every ſort of aſſiſtance ſhall be given to them both in the ports ſubject to Great Britain, and in the open ſea.

IV. It is agreed that the ſubjects of Great Britain may carry, by water or by land, in their own ſhips and carriages, or in thoſe which they ſhall have freighted or hired for that purpoſe, into any province whatever of Ruſſia, all ſorts of merchandize or effects, of which the trade or entry is not prohibited; that they ſhall be permitted to keep them in their houſes or magazines, to ſell or exchange them wholeſale,

wholeſale, freely and without moleſtation, without being obliged to become citizens of ſuch city or place where they ſhall reſide or trade. By ſelling wholeſale, is underſtood one or more bales of goods, cheſts, caſks, barrels, alſo ſeveral dozens of ſmall articles of merchandize of the ſame kind, collected in the ſame place, and in conſiderable lots, or other ſorts of package. It is further agreed, that the ſubjects of Ruſſia may carry, in the ſame manner, into the ports of Great Britain and of Ireland, where they ſhall be eſtabliſhed or reſide, all ſorts of merchandize or effects of which the trade or the entry is not prohibited, which is underſtood equally of the manufactures and productions of the Aſiatic provinces, provided that it be not actually prohibited by ſome law now in force in Great Britain; that they ſhall be permitted to keep them in their houſes or magazines, to ſell or exchange them wholeſale, freely; become citizens of ſuch city or place where they ſhall reſide or trade; and that they may buy and tranſport out of the dominions of Great Britain all ſorts of merchandize and effects which the ſubjects of any other nation may there buy and tranſport elſewhere, particularly gold and ſilver, wrought or unwrought, except the coined money of Great Britain. It is agreed that Britiſh ſubjects, trading in the dominions of Ruſſia, ſhall have the liberty, in caſe of death, of an extraordinary event, or of an abſolute neceſſity, when there remain no other means of procuring money, or in caſe of bankruptcy, of diſpoſing of their effects, either in Ruſſian or foreign merchandize, in the manner in which the perſons intereſted ſhall think moſt advantageous. The ſame thing ſhall be obſerved with regard to Ruſſian ſubjects in the dominions of Great Britain. All this is to be underſtood with the reſtriction, that every permiſſion on either ſide, ſpecified in this article, ſhall be in nowiſe contrary to the laws of the country; and that the Ruſſian ſubjects, as well as the Britiſh ſubjects, and their clerks, conform themſelves, on both ſides, punctually to the rights, ſtatutes, and ordinances of the country in which they ſhall trade, in order to obviate all ſorts of frauds and pretexts. It is for this reaſon the deciſions of the ſaid caſes happening to the Britiſh factories in Ruſſia ſhall depend, at St. Peterſburgh, upon the college of commerce; and in the other cities, where there is no college of commerce, upon the tribunals which have cognizance of commercial affairs.

V. And in order to preſerve a juſt equality between Ruſſian and Britiſh ſubjects, both the one and the other ſhall pay the ſame duties of exportation and of importation, whether it be in Ruſſia, or in Great Britain and Ireland, whether it be in Ruſſian or in Britiſh veſſels; and no regulation ſhall be made by the high contracting parties in favour of their own ſubjects, which the ſubjects of the other high contracting party ſhall not enjoy, and that underſtood *bona fide*, under whatever name or form it may be, in ſuch manner as that the ſubjects of one of the powers ſhall have no advantage over thoſe of the other in the reſpective dominions.

VI. Every aſſiſtance and poſſible diſpatch ſhall be given for the loading and unloading of veſſels, as well as for the entry and departure of their

their merchandize, according to the regulations made for that purpoſe; and they ſhall not in any manner be detained, upon the penalties announced in the ſaid regulations. In like manner, if the ſubjects of Great Britain make contracts with any chancery or college whatſoever, for delivering certain merchandize or effects, on the declaration that thoſe merchandizes are ready to be delivered; and after they ſhall have been actually delivered within the term fixed in thoſe contracts, they ſhall be received, and the accounts ſhall be regulated and liquidated in conſequence between the ſaid college or chancery and the Britiſh merchants, within the time which ſhall have been fixed in the ſaid contracts. The ſame rule ſhall be obſerved in the dominions of Great Britain, towards Ruſſian merchants.

VII. It is agreed, that the ſubjects of Great Britain may, in all the cities and places of Ruſſia where it is allowed to any other nation to trade, pay for merchandize bought, in the ſame current money of Ruſſia which they have taken for their merchandize ſold, unleſs the contrary ſhould be ſtipulated in their contracts. The ſame is to be underſtood equally reſpecting Ruſſian merchandize in the dominions of Great Britain.

VIII. In the places where embarkations are uſually made, it ſhall be permitted to the ſubjects of the high contracting parties to load their ſhips or carriages with, and to tranſport by water and by land all ſorts of merchandize which they may have bought (with the exception of thoſe of which the exportation is prohibited) on paying the cuſtom-houſe duties, provided that thoſe ſhips and carriages conform themſelves to the laws.

IX. The ſubjects of the high contracting parties ſhall not pay more duties upon the entry or departure of their merchandize than are paid by the ſubjects of other nations. Nevertheleſs, in order to prevent, on both ſides, the cuſtom-houſe from being defrauded, in the caſe of the diſcovery of merchandize imported clandeſtinely, and without paying the cuſtom-houſe duty, they ſhall be confiſcated; and the merchants convicted of contraband ing ſhall be ſubjected to the fine eſtabliſhed by the law in ſuch caſes.

X. It ſhall be permitted to the high contracting parties to go, come, and trade freely in the ſtates with which the one or the other of thoſe parties ſhall be, in preſent or in future, at war, provided that they do not carry ammunition to the enemy: with the exception, nevertheleſs, of places actually blockaded or beſieged, whether by ſea or land; but at all other times, and with the exception of warlike ammunition, the ſubjects aforeſaid may tranſport into thoſe places every other ſort of merchandize, as well as paſſengers, without the ſmalleſt hindrance. With reſpect to the ſearching of merchant ſhips, ſhips of war and privateers ſhall conduct themſelves as favourably as the courſe of the war then exiſting may poſſibly permit it towards the moſt friendly powers which ſhall remain neuter, obſerving, as much as poſſible, the acknowledged principles and rules of the law of nations.

XI. All cannons, mortars, fire-arms, piſtols, bombs, grenades, balls, bullets, muſkets, flints, matches, powder,

powder, ſaltpetre, ſulphur, cutlaſſes, pikes, ſwords, belts, cartouch-boxes, ſaddles and bridles, beyond the quantity which may be neceſſary for the uſe of the ſhip, or beyond that which each man ſerving on board the veſſel, or paſſenger, ſhall have, ſhall be eſteemed warlike proviſions or ammunition; and if any are found, they ſhall be confiſcated, according to the laws, as contraband or prohibited effects; but neither the ſhips, paſſengers, nor the other merchandize found at the ſame time, ſhall be detained, or prevented from continuing their voyage.

XII. If (which God forbid) peace ſhould be broken between the two high contracting parties, neither perſons, ſhips, nor merchandize, ſhall be detained or confiſcated; but the term of a year at leaſt ſhall be granted for the purpoſe of ſelling, diſpoſing of, or carrying away their effects, and withdrawing themſelves wherever they ſhall pleaſe, which is to be underſtood equally reſpecting all thoſe who ſhall be in the ſea and land ſervice; and they ſhall be permitted, previous to or at their departure, to conſign the effects of which they ſhall not have diſpoſed, as well as the debts to which they may have a claim, to ſuch perſon as they ſhall judge proper, to be diſpoſed of according to their will and profit; which debts the debtor ſhall equally be obliged to pay as if the rupture had not taken place.

XIII. In the event of a ſhipwreck happening in a place belonging to one or other of the high contracting parties, not only every aſſiſtance ſhall be given to the unfortunate perſons, and no violence done to them, but alſo the effects which they ſhall have thrown out of the ſhip into the ſea ſhall not be concealed, detained, nor damaged, under any pretext whatever: on the contrary, the above-mentioned effects and merchandize ſhall be preſerved and reſtored to them, upon a ſuitable recompenſe being given to thoſe who ſhall have aſſiſted in ſaving their perſons, veſſels, and effects.

XIV. It ſhall be permitted to Britiſh merchants to build, buy, ſell, and hire houſes in all ſtates and cities of Ruſſia, excepting only the permiſſion of building, buying, ſelling, and hiring houſes in thoſe cities of the empire which have particular rights of citizenſhip, and privileges contrary thereto: and it is expreſsly ſtipulated, that at St. Peterſburgh, Moſcow, Archangel, Riga, and Narva, as well as in all ports of the Black Sea, the houſes which Britiſh merchants ſhall have purchaſed or built, ſhall, as long as they ſhall continue to belong to them, and reſide therein, be exempted from having ſoldiers quartered in them; but ſuch houſes as they ſhall let or hire ſhall be ſubjected to all city taxes, the tenant and proprietor agreeing with each other on that ſubject. As to every other city in Ruſſia, the houſes which they ſhall purchaſe or build, as well as thoſe which they ſhall hire or let, ſhall not be exempt from having ſoldiers quartered in them. It is, in like manner, permitted to Ruſſian merchants to build, buy, ſell, and hire houſes in Great Britain and Ireland, and to diſpoſe of them as it is allowed to the ſubjects of the moſt favoured nations. They ſhall have the free exerciſe of the Greek religion in their own houſes, or in the places allotted

allotted for that purpoſe. In like manner Britiſh merchants ſhall have the free exerciſe of the proteſtant religion. The ſubjects of both the one and the other power, eſtabliſhed in Ruſſia or in Great Britain, ſhall have the diſpoſal of their property, and the power of leaving it by will to whom they ſhall judge proper, according to the cuſtom and the laws of their own country.

XV. Paſſports ſhall be granted to all Britiſh ſubjects who ſhall deſire to quit Ruſſia, after having publiſhed their names and places of abode in the gazettes, according to the cuſtom of the preſent day, without obliging them to give ſecurity; and if at the time there does not appear any juſt cauſe for detaining them, they ſhall be permitted to depart, after providing themſelves, however, with paſſports from the tribunals eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe. The ſame facility ſhall be granted, on the like occaſion, according to the cuſtom of the country, to Ruſſian ſubjects who ſhall deſire to quit the dominions of Great Britain.

XVI. Britiſh merchants, who hall hire or keep ſervants, ſhall be bliged to conform themſelves to the laws of the empire upon this ſubject; which Ruſſian merchants ſhall be equally obliged to do in Great Britain.

XVII. In all law-ſuits and other affairs, Britiſh merchants ſhall not be under any other juriſdiction than that of the college of commerce, or that which ſhall be hereafter eſtabliſhed for the adminiſtration of juſtice between merchants. If it ſhould happen, however, that Britiſh merchants were to have law-ſuits in any cities at a diſtance from the above-mentioned college of commerce, both they and the other party ſhall carry their complaint before the magiſtrates of the ſaid cities. Ruſſian merchants in Great Britain ſhall have reciprocally the ſame protection and juſtice, according to the laws of that kingdom, which other foreign merchants have there, and ſhall be treated in the ſame manner as the ſubjects of the moſt favoured nation.

XVIII. Ruſſian merchants reſiding in Great Britain, and Britiſh merchants reſiding in Ruſſia, ſhall not be obliged to ſhew their books or papers to any perſon whatſoever, unleſs it be to afford evidence in courts of juſtice; neither ſhall the ſaid books or papers be taken or detained. If it ſhould happen, however, that a Britiſh merchant becomes a bankrupt, the affair ſhall be under the juriſdiction, at St. Peterſburgh, of the college of commerce, or of that which ſhall hereafter be eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe of adminiſtering juſtice in commercial affairs, and, in the other cities at a diſtance, under that of the magiſtrate of the city; and the buſineſs ſhall be carried on according to the laws which are, or ſhall hereafter be made upon that ſubject. If, however, Britiſh merchants obſtinately reſolved not to become bankrupts, ſhould refuſe to pay their debts either into the banks of his imperial majeſty or to individuals, it ſhall be permitted to arreſt a part of their effects, equivalent to their debts; and in caſe thoſe effects ſhould prove inadequate to that purpoſe, they may arreſt their perſons, and detain them until the majority of their creditors, both as to the number and value of their reſpective demands, conſent to

liberate them: with reſpect to their effects which ſhall have been arreſted, they ſhall remain in the cuſtody of thoſe who ſhall be appointed and duly authorized for that purpoſe by the majority of the creditors aforeſaid; and the perſons ſo appointed ſhall be obliged to appraiſe the effects as ſoon as poſſible, and to make a juſt and equitable diſtribution to all the creditors, according to their reſpective claims. The ſame courſe ſhall be purſued, in ſimilar caſes, with regard to Ruſſian merchants in the dominions of Great Britain, and they ſhall be protected therein in the manner regulated in the preceding article.

XIX. In caſe of complaints and of law-ſuits, three perſons of irreproachable character, from amongſt the foreign merchants, ſhall be, according to the circumſtances of the caſe, appointed by the college of commerce, and in ſuch places where there is none, by the magiſtrate, to examine the books and papers of the complainants; and the report which they ſhall make to the college of commerce, or to the magiſtrate, of what they ſhall have found in the ſaid books and papers, ſhall be conſidered as good proof.

XX. The cuſtom-houſes ſhall take care to examine the ſervants or the clerks of Ruſſian merchants at the time of their enregiſtering their purchaſes, if they are furniſhed for that purpoſe with the orders or full powers of their maſters; and if they are not, they ſhall not be credited. The ſame meaſures ſhall be adopted with the ſervants of Britiſh merchants; and when the ſaid ſervants, they having orders or full powers from their maſters, ſhall have enregiſtered the merchandize on account of their maſters, the latter ſhall be reſponſible therefore, in the ſame manner as if they had themſelves enregiſtered them. With reſpect to the Ruſſian ſervants employed in ſhops, they ſhall, in like manner, be enregiſtered by the tribunals eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe, in the cities where thoſe ſhops ſhall be; and their maſters ſhall be reſponſible for them in matters of trade, and in the purchaſes which they ſhall have made in their name.

XXI. In the caſe of Ruſſian merchants who are in debt to Britiſh merchants upon bills of exchange, or who have made contracts for the delivery of merchandize, not paying their bills of exchange, or not delivering their merchandize at the place or at the time agreed upon and mentioned in the ſaid bills or contracts, the college of commerce, after complaint to that effect ſhall have been made, and proofs given, ſhall ſummon them three times, granting them a ſufficient time to appear in perſon; and if they allow it to elapſe without appearing, the ſaid college ſhall condemn them, and ſend an expreſs, at the expence of the plaintiff, to the governors and to the tribunals of government, enjoining them to put the ſentence into execution, and thereby compel the debtors to fulfil their engagements. And if the demands ſhould be found frivolous or unjuſt, then the Britiſh merchants ſhall be obliged to pay the damage which they ſhall have occaſioned, either loſs of time, or by the expences of the voyage.

XXII. The brack ſhall be eſtabliſhed with juſtice, and the brackers

ſhall be anſwerable for the quality of the merchandize and for fraudulent packages, and obliged, upon ſufficient proofs againſt them, to pay for the loſſes which they have occaſioned.

XXIII. A regulation ſhall be made, in order to prevent the abuſes which may be practiſed in the packing of leather, hemp, and lint; and if any diſputes ſhould happen between the purchaſer and ſeller reſpecting the weight or the tare of any merchandize, the cuſtom-houſe ſhall decide it according to equity.

XXIV. In every thing which relates to taxes and duties upon the importation and exportation of merchandize in general, the ſubjects of the two high contracting parties ſhall always be conſidered and treated as the moſt favoured nation.

XXV. The ſubjects of the two contracting powers ſhall be at liberty, in their reſpective dominions, to aſſemble together with their conſul, in a body, as a factory, and make amongſt themſelves, for the common intereſt of the factory, ſuch arrangements as they ſhall judge proper, provided they are in no reſpect contrary to the laws, ſtatutes, and regulations of the country or place, where they ſhall be eſtabliſhed.

XXVI. Peace, friendſhip, and good intelligence ſhall continue for ever between the high contracting parties; and, as it is cuſtomary to fix a certain period to treaties of commerce, the above-mentioned high contracting parties have agreed that the preſent ſhall laſt eight years, reckoning from the expiration of the convention concluded between them on the 25th of March, 1793; and this treaty ſhall have effect immediately after its ratification: this term being elapſed, they may agree together to renew or prolong it.

XXVII. The preſent treaty of navigation and commerce ſhall be approved and ratified by his Britannic majeſty and his Imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias; and the ratification, in good and due form, ſhall be exchanged in the ſpace of three months, or ſooner if it can be done, reckoning from the day of the ſignature.

In faith of which, the reſpective plenipotentiaries have cauſed two copies of it to be made, perfectly conformable to each other, ſigned with their hands, and have thereunto affixed the ſeal of their arms.

Done at St. Peterſburgh, the 10-21ſt of February, 1797.

(L. S.) ALEXANDER, Count of Beſborodko.
(L. S.) Prince ALEXANDER, of Kourakin.
(L. S.) PETER, of Soimonow.
(L. S.) CHARLES WHITWORTH.

DECLARATION.

We, the underſigned, being furniſhed with the full powers of his majeſty the king of Great Britain on one ſide, and his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias on the other, having, in virtue of thoſe full powers, concluded and ſigned, at St. Peterſburgh, on February 10-21, 1797, a treaty of navigation and commerce, of which the 9th article ſtates, The ſubjects of the high contracting parties ſhall not

not pay higher duties on the importation and exportation of their merchandize, than are paid by the ſubjects of another nation, &c. declare by theſe preſents, in virtue of thoſe ſame full powers, that by the words *other nations*, European nations alone are to be underſtood.

The preſent declaration ſhall be conſidered as making part of the above-mentioned treaty of navigation and commerce, ſigned February 10-21, of the preſent year, and this day ratified.

In faith of which, we, the reſpective plenipotentiaries, have cauſed two copies of it, perfectly conformable to each other, to be made, have ſigned them with our own hands, and have thereunto affixed the ſeal of our arms.

Done at Moſcow, the 30th of April (11th of May) 1797.

(L. S.) ALEXANDER, Count of Beſborodko.
(L. S.) Prince ALEXANDER, of Kourakin.
(L. S.) CHARLES WHITWORTH.

Papers relative to the Attempt of the French *Directory to obtain the Expulſion of the* Engliſh *Ambaſſador from* Switzerland.

Note of the Directory.

Paris, 29th Fructidor.

THE executive directory, convinced that the miſſion of Mr. Wickham to the Helvetic cantons has no reference whatever to the reſpective intereſts of England and Switzerland; and that his ſole object is to excite and encourage plots againſt the internal and external ſecurity of the French republic, charge citizen Mengaud to invite and require the government of the canton of Berne, and alſo the other Helvetic cantons, if neceſſary, to give directions for Mr. Wickham's immediate departure from the territories of Switzerland.

(Signed) REVELLIERE LEPAUX, preſident.
LAGARDE, ſec. gen.

Reply of the Canton of Berne.

The republic of Berne, always holding in the higheſt eſtimation the good intentions of the French republic, has taken into mature conſideration the note tranſmitted to them by citizen Mengaud, in the name of the executive directory of the French republic.

They have to remark, that, for nearly a century paſt, Britiſh agents have uniformly reſided in Switzerland; and that Mr. Wickham, whoſe departure from Switzerland is required by the executive directory, being accredited to all the ſtates of the Helvetic confederacy as miniſter plenipotentiary, the republic of Berne cannot decide ſeparately on a ſubject which ſo eſſentially involves the rights of others, and the neutrality of the Helvetic body, as declared and recognized by all the powers now at war.

The government of Berne, always employed in maintaining harmony and good underſtanding with France and the other belligerent powers, ſubmits the above conſiderations to the wiſdom and good ſenſe of the executive directory, aſſuring the directory, at the ſame, that the government of Berne, in concert with the co-eſtates, will loſe no time in coming to a reſolution ſuitable to

the magnitude of the ſubject, ſhould the executive directory deem it expedient to addreſs itſelf to this effect to the laudable Helvetic body.

(Signed) MORLOT, chancellor.
Berne, Oct. 11th, 1797.

Note of Mr. Wickham, delivered to the Helvetic Body, on his Recall.

Frankfort, Nov. 22, 1797.

Magnificent and powerful Lords,

Although your lordſhips have not communicated to me the demand which the executive directory of France lately made to you concerning my miſſion, I could not, however, be ignorant of what was notorious to all Switzerland, and I in conſequence deemed it my duty to communicate it to my court, not omitting, at the ſame time, to point out the inſulting manner in which it was tranſmitted to your lordſhips. In the whole of this tranſaction, which attacks alike the law of nations and your ancient dignity and independence, the king has not failed to obſerve the perfidious intention of diſſolving the ties of friendſhip which have at all times attached his majeſty to your ſtates, and the premeditated plan of undermining the very foundations of your confederacy. Perſuaded of this truth, his majeſty (who, in ſending his miniſter into Switzerland, wiſhed to give a proof of his good-will and friendſhip towards you) will not allow his reſidence there to ſerve as a pretext to the hoſtile projects of a neighbour, whoſe ambition reſpects neither juſtice nor the laws of ſovereignty, and who is actuated with no other deſire than to introduce into your happy countries that deſtructive ſyſtem, from which, by the help of divine Providence, you have been hitherto enabled to protect them. The king has in conſequence ſignified his commands, that his whole miſſion ſhould withdraw from your territories without loſs of time.—In communicating this reſolution to your lordſhips, I have the king's expreſs commands to aſſure you, that it is dictated by no other motive than his anxious ſolicitude for the preſervation of your tranquillity; and that your lordſhips may fully rely on a continuance of that good-will and friendſhip which have ever formed the baſis of his majeſty's conduct in all his tranſactions with your ſtates.—I eagerly embrace this opportunity to expreſs to you, individually, my acknowledgments for the manner in which your lordſhips have been pleaſed to receive me during my miſſion, and my regret at being no longer the organ of the benevolent ſentiments of my ſovereign towards you.—In offering up my ſincereſt prayers for the proſperity and tranquillity of your ſtates, I have the honour to be, with the higheſt conſideration,

Magnificent and powerful lords,

(Signed) W. WICKHAM.

Anſwer of the Helvetic Body to the Note which Mr. Wickham, the Engliſh Miniſter, preſented at his Departure.

Berne, December 6, 1797.

Sir,

Your obliging letter of the 22d ultimo, has communicated to us his Britannic majeſty's reſolution to recall the whole of his miſſion to the Helvetic body. We are informed,

informed, at the ſame time, of the particular motives which have induced his majeſty to take this ſtep. While we lament that the circumſtances are ſuch as not to allow his majeſty to continue his miſſion amongſt us, and much as we feel the loſs of a miniſter from whom we have received ſo many convincing proofs of the intereſt he has taken in the welfare of our federal republic during his reſidence in this country, it affords us the greateſt ſatisfaction to find from your letter, that his majeſty's generous ſolicitude for the tranquillity and welfare of the Helvetic body at large, and of our ſtate in particular, has been the ſole motive that has actuated his majeſty in forming this determination. We are gratefully ſenſible of the aſſurances which you have given us, in his majeſty's name, of his friendly ſentiments and good-will towards us; and we avail ourſelves of this opportunity to recommend our republic to the further continuance of his majeſty's favour. We beg you, ſir, to be aſſured, that we ſhall profit of every opportunity, with pleaſure, to convince you of the warm eſteem to which your conduct, during your reſidence in this town, has given you the ſtrongeſt claims, and with which we have the pleaſure to remain, ſir, your moſt devoted

Advoyer and council of the town and republic of Berne.

IRISH PAPERS.—*Meſſage delivered on the 16th of January, from his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland *to both Houſes of Parliament.*

CAMDEN.

I HAVE it in command from his majeſty to acquaint the houſe of commons, that his majeſty feels the deepeſt regret that his endeavours to preſerve peace with Spain, and to adjuſt all matters in diſcuſſion with that court by an amicable negotiation, have been rendered ineffectual by an abrupt and unprovoked declaration of war on the part of the catholic king. His majeſty, at the ſame time that he ſincerely laments this addition to the calamities of war, already extending over ſo great a part of Europe, has the ſatisfaction to reflect, that nothing has been omitted on his part which could contribute to the maintenance of peace, on grounds conſiſtent with the honour of his crown, and the intereſts of his dominions: and he truſts that, under the protection of divine Providence, the firmneſs and wiſdom of his parliament will enable him effectually to repel this unprovoked aggreſſion, and to afford to all Europe an additional proof of the ſpirit and reſources of his majeſty's kingdoms.

I am alſo commanded by his majeſty to acquaint the houſe of commons, that his majeſty feels the utmoſt concern, that his earneſt endeavours to effect the reſtoration of peace have been unhappily fruſtrated, and that the negotiation in which he was engaged, has been abruptly broken off, by the peremptory refuſal of the French government to treat, except upon a baſis evidently inadmiſſible; and by their having, in conſequence, required his majeſty's plenipotentiary to quit Paris within forty-eight hours.

I have directed the ſeveral memorials and papers which have been exchanged in the courſe of the late diſcuſſion, and the account tranſmitted to his majeſty of its final reſult, to be laid before the houſe.

From theſe papers his majeſty truſts it will be proved to the whole world, that his conduct has been guided by a ſincere deſire to effect the reſtoration of peace upon principles ſuited to the relative ſituation of the belligerent powers, and eſſential for the permanent intereſts of his kingdoms, and the general ſecurity of Europe; whilſt his enemies have advanced pretenſions, at once inconſiſtent with thoſe objects, unſupportable even on the grounds on which they were profeſſed to reſt, and repugnant both to the ſyſtem eſtabliſhed by repeated treaties, and to the principles and practice which have hitherto regulated the intercourſe of independent nations.

In this ſituation, his majeſty has the conſolation of reflecting, that the continuance of the calamities of war can be imputed only to the unjuſt and exorbitant views of his enemies; and his majeſty, looking forward with anxiety to the moment when they may be diſpoſed to act on different principles, places, in the mean time, the fulleſt reliance, under the protection of Providence, on the wiſdom and firmneſs of parliament, on the tried valour of his forces by ſea and land, and the zeal, public ſpirit, and reſources of his kingdoms, for vigorous and effectual ſupport in the proſecution of a conteſt, which it does not depend upon his majeſty to terminate, and which involves in it the ſecurity and permanent intereſts of this country, and of Europe.

I ſincerely congratulate the houſe of commons upon the failure of the recent formidable attempt of the French to invade his majeſty's kingdom of Ireland. The providential diſperſion of their ſquadrons until his majeſty's fleets were enabled to appear upon the coaſt, cannot fail to impreſs ſenſations of awful and ſerious gratitude for ſo ſignal an inſtance of divine interpoſition: At the ſame time the commons will cheriſh the ſatisfactory reflection, that the deluſive hopes of ſucceſs in creating diviſion and inſurrection in the country, by which the enemy were inſpired, have been totally diſappointed; and that the late alarm has afforded his majeſty's ſubjects an opportunity of teſtifying, at the hazard of their fortunes and their lives, their invincible attachment to the mild government of their beloved ſovereign, and the bleſſings of their happy conſtitution. I have beheld with pleaſure the zeal and alacrity of his majeſty's regular and militia forces, and the prompt and honourable exertions of the yeomanry corps, whoſe decided utility has been ſo abundantly diſplayed; while the diſtinguiſhed ſervices of the moſt reſpectable characters in forwarding the meaſures of government, the benevolent attention ſhown to the army by all ranks and deſcriptions of perſons, and the ſpirited meaſures which were taken to ſupport public credit, have made an indelible impreſſion upon my mind. It was from this general ſpirit of animated and gallant loyalty, that I was inſpired with a juſt hope that, had the enemy ſucceeded in an attempt to land, their career would have been terminated in total diſcomfiture. I have not failed to repreſent to his majeſty this meritorious conduct of his faithful ſubjects of Ireland; and am expreſsly commanded to convey to them his cordial acknowledgments and thanks.

His

His majeſty's concern for the ſafety and happineſs of his people has been anxious and unceaſing; he was prepared to ſend every requiſite military aſſiſtance from Great Britain. And his majeſty is not without hopes that the formidable fleet aſſembled under the command of lord Bridport, for the protection of this kingdom (the arrival of which was only obſtructed by thoſe adverſe ſtorms which have proved ſo deſtructive to the preſent expedition of the enemy) may ſtill fall in with the hoſtile ſquadron, and effect their total defeat.

At the ſame time, however, his majeſty truſts that the houſe of commons will advert to the ſituation and reſources of the kingdom, for eſtabliſhing future ſecurity, by means proportionable to the daring efforts which may be expected from a deſperate enemy; who, having rejected every reaſonable propoſal for the reſtoration of peace, is endeavouring to excite diſaffection among his majeſty's ſubjects, and to propagate the principles of anarchy by the ſpirit of plunder.

Meſſage from the Lord Lieutenant to the Houſe of Commons, on the 18th of March, 1797.

CAMDEN.

The dangerous and daring outrages committed in many parts of the province of Ulſter, evidently perpetrated with a view to ſuperſede the law, and prevent the adminiſtration of juſtice, by an organized ſyſtem of murder and robbery, have lately increaſed to ſo alarming a degree in ſome parts of that province, as to bid defiance to the exertions of the civil power, and to endanger the lives and properties of his majeſty's ſubjects in that part of the kingdom.

Theſe outrages are encouraged and ſupported by treaſonable aſſociations to overturn our happy conſtitution. Threats have been held out againſt the lives of all perſons who ſhall venture to diſcover ſuch their treaſonable intentions. The frequent treaſonable aſſemblage of perſons, and their proceeding by threats and force to diſarm the peaceable inhabitants; their endeavours to collect great quantities of arms in obſcure hiding-places; their aſſembling by night to exerciſe in the practice of arms; their intimidations, accompanied by the moſt horrid murders, to prevent his majeſty's faithful ſubjects from joining the yeomanry corps eſtabliſhed by law; their having fired on ſome of his majeſty's juſtices of the peace, and threatened with murder any who ſhould have the ſpirit to ſtand forth in ſupport of the laws, which threats have been recently exemplified; their attacks on the military, by firing on them in the execution of their duty—have ſo totally bid defiance to the ordinary exertions of the civil power, that I found myſelf obliged, by every tie of duty to his majeſty, and of regard to the welfare of his faithful ſubjects, to provide for the public ſafety, by the moſt effectual and immediate application of the military force entruſted to me.

I have accordingly ordered the general commanding in that province, to diſpoſe of and employ thoſe troops under his command, with the aſſiſtance and co-operation of the yeomanry, to ſuppreſs theſe outrages; and, by ſeizing upon all arms and ammunition, to recover ſuch as had been traitorouſly taken from

from his majeſty's troops and others, and more effectually to defeat the evil deſigns of thoſe who had endangered the public ſafety.

I have the ſatisfaction of informing you, that by the firm and temperate conduct of the general, and the troops under him, and the zealous co-operation of the yeomanry corps, a very conſiderable number of arms has been taken; and I am encouraged to hope that a continuation of the ſame vigorous meaſures, will give confidence to the well-diſpoſed, and reſtore to the civil power its conſtitutional authority, which it has ever been my wiſh, and ſhall be my ſtrenuous endeavour, to ſupport with energy and effect.

Meſſage delivered on the 11th of April, 1797, from the ſame.

CAMDEN.

Gentlemen,

In purſuance of the reſolution entered into by the houſe of commons on the 1ſt of March, 1797, for raiſing towards the ſupply granted to his majeſty the ſum of 3,395,697l. upon the terms therein mentioned, I have given ſuch directions as appeared to me moſt proper to carry the ſame into execution; and I am ſorry to inform you that it is found, after the moſt diligent endeavours exerted for the purpoſe, that the ſum intended to be raiſed by the ſaid reſolution, cannot be obtained according to the terms thereof. I therefore thought it incumbent on me that this houſe ſhould be made acquainted therewith, not doubting that the commons of Ireland, attentive to the honour of his majeſty's government, and to the ſafety of the kingdom, will take ſuch meaſures as ſhall be moſt prudent, to carry the intention of that ſalutary reſolution into effect. C.

Meſſage delivered on the 29th of April, 1797, from the ſame.

CAMDEN.

Upon information of the meetings of certain perſons, ſtyling themſelves United Iriſhmen, for the purpoſe of concerting plans for the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, and of the eſtabliſhed government of this kingdom, two committees in the town of Belfaſt have been arreſted, and their papers ſeized: they contain matter of ſo much importance to the public welfare, that I have directed them to be laid before the houſe of commons; and I recommend it to them to take the ſame into their ſerious conſideration. I ſhall, in the mean time, purſue thoſe meaſures which have received your ſanction and approbation, with unremitting vigour, and employ the force entruſted to me in the moſt efficient manner, for the protection of his majeſty's faithful ſubjects, againſt all treaſonable deſigns, and for bringing to condign puniſhment thoſe who are endeavouring to overturn the conſtitution, and betray this country into the hands of her enemies.

Proclamation by General Lake.

Belfaſt, March 13, 1797.

Whereas the daring and horrid outrages in many parts of this province, evidently perpetrated with a view to ſuperſede the laws and the adminiſtration of juſtice, by an organized ſyſtem of murder and robbery, have increaſed to ſuch an alarming

alarming degree as, from their atrocity and extent, to bid defiance to the civil power, and to endanger the lives and properties of his majesty's faithful subjects: And whereas, the better to effect their traitorous purposes, several persons have been enrolled under the authority of his majesty's commissions, and others have been forcibly and traitorously deprived of their arms; it is therefore become indispensably necessary, for the safety and protection of the well-disposed, to interpose the king's troops under my command: and I do hereby give notice, that I have received authority and directions to act in such manner as the public safety may require. I do therefore hereby enjoin and require all persons in this district (peace-officers and those serving in a military capacity excepted) forthwith to bring in and surrender up all arms and ammunition which they may have in their possession, to the officer commanding the king's troops in their neighbourhood. I trust that an immediate compliance with this order may render any act of mine to enforce it unnecessary. Let the people seriously reflect, before it is too late, on the ruin into which they are rushing; — let them reflect upon their present prosperity, and the miseries in which they will inevitably be involved, by persisting in acts of positive rebellion. Let them instantly, by surrendering up their arms, and by restoring those traitorously taken from the king's forces, rescue themselves from the severity of military authority. Let all the loyal and well-intentioned act together with energy and spirit, in enforcing subordination to the laws, and restoring tranquillity in their respective neighbourhoods, and they may be assured of protection and support from me. And I do hereby invite all persons who are enabled to give information touching arms or ammunition which may be concealed, immediately to communicate the same to the several officers commanding his majesty's forces in their respective districts; and, for their encouragement and reward, I do hereby promise and engage, that strict and inviolate secrecy shall be observed with respect to all persons who shall make such communications; and that every person who shall make it, shall receive as a reward the full value of all such arms and ammunition as shall be seized in consequence thereof.

Signed by G. LAKE,
lieutenant general,
commanding the northern
district.

Proclamation of Lord Cavan.

Whereas I have thought it expedient, during the present disturbed state of the country in the neighbourhood of this town, to give orders, that the gates of this garrison shall be locked every night, from the hour of eleven till day-light of the following morning, during which time no person or persons will be permitted to have either ingress or egress but on special affairs, or on the public service: This regulation to commence on Thursday evening, the 23d instant; and in order that no person may plead ignorance of the consequences of attempting to scale the walls, I have given particular orders, that the sentries should immediately

immediately fire at any perſon ſo attempting.

(Signed) CAVAN,
brigadier-general,
commanding at Londonderry.

Proteſt of Lord Bellamont, on the ſubject of General Lake's Proclamation.

Diſſentient,

Becauſe I conſider it to be the pointed duty of the peers, as hereditary counſellors of the king, and of his majeſty's repreſentative in this kingdom, but moſt eſpecially the duty of ſuch as are members of his majeſty's privy council, to take good care that the juſt influence and high authority of his excellency the lord lieutenant's name be not brought forward to the public in order to cover error in any man, whatever may be his rank, character, or department in the ſtate. The nature, magnitude, and impreſſion of the preſent ſubject upon the public mind, moſt eminently demands the ſacred performance of this duty—inſomuch that I ſhould conſider myſelf unworthy of the high offices of truſt and honour which the goodneſs of the beſt of kings has from time to time moſt graciouſly conferred upon me, if I were not at all times, regardleſs of the conſequences as to myſelf, ready to ſtand forth between his excellency the lord lieutenant, and miſrepreſentation or miſconception. With regard to the legality or illegality of the proclamation alluded to in the above amendment propoſed by me, if any man at this day entertains a doubt upon the ſubject, I refer any ſuch perſon or perſons to the opinions of ſome of the moſt authentic and reſponſible lawyers in this kingdom, delivered in the moſt deliberate, ſolemn, and public manner.

(Signed) BELLAMONT.

By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland.—A Proclamation.

CAMDEN.

Whereas there exiſts within this kingdom, a ſeditious and traitorous conſpiracy, by a number of perſons ſtyling themſelves United Iriſhmen, for the ſubverſion of the authority of his majeſty and the parliament, and the deſtruction of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution and government: And whereas, for the execution of ſuch their wicked deſign, they have planned means of open violence, and formed ſecret arrangements for raiſing, arming, and paying a diſciplined force; and, in furtherance of their purpoſes, have frequently aſſembled in great and unuſual numbers, under the colourable pretence of planting or digging potatoes, attending funerals, and the like, and have frequently aſſembled in large armed bodies, and plundered of arms the houſes of many of his majeſty's loyal ſubjects, in different parts of the kingdom, and cut down and carried away great numbers of trees, wherewith to make handles for pikes and other offenſive weapons, to arm their traitorous aſſociates; and have audaciouſly attempted to diſarm the diſtrict yeomanry corps, enrolled under his majeſty's commiſſion for the defence of the realm, and even fired upon ſeveral bodies of his majeſty's forces, when attempting to quell their inſurrection; and it is therefore now become neceſſary to uſe the utmoſt powers

powers with which goverment is by law entruſted, for the ſuppreſſion of ſuch traitorous attempts: And whereas the exertions of the civil power have proved ineffectual for the ſuppreſſion of the aforeſaid traitorous and wicked conſpiracy, and for the protection of the lives and properties of his majeſty's faithful ſubjects,—

Now we, the lord lieutenant, by and with the advice of the privy council, having determined, as far as in us lies, to ſuppreſs ſuch daring attempts, and at the ſame time deſirous to prevent the well-diſpoſed or miſled from falling into the dangers to which ignorance or incaution may expoſe them, do by this our proclamation forewarn all ſuch to abſtain from entering into the ſaid traitorous ſocieties of United Iriſhmen, or any of them, and from reſorting to their meetings, and acting under their directions or influence, or taking or adhering to any of their declarations or engagements, and from ſuffering them to aſſemble in their houſes, or in any manner harbouring them.

And we do ſtrictly charge and command, on their allegiance, all perſons having knowledge or information of the meetings of the ſaid ſocieties, or any of them, to give immediate information thereof to ſome of his majeſty's juſtices of the peace, or to ſome officer of his majeſty's forces in the neighbourhood of the place where ſuch meeting is intended. And we do forewarn all perſons from tumultuous or unlawful aſſemblies, or from meeting in any unuſual numbers, under the plauſible or colourable pretence aforeſaid, or any other whatſoever.

And we caution his majeſty's loyal and loving ſubjects, whenever ſuch aſſemblies ſhall happen, or that they receive notice from any magiſtrates, or from the officers commanding any body of his majeſty's forces, to keep quietly within their dwellings, to the end that the well-diſpoſed may avoid the miſchiefs which the guilty may bring upon themſelves.

And it has become neceſſary, from the circumſtances before mentioned, to employ the military force with which we are by law entruſted, for the immediate ſuppreſſion of ſuch rebellious and traitorous attempts now making againſt the peace and dignity of the crown, and the ſafety of the lives and properties of his majeſty's loyal ſubjects. We have therefore iſſued the moſt direct and effectual orders to all officers commanding his majeſty's troops, by the exertions of their utmoſt force, to ſuppreſs the ſame, and to oppoſe with their full power, all ſuch as ſhall reſiſt them in the execution of their duty.

And we do hereby ſtrictly charge and command all our officers, civil and military, and all other of his majeſty's loving ſubjects, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to diſcover all pikes, pike-heads, concealed guns and ſwords, offenſive weapons, or ammunition of any kind whatſoever. And we do hereby charge and command all perſons having in their cuſtody pikes, pike-heads, or concealed guns, ſwords, offenſive weapons, or ammunition of any kind whatever, to deliver up the ſame to ſome magiſtrate or officer of his majeſty's troops, as they ſhall anſwer to the contrary at their peril. And we do hereby ſtrictly charge and command all officers, civil and military, and all other his majeſty's faithful ſubjects, to be aiding and aſſiſting

assisting in suppressing all traitorous, tumultuous, and unlawful assemblies, and in bringing to punishment all persons disturbing, or attempting to disturb, the public peace.

And whereas we have reason to hope, that many of his majesty's subjects who have joined the said traitorous societies, have done so without being apprized of the extent of their crimes, and others from intimidation, and that such may be willing to return to their allegiance: Now we, being desirous to extend his majesty's pardon to all such as are sensible of their errors, and willing to return to their allegiance, do hereby promise his majesty's pardon to all such persons so seduced or intimidated, as have taken an engagement to the said societies, or any of them, who shall, on or before the twenty-fourth day of June next, surrender themselves to any of his majesty's justices of the peace, being of the quorum, of the counties in which they shall respectively reside, and take the oath of allegiance, and enter into sufficient recognizance with two sufficient sureties, if sureties shall be required by the magistrate before whom such recognizance shall be acknowledged (which recognizance every such magistrate is hereby required to return to the next general session of the peace, or assizes, to be holden in and for the county in which such recognizance shall be taken respectively) to be of the peace and good behaviour for the space of seven years; save and except all such as have been guilty of murder, conspiracy of murder, burglary, burning of houses, corn or hay, stacks of straw or turf, maliciously digging up, or injuring or destroying any potatoes, flax or hemp, rape or corn of any kind, planted or sowed, or destroying meadows or hay, maiming or houghing of cattle, administering, or causing to be administered, any unlawful oath or engagement to any of his majesty's forces of any description, or inciting or encouraging any person to commit any of the aforesaid offences respectively; and save and except all persons now in custody.

Given at the council-chamber in Dublin, the 17th day of May, 1797.

God save the king.

The Lord Lieutenant's Speech on proroguing the Parliament, on the 3d of July, 1797.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I have the satisfaction of being at length enabled to relieve you from your laborious attendance in parliament, and am commanded by his majesty to express the just sense he entertains, of that firm temper and vigorous determination which you have uniformly manifested in supporting his majesty's government, and protecting our happy constitution from the attempts of every foreign and domestic enemy. I have much pleasure in announcing to you, that the British parliament has passed acts for abolishing the bounty on sail-cloth exported to Ireland, and for prohibiting the importation of cambric from all countries except this kingdom.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I am to thank you, in his majesty's name, for your unanimity in voting the extraordinary supplies which the public exigencies demanded. However unprecedented those supplies have been in extent, and however

ever difficult they may have been rendered, from the ſtate of public credit, you have wiſely attended to the ſuperior conſideration of national ſafety. Such an exertion is the ſureſt proof that you are truly ſenſible of the invaluable bleſſings which we are contending to preſerve; and that the beſt means of effecting an honourable peace, and of reſtoring all the comforts of tranquillity, are, by diſplaying at once your determination and your power, and convincing your enemies of the extent of your reſources, as well as of the ſteadineſs of your courage. The ready aſſiſtance which has been received from the ſiſter kingdom, in facilitating the loan of the year, whilſt it is a ſure demonſtration of her friendly cordiality, cannot fail to ſhew how inſeparable are the mutual intereſts of the two kingdoms, and how neceſſary their connection is for their mutual proſperity. Your humanity in directing your attention to the preſent diſtreſs among the manufacturers, does not leſs command my approbation, than your prudence in the mode of conveying relief, by increaſing the means of their employment.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

The powers with which you entruſted me by the ſuſpenſion of the *habeas corpus* act, have enabled me to bring to light and to diſconcert the formidable and ſecret conſpiracy which had been formed for the total overthrow of your eſtabliſhments, the deſtruction of property, and the diſſolution of government. This conſpiracy has been ſo fully unfolded by your wiſdom, that it can no longer ſpread itſelf under the inſidious pretence which it had artfully aſſumed of improving the conſtitution. In the meaſures, whether of vigilance or of coercion, which you have recommended for its extinction, I ſhall not relax. It will be my ſtudy to temper the neceſſary acts of ſeverity and rigour, by conciliatory offers of clemency and pardon, to exhort the infatuated and deluded to abandon their deceivers, and to ſummon the guilty to repentance; but at the ſame time it is, and will be, my fixed purpoſe, to proceed with vigour againſt thoſe who, regardleſs of every warning and admonition, ſhall continue their deſperate efforts to involve this flouriſhing country in all the horrors of inſurrection and invaſion, of bloodſhed, and of anarchy. I have already the ſatisfaction to acquaint you, that great numbers, who had been unfortunately ſeduced, have returned to a ſenſe of duty, and been admitted to his majeſty's clemency: and I truſt that, by perſeverance and energy, every veſtige of diſaffection will be effaced, and univerſally give way to the return of that ſpirit of loyalty which has ſo long been the diſtinguiſhed characteriſtic of this kingdom. I cannot omit to congratulate you on the unimpaired luſtre of that ſpirit which ſo conſpicuouſly ſhone forth when the enemy's fleet appeared on our coaſts; nor can I too often repeat my full ſenſe of your wiſdom in the eſtabliſhment of diſtrict corps. I have the moſt ſatisfactory accounts of their improvement in diſcipline, as well as of their exertions in quelling and preventing inſurrection; and I have myſelf witneſſed the unexampled exertions, good conduct, and military appearance of the corps of the metropolis, whoſe unceaſing and unwearied vigilance, at a moſt important criſis, checked every

every attempt to produce confuſion by riot and tumult, at the ſame time that it deſtroyed the hopes of our enemies, and reſtored confidence to the country in general. Your judicious augmentation of pay to his majeſty's regular and militia forces, which muſt render their ſituation ſo highly comfortable, is at once a ſeaſonable and honourable acknowledgment of their ſteadineſs and loyalty. The traitorous efforts which have been made to entice them from their allegiance, have had a fatal effect in a few lamentable examples. I truſt, however, they have excited in the minds of others ſo timely a repentance, and in the reſt ſuch indignation and abhorrence, that no future danger can be apprehended. Your wiſe inſtitution of a ſinking fund, in the midſt of financial difficulties, cannot be too much applauded, and will prevent any ruinous depreciation of fund-ſtock; and, being eſtabliſhed before the national debt has accumulated to any oppreſſive magnitude, will tend to prevent its becoming dangerous;—a meaſure ſo truly calculated for preſerving the reſources of the ſtate, and ſupporting public credit, muſt ſecure to you the gratitude of an enlightened people. His majeſty is exerting every proper effort to produce a ſpeedy and ſecure peace. It will be our duty to aſſiſt thoſe efforts, by convincing our enemies, from the ſtate of our preparation, and the unanimity of our ſpirit, that they can hope for no advantage by prolonging the calamities of war. Wherever your abilities, your influence, and exertions, can be moſt advantageouſly employed on your return to your ſeveral counties, I am confident they will be moſt conſpicuouſly diſplayed. A conſtant intercourſe with your immediate neighbourhood, muſt give you the opportunity of affording to the people both aſſiſtance and example, of reclaiming thereby the deluded and ill-diſpoſed, and confirming the well-affected in their duty and allegiance. A forward ſpirit of loyalty, which in moſt parts of the kingdom has ſucceſsfully checked the progreſs of treaſon, will be ſtrengthened and diffuſed by your preſence and exertions. It will be my ambition to ſecond your activity and zeal, and to co-operate with your efforts for reſtoring the tranquillity and proſperity of the kingdom. We have a common and ſacred cauſe to defend,—the independence and conſtitution of Great Britain and Ireland, from which both kingdoms have derived innumerable bleſſings under his majeſty's auſpicious reign. They were purchaſed by the deareſt blood of your anceſtors, in a criſis not leſs formidable than the preſent. I truſt we ſhall not fail to imitate their great example; and that we ſhall be enabled, by ſimilar courage and continued firmneſs, to tranſmit to our poſterity inviolate, that invaluable inheritance which their valour reſcued, and their perſeverance preſerved.

Treaty of Peace concluded between the Pope and the French *Republic.*

Art. I. THERE ſhall be peace, friendſhip, and good underſtanding, between the French republic and pope Pius the ſixth.

II. The pope revokes all adheſion, aſſiſtance, and conceſſion, open or ſecret, given by him to the coalition armed

armed againſt the French republic; and to every treaty of alliance, offenſive and defenſive, with whatever power it may be. He engages himſelf not to furniſh, either for the preſent or any future war, to any power armed againſt the French republic, any ſuccours in men, ſhips, arms, warlike ſtores, proviſions or money, under any title or denomination whatever.

III. His holineſs ſhall diſband, within five days after the ratification of the preſent treaty, the troops of the new formation, retaining only the regiments exiſting before the treaty of armiſtice ſigned at Bologna.

IV. The ſhips of war or corſairs of the powers armed againſt the French republic, ſhall not enter, or at leaſt ſhall not make any ſtay during the preſent war, in the ports or roads of the eccleſiaſtical ſtates.

V. The French republic ſhall continue to enjoy, as before the war, all the rights and prerogatives which France had at Rome, and ſhall be treated in every reſpect as the moſt reſpected powers, and particularly ſo as to what relates to its ambaſſador or miniſter, its conſuls or vice-conſuls.

VI. The pope ſhall renounce abſolutely and entirely all the rights which he may pretend to have in the cities and territories of Avignon, the Comtat Venaiſſin, and its dependencies; and ſhall transfer, give up, and abandon the ſaid rights to the French republic.

VII. The pope in like manner renounces for ever, and gives up and transfers to the French republic, all his right to the territories known by the title of the Legation of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna; and no attack ſhall be made on the catholic religion in that quarter.

VIII. The citadel and villages forming the territory of the city of Ancona, ſhall remain in the hands of the republic till a peace with the continent ſhall be concluded.

IX. The pope engages, for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, not to transfer to any one the title of ſeigniories, attached to the territories by him ceded to the French republic.

X. His holineſs engages to pay and deliver, at Foligno, to the treaſurer of the French army, before the 5th of March, 1797, the ſum of 15,000,000 of French livres Tournois, of which 10,000,000 ſhall be in ſpecie, and 5,000,000 in diamonds and other valuable effects; beſides the ſum of 1,600,000 remaining due according to the 9th article of the armiſtice ſigned at Bologna on the 5th Meſſidor, in the fourth year of the republic, and ratified by his holineſs on the 27th of June.

XI. In order to ſettle finally what ſhall remain to be paid, in order to the complete execution of the armiſtice ſigned at Bologna, his holineſs ſhall provide the army with 800 cavalry horſes accoutred, and 800 draught-horſes, bulls and buffaloes, and other objects produced from the territory of the church.

XII. Beſides the ſum mentioned in the preceding articles, the pope ſhall pay to the French republic, in ſpecie, diamonds, and other valuables, the ſum of 15,000,000 of French livres Tournois, of which 10,000,000 livres ſhall be paid in the courſe of March, and five in the courſe of April next.

XIII. The 8th article of the treaty of armiſtice ſigned at Bologna,

logna, concerning the manuſcripts and objects of art, ſhall be carried into complete execution as ſpeedily as poſſible.

XIV. The French army ſhall evacuate Umbria, Perugia, and Camerino, as ſoon as the 10th article of the preſent treaty ſhall be executed and accompliſhed.

XV. The French army ſhall evacuate the province of Macerata, excepting Ancona and Fano, and their territories, as ſoon as the firſt five millions of the ſum mentioned in the 12th article of the preſent treaty ſhall have been paid and delivered.

XVI. The French ſhall evacuate the territory of the city of Fano, and the duchy of Urbino, as ſoon as the ſecond five millions of the ſum mentioned in the 12th article of the preſent treaty ſhall have been delivered, and the 3d, 10th, 11th and 12th, ſhall have been executed. The laſt five millions, making up the whole of the ſum ſtipulated to be paid by the 11th article, ſhall be paid at fartheſt in the courſe of April next.

XVII. The French republic cedes to the pope all its right to the different religious foundations in the city of Rome, and at Loretto; and the pope cedes entirely to the French republic all the allodial property belonging to the holy ſee in the three provinces of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, and particularly the eſtate of Meſola and its dependencies; the pope reſerving to himſelf, however, in caſe they ſhall be ſold, a third of the ſums ariſing from ſuch ſale, which ſhall be remitted as part of his contribution.

XVIII. His holineſs ſhall diſavow, by his miniſter at Paris, the aſſaſſination of the ſecretary of legation, Baſſeville; and, in the courſe of the year, the ſum of 300,000 livres ſhall be paid to and divided among thoſe who have ſuffered by this event.

XIX. His holineſs ſhall ſet at liberty all perſons in confinement on account of their political opinions.

XX. The commander in chief ſhall permit all the priſoners of war from the troops of his holineſs to return home, as ſoon as he ſhall have received the full ratification of this treaty.

XXI. Until a commercial treaty ſhall be concluded between the French republic and the pope, the commerce of the republic ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed, and treated by the ſtates of his holineſs on the ſame footing as the nation moſt favoured in its commerce.

XXII. Conformable to the 6th article of the treaty concluded at the Hague in April, in the third year, the peace concluded by the preſent treaty between the French republic and his holineſs, is declared to extend to the Batavian republic.

XXIII. The poſt of France ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed at Rome, in the ſame manner as exiſted before.

XXIV. The ſchool of arts, inſtituted at Rome for all the French, ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed, and ſhall continue to be conducted as before the war. The palace belonging to the republic, where this ſchool is held, ſhall be reſtored without waſte.

XXV. All the articles, clauſes, and conditions of the preſent treaty, ſhall be, without exception, obligatory for ever, as well on his holineſs as on his ſucceſſors.

XXVI. The

XXVI. The preſent treaty ſhall be ratified with the ſhorteſt poſſible delay.

Made and ſigned at the head-quarters of Tolentino, by the ſaid Plenipotentiaries, February 19th, 1797.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.
CACAULT.

To cardinals Mattei, L. Gäleppi, L. Duca, Braſchi, Oneſti, and Camillo, marquis of Maſſia.

Treaty of Offenſive and Defenſive Alliance between the French *Republic and the King of* Sardinia.

Ratified by the council of Five Hundred on the 1ſt of Brumaire (Oct. 22) and in the council of Ancients on the 4th of the ſame month (Oct. 25.)

THE executive directory of the French republic, and his majeſty the king of Sardinia, being deſirous, by every means in their power, and by the moſt intimate union of their reſpective intereſts, to contribute as ſpeedily as poſſible to the reſtoration of that peace which is the object of their wiſhes, and which will ſecure the repoſe and the tranquillity of Italy, have determined to enter into a treaty of offenſive and defenſive alliance; and have charged with full powers to that effect, viz. on the part of the executive directory of the French republic, citizen Henry James William Clarke, general of diviſion in the armies of the republic; and on the part of his majeſty the king of Sardinia, the chevalier D. Clement Damian de Priocia, knight of the grand croſs of the order of Saint Maurice and Lazarus, firſt ſecretary of ſtate in his majeſty's department for foreign affairs, and preſident of the home department; who, after exchanging their reſpective powers, concluded as follows:

1. There ſhall be an offenſive and defenſive alliance between the French republic and the king of Sardinia, until the period of continental peace. This alliance ſhall then become purely defenſive, and ſhall be eſtabliſhed upon a baſis agreeable to the reciprocal intereſts of both powers.

2. The preſent alliance having for its object to haſten the reſtoration of peace, and to ſecure the future tranquillity of Italy, its execution during the preſent war ſhall be directed ſolely againſt the emperor of Germany, he being the only continental power that preſents obſtacles to wiſhes ſo ſalutary. His majeſty the king of Sardinia ſhall remain neuter with regard to England and to the other powers ſtill at war with the French republic.

3. The French republic and his Sardinian majeſty guarantee reciprocally, by all the means in their power, their reſpective poſſeſſions which they now hold in Europe during the exiſtence of the preſent alliance. The two powers ſhall unite their forces againſt the common enemy externally, and ſhall give no aid directly or indirectly, to the internal enemies of either.

4. The contingent of troops which his majeſty the king of Sardinia ſhall furniſh immediately in conſequence of the preſent treaty, ſhall be 8,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry, and 40 pieces of cannon. In caſe the two powers ſhall think it neceſſary to augment this contingent, ſuch augmentation ſhall be concerted and regulated by com-

miſſioners inveſted with full powers to that effect by the executive directory, and his majeſty the king of Sardinia.

5. The contingent of troops and artillery ſhall be ready and aſſembled at Novara, viz. 500 cavalry, 4,000 infantry, and twelve field pieces, by the 30th of Germinal current (April 19) and the remainder in a fortnight after.

This contingent ſhall be maintained at the expence of his majeſty the king of Sardinia, and ſhall receive orders from the commander in chief of the French army in Italy.

A ſeparate convention, ſettled in concert with the commander in chief of the French army, ſhall regulate the nature of the ſervice of this contingent.

6. The troops which form this contingent ſhall participate, in proportion to the number which may be under arms, in the contributions which ſhall be levied from the conquered countries; reckoning from the day of the union of the contingent, to the army of the republic.

7. The French republic promiſes to procure to his majeſty the king of Sardinia, at the period of a general or continental peace, all the advantages which circumſtances may permit him to obtain.

8. Neither of the contracting powers ſhall conclude a ſeparate peace with the common enemy, and no armiſtice ſhall be agreed to by the French republic, in which his Sardinian majeſty is not included.

9. All the contributions impoſed on the ſtates of his Sardinian majeſty which are not yet paid up, ſhall ceaſe to be demanded immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty.

10. The furniſhings, which from the ſame period ſhall be made in the ſtates of his majeſty the king of Sardinia to the French troops, or to priſoners of war, and alſo thoſe which may have already been made in virtue of private contracts, and which have not yet been paid for by the French republic, ſhall be returned in kind to the troops forming the contingent of his Sardinian majeſty: and if the amount of the furniſhings ſhould exceed the wants of the contingent, the overplus ſhall be repaid in ſpecie.

11. The two contracting parties ſhall immediately appoint commiſſioners charged to negotiate in their name a treaty of commerce agreeably to the baſis ſtipulated in article 7, of the treaty of peace concluded at Paris between the French republic and the king of Sardinia.—Meanwhile the poſts and all other commercial relations ſhall be reeſtabliſhed without delay in the ſame manner as they were before the war.

12. The ratifications of the preſent treaty of alliance ſhall be exchanged at Paris in the ſhorteſt delay poſſible.

Done and ſigned at Turin on the 16th of Germinal (April 5) 5th year of the French republic.

(Signed) H. Clarke.
Clement Damian.

The executive directory ratify and ſign the preſent treaty of alliance with his majeſty the king of Sardinia, negotiated in the name of the French republic by Henry James Clarke, general of diviſion, appointed by an order of the executive directory on the 13th Ventoſe laſt,

laſt, and charged with inſtructions to the above effect.

Done at the national palace on the 22d Germinal, 5th year of the French republic.

Convention ſtipulated at Monte Bello *upon the 5th and 6th of June* 1797, *between Citizen* Buonaparte, *General in Chief of the* French *Army of* Italy, *Citizen* Faypoult, *Miniſter of the* French *Republic at* Genoa, *and his Excellency* M. Michael Angelo Cambroſa, Louis Carbonera *and* Gerolino, *Deputies of the Republic of* Genoa.

THE French republic and the republic of Genoa being deſirous to conſolidate the union and harmony which have always exiſted between the French republic and the republic of Genoa; thinking likewiſe that the happineſs of the Genoeſe nation requires that it ſhould regain poſſeſſion of the depoſit of its ſovereignty; the two ſtates have agreed upon the following articles:

I. The government of the republic of Genoa acknowledges the ſovereignty to reſide in the aggregate of all the citizens of the territory of the ſtate.

II. The legiſlative power ſhall be entruſted to two repreſentative councils: the one compoſed of three hundred, and the other of one hundred and fifty members. The executive power ſhall be delegated to a ſenate of ten members, over which a doge ſhall preſide: the ſenators ſhall be in the nomination of the councils.

III. Every commune ſhall have a municipality, and every diſtrict an adminiſtration.

IV. The mode of election of all the authorities, the limits of the diſtricts, the portion of authority entruſted to all the different bodies, the organization of the judicial power and the military force, ſhall be determined by a committee of legiſlation, charged with the taſk of framing the conſtitution, and all the organical laws of the government, with the reſerve of doing nothing contrary to the Catholic religion, to guarantee the conſolidated debts, to preſerve the free port of the city of Genoa and the bank of St. George, and to take meaſures, as far as means ſhall permit, to provide for the ſupport of the poor nobles who at preſent exiſt. This committee ſhall be obliged to complete its work in the ſpace of one month, reckoning from the day of its formation.

V. The people finding themſelves reſtored to the enjoyment of their rights, every kind of privilege and excluſive eſtabliſhment which breaks the unity of the ſtate is neceſſarily annulled.

VI. The proviſional government ſhall be entruſted to an executive committee, who ſhall be compoſed of twenty-two members, over which the reigning doge ſhall preſide, and which ſhall be inſtalled upon the 14th of the preſent month of June, 26th Prairial, the 5th year of the French republic.

VII. The citizens who ſhall be called upon to compoſe the proviſional government of the Genoeſe republic, are not at liberty to refuſe the office without being regarded as indifferent to the welfare of the country, and condemned to a fine of two thouſand crowns.

VIII. When the proviſional government ſhall be formed, it ſhall determine the neceſſary regulations for the forms of its deliberations;

it ſhall appoint, within a week after its inſtallation, the committee of legiſlation, empowered to frame the conſtitution.

IX. The proviſional government ſhall fix the juſt indemnification due to the French who were pillaged upon the 3d and 4th Prairial.

X. The French republic, deſirous of giving a proof of the intereſt which it takes in the happineſs of the Genoeſe people; deſirous of ſeeing them united, and free from factions, grants an amneſty to all the Genoeſe againſt whom it has grounds of complaint, either on account of the tranſactions of the 3d and 4th Prairial, or on account of the different events which took place in the imperial fiefs. The proviſional government ſhall employ its utmoſt endeavours to extinguiſh all factions, to unite all the citizens, and to convince them of the neceſſity of rallying round public liberty, and ſhall therefore grant a general amneſty.

XI. The French republic ſhall grant its protection to the Genoeſe republic, and even the aſſiſtance of its armies to facilitate, if neceſſary, the execution of the above articles, and to maintain the integrity of the territory of the Genoeſe republic.

Treaty of Peace and Friendſhip between the French *Republic and Her Moſt Faithful Majeſty the Queen of* Portugal.

THE French republic and her moſt faithful majeſty the queen of Portugal, deſirous of re-eſtabliſhing the bonds of commerce and friendſhip which exiſted between the two powers before the preſent war, have given full powers to enter into negotiations for that purpoſe, viz. the executive directory, in the name of the French republic, to citizen Charles Delacroix; and her very faithful majeſty to M. le Chevalier d'Aranjo Dazevedo, of her ſaid majeſty's council, gentleman of her houſehold, knight of the order of Chriſt, and her envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary to the Batavian republic; who, after having exchanged their reſpective powers, have concluded the preſent treaty of peace.

Article I. There ſhall be peace, friendſhip, and good underſtanding between the French republic and her moſt faithful majeſty the queen of Portugal.

II. All hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe, as well by land as by ſea, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, viz. in fifteen days for Europe, and the ſeas on her coaſts, and thoſe of Africa on this ſide the equator: forty days after the ſaid exchange for the countries and ſeas of America and Africa beyond the equator, and three months after for the countries and ſeas ſituated to the eaſtward of the cape of Good Hope.

III. The ports, towns, places, or any other territorial poſſeſſions of either of the two powers, in whatever part of the world, which are occupied or conquered by the troops of the other, ſhall be reciprocally reſtored within the periods abovementioned, without either compenſation or indemnity being required.

IV. Her moſt faithful majeſty engages to obſerve the moſt exact neutrality between the republic and the other belligerent powers. A ſimilar neutrality ſhall be obſerved by the French republic, in caſe of a rupture between Portugal and any other European power. In conſequence,

ſequence, neither of the two contracting parties, during the courſe of the preſent war, ſhall furniſh to the enemies of the other, in virtue of any treaty or ſtipulation whatever (public or ſecret) any ſuccours in troops, ſhips, arms, warlike ammunition, proviſions, or money, under whatever title or denomination.

V. Her moſt faithful majeſty ſhall not admit into her great ports more than ſix armed ſhips of war belonging to any one of the belligerent powers, nor more than three into her ſmaller ports. The prizes made by their ſhips of war or reſpective cruiſers ſhall no more be received into her majeſty's ports than the cruiſers themſelves, unleſs it be in caſes of tempeſt or imminent peril, and then they ſhall depart as ſoon as the peril is paſt. All ſale of merchandiſe or captured veſſels ſhall be ſeverely prohibited. The French republic ſhall obſerve the ſame regulations with reſpect to ſhips of war, cruiſers, or prizes belonging to the European powers with which her moſt faithful majeſty may enter into war.

VI. Her moſt faithful majeſty acknowledges, by the preſent treaty, that all the territories ſituated to the north of the limits hereinafter mentioned, between the poſſeſſions of the two contracting powers, belong in full property and ſovereignty to the French republic; renouncing, as far as need be, as well for herſelf as her ſucceſſors, all the rights to which ſhe might pretend upon the ſaid territories, under whatever title, and particularly in virtue of the eighth article of the treaty concluded at Utrecht, the 11th of April, 1713. The French republic reciprocally acknowledges that all the territories ſituated to the ſouth of the ſaid line, belong to her moſt faithful majeſty, in conformity to the treaty of Utrecht,

VII. The limits between the two French and Portugueſe Guyanas ſhall be determined by the river called by the Portugueſe Calmene, and by the French Vincent Pinſon, which flows into the ocean above the north cape, about two degrees and a half ſouthern latitude. They ſhall follow the ſaid river to its ſource, and afterwards a right line drawn from the ſaid ſource towards the weſt, as far as Rio Blanco.

VIII. The mouth, as well as the whole courſe of the ſaid river Calmene or Vincent Pinſon, belong in full and entire ſovereignty to the French republic, without, however, the ſubjects of her moſt faithful majeſty, eſtabliſhed in the environs to the ſouth of the ſaid river, being prevented from uſing it freely, and without being ſubject to the duties of entrance, courſe, and water-duty.

IX. The ſubjects of her moſt faithful majeſty who are ſettled to the north of the frontier line above marked, ſhall be free to remain there, obeying the laws of the republic, or to withdraw with their effects, or to ſell the lands belonging to them. The faculty of retiring and ſelling their moveable or immoveable effects, is reciprocally reſerved to the French who may be ſettled to the ſouth of the ſaid frontier line. The exerciſe of the ſaid faculty is limited to one, and the other to two years, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications of the French treaty.

X. There ſhall be negotiated and concluded as ſoon as poſſible between the two powers, a treaty

of commerce founded upon an equitable baſis, and reciprocally advantageous. Until it is concluded, it is agreed,

1ſt. That the commercial relations ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed immediately after the exchange of the ratification, and that the citizens or ſubjects of each of the two powers ſhall enjoy in the territories of the other all the rights, immunities, and prerogatives enjoyed by the moſt favoured nations.

2d. That the proviſions and merchandiſes, the produce of their ſoil or their manufactures, ſhall be reſpectively admitted, if the proviſions and merchandiſe of the ſame kind of other nations are, or ſhall afterwards be admitted; and that the ſaid proviſions and merchandiſes ſhall not be ſubject to any prohibition which ſhall not equally fall on other proviſions and merchandiſes of the ſame kind imported by other nations.

3d. That nevertheleſs the French republic not being able to offer to Portugal but a price extremely low for its wines, and being unable to compenſate by the introduction of French cloths into that kingdom, things ſhall reciprocally remain, with reſpect to thoſe two articles, in their preſent ſtate.

4th. That the duties of cuſtom and others upon proviſions and merchandiſe of the ſoil and manufactures of the two powers, ſhall be reciprocally regulated upon the ſame footing as with regard to other moſt favoured nations.

5th. That out of the duties thus regulated, there ſhall be allowed a drawback in favour of merchandiſes the produce of the ſoil or manufactures of the ſtates of each of the two powers, provided they are imported in national veſſels on account of the merchants to whom they belong, and ſent in right of the ports of Europe, on the one hand, to the ports of Europe on the other. The amount of theſe drawbacks, as well as the kinds of merchandiſes to which they ſhall apply, to be regulated by the treaty of commerce to be concluded between the two powers.

6th. That further, all the ſtipulations relative to commerce inſerted in preceding treaties concluded between the two powers ſhall be proviſionally executed, wherein they are not contrary to the preſent treaty.

XI. Her moſt faithful majeſty ſhall admit into her ports the French ſhips of war and merchantmen, under the ſame conditions as the ſhips of the moſt favoured nations are admitted. The Portugueſe veſſels ſhall enjoy in France the moſt exact reciprocity.

XII. The French conſuls and vice-conſuls ſhall enjoy privileges, immunities, prerogatives, and juriſdictions, as they enjoyed them before the war, and as they are enjoyed by the moſt favoured nations.

XIII. The ambaſſador or miniſter of the French republic at the court of Portugal, ſhall enjoy the ſame immunities, prerogatives, and privileges as French ambaſſadors enjoyed previous to the war.

XIV. All the French citizens, as well as the individuals compoſing the eſtabliſhment of the ambaſſador or miniſter of the councils, and other agents accredited and acknowledged by the French republic, ſhall enjoy in the ſtates of her moſt faithful majeſty the ſame liberty of worſhip

worſhip as is enjoyed by the moſt favoured nations in this reſpect.

The preſent, and two preceding articles, ſhall be reciprocally obſerved by the French republic with regard to the ambaſſadors, miniſters, conſuls, and other agents of her moſt faithful majeſty.

XV. All the priſoners made on both ſides, including marines and ſailors, ſhall be given up in a month, reckoning from the exchange of the ratification of the preſent treaty, on payment of the debts they ſhall have contracted during their captivity. The ſick and wounded ſhall continue to be taken care of in the reſpective hoſpitals: they ſhall be given up immediately after they are cured.

XVI. The peace and good friendſhip re-eſtabliſhed by the preſent treaty between the French republic and her moſt faithful majeſty, are declared to extend in common to the Batavian republic.

XVII. The preſent treaty ſhall be ratified, and the ratification exchanged in two months, reckoning from this day.

Done, performed, concluded, ſigned, and confirmed, to wit, by me Charles Delacroix, by the ſeal for foreign affairs, and by me the chevalier d'Aranjo, by the ſeal of my arms, at Paris, the 23d Thermidor, fifth year of the French republic, anſwering to the 10th of Auguſt, old ſtyle.

(Signed)
CHARLES DELACROIX.
ANT. D'ARANJO DAZEVEDO.

The Executive Directory agrees to ſign this preſent treaty between her moſt faithful majeſty the queen of Portugal, negotiated in the name of the republic by citizen Charles Delacroix, miniſter plenipotentiary, inveſted with powers to that effect by a decree of the 30th laſt Meſſidor, and charged by his inſtructions.

Done at the national palace of the executive directory, the 24th Thermidor, fifth year of the republic, one and indiviſible. For the ſake of expedition.

(Signed) REVELLIERE LEPAUX, Preſident.

By the Executive Directory,
LAGARDE, Sec. Gen.*

Treaty of Definitive Peace concluded between the French *Republic and the Emperor, King of* Hungary *and* Bohemia.

His majeſty, the emperor of the Romans, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and the French republic, wiſhing to conſolidate the peace, the baſes of which were laid down by the preliminaries ſigned at the caſtle of Eckenwald, near Leoben, in Styria, on the 18th of April, 1797, have named for their plenipotentiaries, to wit:—his majeſty (the emperor and king), the marquis di Gallo, count de Cobenzel, count de Meerfeldt, and baron de Degelmann; and the French republic, Buonaparte, commander in chief of the French army in Italy; who, after exchanging their full and reſpective powers, have agreed to the following articles:—

I. THERE ſhall be for the future and for ever a ſolid and inviolable

* The Executive Directory annulled this treaty by a decree of the 26th October.

peace

peace between his majeſty the emperor of the Romans, and king of Hungary and Bohemia, his heirs and ſucceſſors, and the French republic. The contracting parties ſhall engage their utmoſt attention to maintain between them and their poſſeſſions a perfect good underſtanding, without permitting henceforth on either ſide, that any act of hoſtility be committed, by land or ſea, through any cauſe, or under any pretext whatever; and every thing ſhall be carefully avoided, that might impair for the future, the union happily eſtabliſhed between them. No aſſiſtance or protection ſhall be given, directly or indirectly, to thoſe who might deſire to do any prejudice to either of the contracting parties.

II. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, the contracting parties ſhall cauſe all the ſequeſtrations which have been placed on the property, rights, and revenues of the individuals reſiding in the reſpective territories which are united to them, as well as of the public eſtabliſhments which are ſituated in thoſe territories, to be taken off. They bind themſelves to diſcharge all they may owe which has been lent to them, as funds, by the ſaid individuals or public eſtabliſhments, and to pay or reimburſe all engagements entered into for their advantage by each of them.

The preſent article is declared common to the Ciſalpine republic.

III. His majeſty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, relinquiſhes, on his own part, and on that of his ſucceſſors, in favour of the French republic, all his rights and titles on the *ci-devant* Belgic provinces, known by the name of the Auſtrian Low Countries. The French republic ſhall poſſeſs theſe countries for ever, in full ſovereignty and propriety, and with all the territorial poſſeſſions which depend on them.

IV. All the mortgages entered into before the war on the land of the countries expreſſed in the preceding articles, and the contracts of which ſhall be drawn up with the uſual formalities, ſhall become the charge of the French republic. The plenipotentiaries of his majeſty the emperor ſhall furniſh an account of them in as ſpeedy a manner as poſſible to the plenipotentiaries of the French republic, and that before the exchange of the ratifications, that when the exchange takes place, the plenipotentiaries of both powers may be enabled to agree with reſpect to all the articles explanatory of, and additional to, the preſent article, and ſign them.

V. His majeſty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, conſents that the French republic poſſeſs in full ſovereignty, the former Venetian iſlands of the Levant, to wit, — Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, Santa Maura, Cerigo, and other iſlands depending on them, as well as Butrinto, Larta, Voniſſa, and in general all the former Venetian eſtabliſhments in Albania, which are ſituate lower than the gulf of Londrino.

VI. The French republic conſents that his majeſty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, ſhall poſſeſs in full ſovereignty and propriety the country hereafter expreſſed, to wit, Iſtria, Dalmatia, the former Venetian iſlands of the Adriatic, the mouths of the Cattaro, the city of Venice, the canals, and the countries comprehended between the

the hereditary ſtates of his majeſty the emperor and king, the Adriatic ſea, and a line which ſhall be drawn from the county of Tyrol, ſhall follow the torrent forward to Gardola, and croſs the lake of Garda as far as Laciſa; from thence a military line as far as San Giacomo, holding out an equal advantage to both parties, which ſhall be traced by engineers named on each ſide previous to the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty. The line to aſcertain the limits ſhall croſs the Adige at San Giacomo, follow the left bank of that river as far as the mouth of the White Canal, comprehending that part of Porto Legnago which is on the right bank of the Adige, with a circle drawn of 3,000 fathoms. The line ſhall be carried on by the left bank of the White Canal, the left bank of the Tartaro, the left bank of the canal called the Poliſella, until it diſcharges itſelf into the Po, and the left bank of the Great Po as far as the ſea.

VII. His majeſty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, relinquiſhes for ever, for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, in favour of the Ciſalpine republic, all the rights and titles ariſing out of thoſe rights which his ſaid majeſty might pretend to have on the countries which he poſſeſſed before the war, and which now conſtitute a part of the Ciſalpine republic, which ſhall poſſeſs them in full ſovereignty and propriety, with all the territorial poſſeſſions that depend on them.

VIII. His majeſty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, acknowledges the Ciſalpine republic as an independent power. This republic comprehends the former Auſtrian Lombardy, the countries of Bergamo, of Breſcia, and of Cremona, the city and fortreſs of Mantua, the Mantuan territory, Peſchiera, that part of the former Venetian ſtates to the weſt and ſouth of the line, deſcribed in the 6th article, as the frontier of the ſtates of his majeſty the emperor in Italy, the country of Modena, the principality of Maſſa and Carrara, and the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna.

IX. In all the countries ceded, acquired, or exchanged by the preſent treaty, the ſequeſtration placed on the property, effects, and revenues of all the inhabitants and properties of every deſcription, on account of the war which has been carried on between his imperial majeſty and the French republic, ſhall be taken off, without their being expoſed in that reſpect to be moleſted in their property or perſons. Thoſe who for the future may not wiſh to continue their reſidence in theſe countries, ſhall be bound to make a declaration to that effect, three months after the publication of the treaty of definitive peace. They ſhall be allowed the term of three years to ſell their moveable and immoveable poſſeſſions, or to diſpoſe of them as they think proper.

X. The countries ceded, acquired, or exchanged by the preſent treaty, ſhall incumber thoſe in whoſe poſſeſſion they ſhall remain with the mortgages that have been incurred on the land.

XI. The navigation of the part of the rivers and canals, ſerving as limits between the poſſeſſions of his majeſty the emperor, and thoſe of the Ciſalpine republic, ſhall be free, without either being able to eſtabliſh any toll, or to keep any veſſels armed

armed for war; which however does not exclude the neceſſary precautions for the ſafety of the fortreſs of Porto Legnago.

XII. All ſales or alienations made, all engagements contracted, whether by the towns, or by the government, or the civil and adminiſtrative authorities of the countries formerly Venetian, for the maintenance of the German and French armies, until the date of ſigning the preſent treaty, ſhall be confirmed and conſidered as valid.

XIII. The titles of the domains, and the archives of the different countries ceded or exchanged by the preſent treaty, ſhall be given up in the ſpace of three months, to date from the exchange of the ratifications to the powers which ſhall have acquired the propriety of them. The plans and maps of the fortreſſes, towns, and countries which the contracting parties acquire by the preſent treaty, ſhall be faithfully given up to them. The military papers and regiſters taken in the actual war from the ſtaffs of the reſpective armies ſhall be equally reſtored.

XIV. The two contracting powers, alike animated with the deſire of doing away every thing that might tend to injure the good underſtanding which now happily ſubſiſts between them, bind themſelves in the moſt ſolemn manner to contribute with all their power to the maintenance of internal tranquillity in their reſpective ſtates.

XV. A treaty of commerce eſtabliſhed on equitable grounds, and on ſuch as may give to his majeſty the emperor, and to the French republic, advantages equal to thoſe enjoyed by the moſt favoured nations in their reſpective dominions, ſhall be forthwith concluded. In the mean time, all the communications and commercial relations ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed in the ſtate in which they were before the war.

XVI. No inhabitant of all the countries occupied by the Auſtrian and French armies, ſhall be liable to be proſecuted or affected, whether in his perſon or property, on account of his political opinions, or his civil, military, or commercial conduct during the war, which has been carried on between the two powers.

XVII. His majeſty the emperor ſhall not, conformably to the principle of neutrality, receive into any of his ports during the courſe of the preſent war more than ſix veſſels armed for war belonging to any one of the belligerent powers.

XVIII. His majeſty the emperor binds himſelf to cede to the duke of Modena, as an indemnity for the countries which that prince and his heirs had in Italy, the Briſgau, which he ſhall poſſeſs on the ſame conditions as thoſe in virtue of which he poſſeſſed the country of Modena.

XIX. The real and perſonal property, not alienated, of their royal highneſſes the archduke Charles and the archduchefs Chriſtina, ſituate in the countries ceded to the French republic, ſhall be reſtored to them under the condition of ſelling them within the ſpace of three years.

The ſame meaſure ſhall be obſerved with reſpect to the real and perſonal property of his royal highneſs the archduke Ferdinand, in the territory of the Ciſalpine republic.

XX. A congreſs ſhall be held at Raſtadt, ſolely compoſed of the plenipotentiaries of the Germanic empire

empire and the French republic, for concluding peace between these two powers. This congress shall be opened one month after the signing of the present treaty, or sooner if possible.

XXI. All the prisoners of war made on either side, and the hostages carried off, or given during the war, who may not have been yet restored, shall be so within forty days, to date from the signing of the present treaty.

XXII. The contributions, deliveries, furnishings, and whatever assistances of war have taken place in the respective states of the contracting powers, shall cease from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

XXIII. His majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and the French republic, shall preserve between them the same ceremony, with respect to rank, and other etiquettes, which was constantly observed before the war.

His said majesty and the Cisalpine republic shall have between them the same ceremony of etiquette as that which was customary between his said majesty and the republic of Venice.

XXIV. The present treaty shall be ratified by his majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and the French republic, within the space of thirty days, to date from this day, or sooner if possible, and the acts of ratification in due form shall be exchanged at Rastadt.

Done and signed at Campo Formio, near Udine, on the 17th of October, 1797.

(Signed)

BUONAPARTE.
Marquis di GALLO.
LOWIS, Count de COBENZEL;
Count de MEERFELDT, Major-General.
Baron de DEGELMANN.

The executive directory ratifies and signs the present treaty of peace with his majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, negotiated in the name of the French republic by citizen Buonaparte, commander in chief of the army of Italy, invested with powers by the executive directory, and charged with its instructions to that effect.

Done at the national palace of the executive directory the 5th Brumaire (October 26th), in the 6th year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

Secret Articles of the Treaty of Campo Formio, *concluded between* Austria *and* France. *(These Articles, and the Secret Convention which follows, were made public by the* French *Directory on the Rupture of the Negotiations in* 1799.)

1. HIS majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, consents that the boundary of the French republic shall extend to the under-mentioned line, and engages to use his influence that the French republic shall, by the peace to be concluded with the German empire, retain the same line as its boundaries, namely, the left bank of the Rhine from the confines of Switzerland below Basle, to the branching off of the Nette above Andernach, including the head of the bridge at Manheim, the town and fortress of Mentz, and both banks of the Nette from where it falls into the Rhine to its

its ſource above Bruck. From thence the line paſſes by Schenſcherade and Borley to Harpen, and thence to Luderſdorf, Blentenheim, Marmagen, Coll and Germund, with all the circles and territory of thoſe places, along both banks of the Olff to where it falls into the Roer, and along both banks of the Roer, including Heimbach, Neideggen, Duren and Juliers, with their circles and territory, as also the places on the banks, with their circles, to Linnig included. Hence the line extends by Hoffern and Kylenſdalen, Papelernod, Lutersfort, Rodenberg, Heverſloo, Andarſcheid, Kaldekachen, Vampach, Hermingen and Groſberg, including the town of Venloo and its territory. And if, notwithſtanding the mediation of his Imperial majeſty, the German empire ſhall refuſe to conſent to the abovementioned boundary line of the republic; his Imperial majeſty hereby formally engages to furniſh to the empire no more than his contingent, which ſhall not be employed in any fortified place, or it ſhall be conſidered as a rupture of the peace and friendſhip which is reſtored between his Imperial majeſty and the republic.

2. His Imperial majeſty will employ his good offices in the negotiation of the peace of the empire to obtain, firſt, that the navigation of the Rhine from Huninguen, to the territory of Holland ſhall be free, both to the French republic and the ſtates of the empire on the right bank; ſecond, that the poſſeſſors of territory near the mouth of the Moſelle, ſhall never, and on no pretence attempt to interrupt the free navigation and paſſages of ſhips and other veſſels from the Moſelle into the Rhine; third, the French republic ſhall have the free navigation of the Meuſe, and the tolls and other impoſts from Venloo to Holland ſhall be aboliſhed.

3. His Imperial majeſty renounces, for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, the ſovereignty and poſſeſſion of the country of Falkenſtein and its dependencies.

4. The countries which his Imperial majeſty takes poſſeſſion of, in conſequence of the 6th article of the public definitive treaty, this day ſigned, ſhall be conſidered as an indemnification for the territory given up by the ſeventh article of the public treaty, and the foregoing article. This renunciation ſhall only be in force when the troops of his Imperial majeſty ſhall have taken poſſeſſion of the countries ceded by the ſaid articles.

5. The French republic will employ its influence that his majeſty the emperor ſhall receive the archbiſhopric of Saltzburgh, and that part of the circle of Bavaria which lies between the archbiſhopric of Saltzburgh, the rivers Inn, Salza, and Tyrol, including the town of Waſſerburg, on the right bank of the Inn, with an arrondiſſement of 3,000 toiſes.

6. His Imperial majeſty, at the concluſion of the peace with the empire, will give up to the French republic the ſovereignty and poſſeſſion of the Frickthal, and all the territory belonging to the houſe of Auſtria, on the left bank of the Rhine, between Zurzach and Baſle, provided his majeſty, at the concluſion of the ſaid peace, receives a proportionate indemnification. The French republic, in conſequence of particular arrangements to be made, ſhall

ſhall unite the above mentioned territory with the Helvetic republic, without further interference on the part of his Imperial majeſty or the empire.

7. The two contracting powers agree, that when in the enſuing peace with the German empire, the French republic ſhall make an acquiſition in Germany, his Imperial majeſty ſhall receive an equivalent; and if his Imperial majeſty ſhall make ſuch an acquiſition, the French republic ſhall in like manner receive an equivalent.

8. The prince of Naſſau Dietz, late Stadtholder of Holland, ſhall receive a territorial indemnification; but neither in the vicinity of the Auſtrian poſſeſſions, nor in the vicinity of the Batavian republic.

9. The French republic makes no difficulty to reſtore to the king of Pruſſia his poſſeſſions on the left bank of the Rhine. No new acquiſition ſhall, however, be proposed for the king of Pruſſia. This the two contracting powers mutually guarantee.

10. Should the king of Pruſſia be willing to cede to the French and Batavian republics ſome ſmall parts of his territory on the left bank of the Meuſe, at Sevenaar, and other poſſeſſions towards the Yſſel, his Imperial majeſty will uſe his influence that ſuch ceſſions ſhall be accepted and rendered valid by the empire.

11. His Imperial majeſty will not object to the manner in which the Imperial fiefs have been diſpoſed of by the French republic, in favour of the Ligurian republic. His Imperial majeſty will uſe his influence, together with the French republic, that the German empire will renounce all feudal ſovereignty over the countries which make a part of the Ciſalpine and Ligurian republics; as alſo the Imperial fiefs, ſuch as Laniguiany, and thoſe which lie between Tuſcany and the ſtates of Parma, the Ligurian and the Luccheſe republics, and the late territory of Modena, which fiefs make a part of the Ciſalpine republic.

12. His Imperial majeſty and the French republic will, in concert, employ their influence, in the courſe of concluding the peace of the empire, that ſuch princes and ſtates of the empire, who in conſequence of the treaty to be concluded with the empire, ſhall ſuffer any loſs in territory or rights, particularly the electors of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, the elector palatine of Bavaria, the duke of Wirtemberg and Teck, the margrave of Baden, the duke of Deux Ponts, the Landgraves of Heſſe Caſſel and Darmſtadt, the princes of Naſſau-Saerbruck, Salm-Kyrburg, Lowenſtein-Wertheim, and Wied-Runkel, and the Count de Seyen, ſhall receive proportionable indemnities in Germany, which ſhall be ſettled by mutual agreement with the French republic.

13. The troops of his Imperial majeſty, twenty days after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaties, ſhall evacuate the towns and fortreſſes of Mentz, Ehrenbreitſtein, Philipſburgh, Manheim, Konigſtein, Ulm, and Ingolſtadt, as alſo the whole territory appertaining to the German empire, to the boundaries of the hereditary ſtates.

14. The preſent ſecret articles ſhall have the ſame force as if they were inſerted word for word in the public treaty of peace this day ſigned, and ſhall in like manner be ratified at the ſame time by the two contracting powers, which ratifications ſhall be exchanged in due form at Raſtadt.

Done

Done and signed at Campo Formio, the 17th of October, 1797, 26th of Vendemaire, in the 6th year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed)

BUONAPARTE.
Marquis di GALLO.
LOUIS Count COBENZEL.
Count MEERFELDT, Major General.
Count DEGELMANN.

Secret Convention, concluded at Raſtadt, *on the 1ſt of December, between the* Auſtrian *and* French *Plenipotentiaries.*

FOR the execution of the Treaty of Campo Formio, and the annexed convention, the plenipotentiaries of his majeſty the emperor, king of Bohemia and Hungary, and the plenipotentiaries of the French republic, with the French general appointed to carry the proviſions of the ſame into execution, have agreed to, and reciprocally guaranteed the following articles:

1. The troops of the emperor, and king of Bohemia and Hungary, and the troops of the empire in his pay, ſhall evacuate the territory of the empire by the 25th of December, and withdraw into the hereditary ſtates of his majeſty, and beyond the river Inn.

2. The contingent of the emperor ſhall retire over the Lech, and not be employed in the fortreſſes of the empire.

3. The troops of the garriſon of Mentz ſhall not amount, on the 25th of December, to more than 15,000 men.

4. On the ſame day, the French army ſhall evacuate the Venetian territory, of which the emperor ſhall take poſſeſſion.

5. Fifteen thouſand French troops ſhall remain in the ſaid Venetian territories, as well to garriſon the different fortreſſes as to maintain order.

6. On the 20th of December, the troops of the emperor ſhall evacuate Manheim, Philipſburgh, Ehrenbreitſtein, Ulm, Ingolſtadt, and Wurtſburgh, and reſtore them to the ſovereigns to whom they appertain. The artillery, ammunition, and proviſions belonging to the emperor in thoſe places, ſhall at the ſame time be removed.

7. The troops of the emperor, and the artillery, ammunition, and proviſions appertaining to his Imperial majeſty, ſhall be removed from Mentz in ſuch a manner that this operation ſhall be terminated by the 30th of December.

8. On the 10th of December the French troops ſhall blockade Mentz, but leave the communication open to the Auſtrian troops.

9. Before the 8th of December the plenipotentiaries of the emperor ſhall declare to the empire that it is the intention of their ſovereign to evacuate the territory and fortreſſes of the empire.

10. The plenipotentiaries of the emperor ſhall take care to procure the ſurrender of Mentz to the French troops, on the part of the elector of Mentz and the empire, during the negotiations, ſo that the French troops may be in the city on the 30th of December; and ſhould the elector of Mentz or the empire refuſe their conſent, the French republic ſhall compel them to it by force.

11. The French generals in the vicinity of Ehrenbreitſtein ſhall afford to the Auſtrian troops, which evacuate that place, every aſſiſtance on their

their march, and ſhall furniſh the Auſtrian generals with horſes, carriages, and every thing neceſſary for the conveyance of artillery, ammunition, or proviſions.

12. The French and Ciſalpine troops ſhall, by the 30th of December, evacuate Palma Novo, Oſopo, Porto-Legnano, Verona, and its two caſtles, and Venice and the Venetian territory, to the line of demarcation.

13. The commander in chief of the troops of the emperor in Italy, and the commander in chief of the French troops, ſhall take all the neceſſary meaſures to ſecure the execution of the ſixth article of the treaty of Campo Formio. Theſe two generals ſhall alſo provide for the removal of all obſtacles which may obſtruct the taking poſſeſſion, by the imperial troops, on the ſtipulated 30th of December, of the territories and fortreſſes, of which poſſeſſion is to be given them according to the ſaid article, and the fifth article of the annexed ſecret convention.

14. Should magazines of warlike ſtores and proviſions appertaining to the French republic, remain in theſe territories and fortreſſes at the time they are taken poſſeſſion of by the troops of his imperial majeſty, all neceſſary protection and aſſiſtance ſhall be granted for the removal of ſuch magazines.

Given and ſigned at Raſtadt, the 1ſt of December, 1797 (11th Frimaire), 6th year of the French republic.

(Signed)

BUONAPARTE.
LOUIS COBENTZEL.
Count BAILLIE DE LA TOUR.
Count MEERFELDT.

State Paper, publiſhed unofficially, and ſaid to contain the Baſis of the Peace to be concluded at Raſtadt, *containing the chief Articles agreed upon at* Campo Formio, *which are to be ratified at* Raſtadt, *by the Congreſs aſſembled there.*

I. ALL the eccleſiaſtical ſtates in Germany, eſpecially thoſe having poſſeſſions on the left borders of the Rhine, ſhall be ſecularized for the benefit of the electors.

II. As much as is poſſible, the moſt important ſtates ſhall receive natural frontiers, to be fixed upon.

III. The king of England loſes his poſſeſſions in Germany, and, with the electorate, alſo his influence in the German empire.

Deſign and Means for the Execution.

I. France takes the Rhine as the natural frontier. All the country between Germerſheim and Rhinebergen ſhall be incorporated to the republic, together with the fortifications of Ehrenbreitſtein and Caſſel. The French to erect bridgeheads oppoſite Huninguen, Straſburg, and Cologne; that near Manheim is to be razed. The navigation on the Rhine to be free for the French and Germans, and neither nation ſhall be allowed to eſtabliſh tolls or impoſts.

II. Holland receives that part of Germany on the left Rhine border, which lies north of Venlo, Gueldern, and Rhinebergen, viz. a ſmall part of the electorate of Cologne, the Pruſſian ſhare of Gueldres, and that part of the duchy of Cleves ſituate on the left Rhine border—here the river Ems makes the frontiers of Holland, viz. from its ſource to the town of Rheine, where it becomes navigable. From Rheine to Haltern, where the Stever and Lippe

unite, ſhall be drawn a ſtraight line, and every thing ſituated on this ſide of the line, and on the right border of the Lippe, ſhall alſo be joined to Holland, incluſive of the city of Weſel, viz.

1. One ſmall part of Eaſt Frieſland.—2. A conſiderable part of the biſhopric of Munſter, with the towns Saesfeld, Hortſman, and Haltern.—3. The Marquiſate Bentheim and Steinfurth.—4. That part of the duchy of Cleves on the right bank of the Lippe. The navigation of this and the river Ems to be free for Germany and Holland, and no impoſts or tolls are to be eſtabliſhed.

III. The houſe of Auſtria renounces in favour of his Pruſſian majeſty its poſſeſſions in Poland and Sileſia, on the left border of the Weichſel or Viſtula. In favour of the elector of Bavaria, of the duke of Wirtemberg, and the margrave of Baaden, the whole Auſtrian Suabia, and that part of Tyrol ſituate on the left border of the Inn—for which it is to receive,

1. That part of the Bavarian circuit on the right ſide of the Inn, containing part of the duchy of Bavaria, the archbiſhopric Salzburg, and the provoſtſhip Berchtolſgaden.—2. That part of Bavaria and Upper Palatinate on the left ſide of the Rab; alſo that part of the metropolitan biſhopric of Paſſau to the left of the Danube, and to the right of the Inn.—3. The ſmall part of the marquiſate Bayreuth, ſituated on the right of the Eger. From the ſource of the Rab a ſtraight line to be drawn to the ſource of the Eger, and all the country on this ſide of the line to be incorporated with the houſe of Auſtria.

IV. Pruſſia renounces in favour of France and Holland his poſſeſſions on the left of the Rhine in the circles of Weſtphalia and Franconia, and that part of Pomerania on the left to the Oder, the lordſhips Lora and Klettenberg, his poſſeſſions in the county Mansfield, part of the duchy of Magdeburg, known by the name of Saal circle, for which he receives,

1. That part of Poland and Sileſia to the left of the Viſtula.—2. The whole marquiſate Lauſitz.—3. The poſſeſſions of the king of England ſituated to the left of the Elbe and the right of the Weſer, which river is to form the boundary of the Pruſſian dominions on the ſide of the circle of Weſtphalia: they contain nearly the electorate, and almoſt the whole county of Bremen and Verden, the county Spiegelberg, and part of the county Hoya.—4. The imperial free towns of Bremen and Goſlau.—5. The ſtates of the duke of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttle.—6. The biſhopric Hildeſheim.—7. The poſſeſſions or territory of the city of Hamburgh to the left of the Elbe.—8. That part of the Abbey Corvey, or the right of the Weſer, and the county of Schaumburg.

V. The elector of Bavaria renounces his poſſeſſions on the left of the Rhine, the duchy of Bergen, the part of Bavaria intended for Auſtria (ſee above), and receives in return,

1. The biſhopries Regenſburg and Freyſingen, and that part of the biſhopric Paſſau ſituated on the left of the Inn.—2. That part of the circle of Franconia on the left of the Mayn, viz. the biſhopric Eichſtad, great portions of the biſhoprics Bamberg and Wurzburg, the marquiſate Anſpach, and the free imperial cities Windſheim, Rothenburg, Neunburg, with their territories, and the poſſeſſions of the grand maſter of the Germanic order.—3. Auſtrian Suabia (with

(with exception of Briſgau and the county Hohenberg), the lordſhips of Voralberg, and the part of Tyrol on the left of the Inn.—4. The biſhoprics Conſtanz and Auſburg, with the abbeys, provoſtſhips, and imperial free towns in the circle of Suabia, excepting thoſe included in the ſtates of the duke of Wirtemberg, and the margrave of Baaden.—5. That part of the biſhoprics of Worms and Speyer on the left of the Rhine, including Philipſburg.—6. That part of the electorate of Mayence on the left of the Mayn, with the exception of ſome diſtricts to be given to the landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtadt.

Part of the Lower Palatinate on the left of the Rhine, excepting the city of Caub, with its appendages, intended for the landgrave of Heſſen Rheinfels, together with all No. 5, and 6, in ſpecified countries, ſhall be made over to the duke of Deux Ponts, as the probable heir to the elector of Bavaria, who renounces all his poſſeſſions on the left of the Rhine in favour of France.

VI. The houſe of Heſſe receives for its poſſeſſions on the left of the Rhine the lordſhips Lichtenau and Wildſtadt in Suabia, ditto in the principality of Hennenberg in Franconia, in the counties of Schaumburg, and Hoya, and Pyrmont in Weſtphalia, viz.

1. The landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel:

That part of the electorate of Mayence, incloſed by Heſſia, viz. the bailiwicks Amoneburg and Frizlaar. The biſhoprics Fulda and Paderborn. The duchy of Weſtphalia, appertaining to the electorate of Cologne. The electoral dignity.

2. The landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtadt:

The ſhare of the electorate of Mayence on the right of the Mayn, till towards Caub. The ſmall part of the ſame electorate on the left of the Mayn, a little above Aſchaffenberg, till towards Hanau, viz. the Bailiwicks Steinheim, Dieburg, and ſome other diſtricts to the north of the county of Erbach, compriſing among others the towns Seligenſtadt, and Horſheim, together with the bailiwick Gernſheim, ſituated on the Rhine; but the remaining part on the left Mayn borders will be joined to the palatinate. The free imperial cities Frankfort on the Mayn, and Wetzlaer with its territories.

3. The landgrave of Heſſe Rheinfels Rothenburg:

Thoſe parts of the electorate of Mayence, ſituated on the Lahn. The poſſeſſion of the electorate of Treves, or Trier, to the left of the Lahn. The city of Caub, with all its appurtenances.

4. The landgrave of Heſſe Homburg to receive the free imperial city of Fritzlar.

VII. The duke of Wirtemberg to have,

1. The county of Hohenberg.—2. All the free imperial towns and bailiwicks of the circle of Suabia, ſurrounded by the ſtates of the duke.—3. The electoral dignity.

VIII. The margrave of Baaden to obtain, for his poſſeſſions on the left of the Rhine, and thoſe of the Briſgau,

1. That part of the biſhopric of Straſburgh on the right borders of the Rhine.—2. The lordſhips of Lichtenau, Wildſtadt, and Lahn.—3. All the Ortenau.—4. The imperial free cities of Offenburgh, Zelle, Gengenbach, with the abbies of the ſame name.

IX. The houſe of Naſſau to renounce its poſſeſſions on the left of the Rhine and the Ems, in favour of

France and Holland, as alſo the lordſhip of Lohr, and obtains in return,

1. The prince of Naſſau Dietz (late hereditary ſtadtholder),

The duchy of Bergen, with the city of Duſſeldorff.—That part of the duchy of Cleves on the left of the Lippe.—The abbies of Eſſen and Verden.—The county of Recklinghauſen, depending on the electorate of Cologne.—The county of Mark, with the imperial free town of Dortmund.—That ſmall part of the electorate of Cologne on the right of the Rhine, to the North-weſt of Nonnenwerden, containing, among others, the town of Konigſwinter.—The electoral dignity, under the title of elector of Naſſau Bergen: for which this prince is to give up his preſent poſſeſſions to the other branches of his houſe.

2. The other branches of Naſſau, viz. the princes of Naſſau Weilburg, Naſſau Uſingen, and Saarbruk, are to divide among them,

The county of Dietz, Uſingen, Dillenburgh, and Beilſtein.—The Pruſſian poſſeſſions in the county of Sayn.—That part of Treves and Cologne which extends on the right to the Rhine, from the right of the Lahn, towards Nonnenwerden.

X. The duke of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttle gives up his dominions to Pruſſia, and obtains in return,

1. The biſhopric of Oſnabruck, and a conſiderable part of that of Munſter, among others the city of this name (vid. Holland).—2. The greater part of the principality of Minden, and the county of Hoya, and a ſmall part of the duchy of Bremen and Verden, viz. what is ſituated on the left of the Weſer.—3. The counties of Lingen, Tecklenburgh, Diepholz, and Ravenſberg.—4. Almoſt the whole principality of Eaſt Frieſland, extending on the left of the Ems (vid. Holland).—5. The electoral dignity, under the title of elector of Weſtphalia.

XI. The houſe of Schaumburg-Lippe renounces all its poſſeſſions on the right of the Weſer, in favour of Pruſſia, and receives in return,

1. Thoſe parts of the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel in the county of Schaumburg-Lippe and Pyrmont.—2. Such parts of the electorate of Hanover, ſituated on the left of the Weſer, between the biſhoprics of Paderborn and counties of Schaumburg and Pyrmont, containing, among others, the ſmall towns of Poll, Bodenwerden, and Lezhain, with the county of Sternberg.—3. That part of the Abbey Corvey on the left of the Weſer.—4. The Pruſſian dominions, and thoſe of the biſhop of Paderborn, ſituate in the county of Lippe, viz. Lippſtadt, and the bailiwick Salenberg, Oldenburg, and Stoppleberg.

XII. The houſe of Saxony to give up the marquiſate Lauſitz, and to obtain,

1. The elector of Saxony,

The whole county of Mansfeldt, the lordſhips Lora and Kettenberg, and the Saal circuit.—The Hanoverian poſſeſſions in the county of Hohenſtein.—The free imperial towns of Mulhauſen and Northhauſen.—Eichsfeld and Erfurt, with the territory belonging to the electorate of Mayence.—That part of the Franconian circle on the left of the Eger, and the right of the Mayn, viz. part of the biſhopric Bamberg, Wurzburg, and the marquiſate of Bayreuth; further the free imperial city of Schweinfurt.

2. The other branches of the Saxon line, to divide among them the lands belonging to the electorate

of

of Saxony, and the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, in the principality of Henneberg.

XIII. The king of Denmark gives up to Sweden the iſle of Bornholm, and the right of the Sound duties, for which he is to obtain,

1. The Hanoverian dominions on the right of the Elbe.—The free imperial towns of Hamburgh and Lubeck, with the biſhopric of the ſame name.—3. The electoral dignity as duke of Holſtein.

XIV. Sweden to receive,

1. That part of the duchy of Pomerania on the left of the Oder. —2. The iſle of Bornholm and the Sound duties.

XV. Switzerland to renounce to France Muhlhauſen, ſituate in the department of the Upper Rhine; and that part of the canton to Baſle on the left of the Birſe; the principality Neufchatel, and the city of Genf, with its territory, againſt that of Briſgau on the left of the Rhine.

The ci-devant duke of Modena ſhall receive for indemnifications,

1. The part of the marquiſate Baden, ſituate in the Briſgau.—2. The eſtates of the great prior of the Malteſe order, reſiding at Heitersheim in Briſgau.

THE GERMAN CONSTITUTION.

I. The emperor of Germany to be elected by the electors, whoſe number is to be nine, viz. electors of Bohemia, Brandenburgh, Bavaria, Saxony, Wirtemburg, Heſſe Caſſel, Weſtphalia (duke of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttle), Holſtein (king of Denmark), Naſſau Bergen (ci-devant hereditary ſtadtholder.)

II. The emperor to have the preſidency at the aſſembly, which is only to decide on the treaties between the ſtates of the empire, on war and peace, and in general on the objects compriſing their reſpective intereſts.

III. The imperial aſſemblies to conſiſt only of one chamber to be claſſed,

The emperor to have ſix votes, as emperor and elector of Bohemia.—The electors; each of whom to have four votes.—The princes whoſe revenues amount to two millions of livres, to have three votes each.—Thoſe whoſe revenues amount to one million, to have each two votes.—Thoſe whoſe revenues amount only to 300,000 livres (about 24,000 *l.* ſterling,) to remain under the juriſdiction of ſuch electorates whoſe dominions are neareſt their own.—Each of the imperial ſtates entitled to a ſeat and vote in the diet may, without the conſent of the empire, make treaties, either with their co-eſtates, or with foreign powers, reſpecting the arrangement of the boundaries of their ſeveral poſſeſſions, and alſo their ſecurities and commerce.—Each imperial ſtate may eſtabliſh within its own juriſdiction, ſchools, academies, &c. The electors and princes only, whoſe revenues amount to two millions of livres (or 83,333 *l.* ſterling), can exercife the privilege of coinage, and the right *de non appellando.* The union of two electorates never to be admitted. If an elector ſhould have no ſucceſſor, or lawful heir, the reſt of the electors ſhall elect a new one from among the imperial ſtates, which poſſeſs the ſeat-vote in the diet. The dominions of the other princes who leave no heirs or ſucceſſors, ſhall be incorporated with the poſſeſſions of the next neighbouring electors, or with thoſe ſituate in the ſame circles. There ſhall be eſtabliſhed a higheſt court of

juſtice, whoſe members ſhall be appointed in the diet, and who are to decide on the differences and diſputes ariſing among the ſtates of the empire.—The ſubjects of the ſtates which do not enjoy the right *de non appellando*, may appeal to the higheſt court of juſtice.

Arrêt of the Executive Directory of the 12th Ventoſe (March 2,) 1797.

THE executive directory having conſulted the law of the 9th March, 1793, conſidering that the flags of neutral powers being no longer reſpected by the enemies of the French republic, and all the rights of men being violated to their prejudice, it is no longer permitted to the French people to fulfil towards thoſe powers in general that wiſh which they have ſo often manifeſted, and which they will conſtantly entertain, for the full and entire freedom of commerce and navigation, directs, among other diſpoſitions,

1ſt. That ſhips of war and privateers may ſtop, and bring into the ports of the republic, neutral ſhips which ſhall be charged, in whole or in part, with merchandiſe belonging to the enemy.

2d. That merchandiſe belonging to the enemy ſhall be declared good and lawful prize, and be confiſcated to the profit of the captors.

3d. That in all caſes neutral ſhips ſhall be releaſed the moment that the merchandiſe ſeized is diſcharged; that the freight of it ſhall be paid at the rate which ſhall have been ſtipulated by the conſigners; and that a juſt indemnity ſhall be granted on account of their detention, by the tribunals competent to decide upon the validity of prizes.

4th. That theſe tribunals ſhall be directed beſides to ſend, three days after the deciſion, a double inventory of the merchandiſe to the miniſter of marine, and another to the miniſter for foreign affairs.

5th. That the preſent law, applicable to all the captures that have been made ſince the declaration of war, ſhall ceaſe to have effect as ſoon as the enemy ſhall have declared non-ſeizable, although deſtined for the ports of the Republic, the merchandiſe laden on board neutral ſhips, which ſhall belong to the government, or to French citizens.

Having ſeen the law of the 27th of July, 1793, which directs the foregoing law to be fully executed; having alſo ſeen the 7th article of the law of the 13th Nivoſe, third year, which enjoins all the agents of the Republic to reſpect and obſerve in all their diſpoſitions the treaties which unite France to the neutral powers of the continent, and to the United States of America; conſidering that this laſt law is derogatory to the law of the 9th of May, 1793, reſolves as follows:

Art. 1. The commiſſaries of the executive directory, with the civil tribunals of the department, ſhall take care that, in the conteſts upon the validity of marine prizes, no deciſion ſhall be founded upon the 7th article of the law of the 13th Nivoſe, without the miniſter of juſtice having been previouſly conſulted, conformably to the third article of the law of the 8th Floreal, fourth year, relative to the treaties, in virtue of which neutral perſons pretend to withdraw themſelves, by means of the firſt of theſe laws, from the execution of that of the 9th of March, 1793.

2d. The miniſter of juſtice ſhall examine, whether the treaties ſtill ſubſiſt,

ſubſiſt, or whether they have been modified ſince the concluſion of them. There ſhall be furniſhed to them by the miniſter for foreign affairs, all the documents of which they ſhall ſtand in need; and reference ſhall be made to the executive directory, as it is preſcribed by the law of the 8th Floreal, fourth year.

3d. The Directory remind all French citizens, that the treaty concluded on the 6th of February, 1778, between France and the United States, has been, on the terms of the ſecond article, modified of full right by that which has been concluded at London on the 19th November, 1794, between the United States of America and England: in conſequence,

1ſt. After the article 17th of the treaty of London, of the 19th November, 1794, all merchandize of the enemy's, or merchandize not ſufficiently aſcertained to be neutral, conveyed under American flags, ſhall be confiſcated; but the ſhip on board of which ſuch merchandize ſhall be found, ſhall be releaſed and given to the proprietor. The commiſſaries of the Directory are enjoined to accelerate, by all the means in their power, the deciſion of the conteſts which ſhall ariſe, either upon the validity of the captures of the cargoes, or upon freights and inſurances.

2d. According to the 18th article of the treaty of London, dated the 19th of November, 1794, relative to articles declared contraband by the 24th article of the treaty, dated February 6th, 1778, are added the following:

Ship-timber;
Oakum, pitch, and roſin;
Copper for ſheathing veſſels;
Sails, hemp, and cordage;

and every thing which ſerves directly or indirectly to the arming and equipping of veſſels, excepting bar iron, and fir in planks. Theſe articles ſhall be confiſcated as often as they ſhall be deſtined, or attempted to be carried to the enemy.

3d. According to the 21ſt article of the treaty of London of the above date, every American who ſhall hold a commiſſion from the enemies of France, as well as every ſeaman of that nation compoſing the crew of the ſhips and veſſels, ſhall, by this act alone be declared piratical, and treated as ſuch, without ſuffering the party to eſtabliſh that the act was the conſequence of threats or violence.

4th. In purſuance of the law of the 14th February, 1793, the regulations of the 21ſt October, 1794, and of the 26th July, ſhall be complied with, according to their form and tenor.

Every American ſhip ſhall therefore be deemed a lawful prize, which ſhall not have on board a bill of lading in due form, according to the plan annexed to the treaty of the 6th of February 1778, the execution of which is enjoined by the 25th and 27th articles of that treaty.

5th. The commiſſioners of the executive directory are required to carry into effect the penalties that attach on all clandeſtine attempts that may be made by American, or veſſels belonging to any other nation, to paſs as neutral, on board the veſſel where the fraud is attempted to be practiſed, in the manner that theſe penalties have been repeatedly carried into effect during the preſent war. The penalty ſhall attach where

the blanks in the conſignments and invoices are not filled up, though ſigned and ſealed, where the papers are in the form of letters, containing fictitious ſignatures; where there are double paſſports, or policies, ſpecifying different deſtinations; where conſignment is made to two or more factors, and where there are different receipts or papers of any kind which conſign the whole or part of the ſame goods to different owners or different deſtinations.

6th. By this article, proviſions of the treaty of the 9th Frimaire laſt, relative to freight and inſurance, are repealed, as far as they apply to inſurance.

7th. The preſent treaty ſhall be publiſhed in the bulletin of the laws. The miniſters of the marine and of the colonies, of juſtice, and for foreign affairs, are charged with the execution of it in their reſpective departments.

(Signed) REWBELL, Preſident.
LAGARDE, Sec. Gen.

Meſſage from the Directory of the French Republic, on the 24th of July, to the Council of Five Hundred.

Citizens Repreſentatives,

THE lamentable ſtate of the finances becomes worſe every moment; all the branches of the public ſervice ſuffer; they will all fail together in a few days, if a prompt remedy be not adminiſtered.

A view of their actual ſituation will demonſtrate this ſad truth. The accounts of credit, opened ſince the 1ſt Vendemiaire to this day, amount to the ſum of four hundred and five millions. The ſums paid in the aforeſaid period, ſuch as annuities and penſions, and the ſalaries in myriogrammes, amount to twenty or twenty-five millions; the total ſums of which the payment has been authoriſed by the legiſlative body, to about four hundred and twenty-five millions.

Of this ſum, the miniſters have ſtill ſeventy millions to diſpoſe. The miniſter of finance has ſuſpended the payment of thirty-eight millions, on orders of payment delivered to him. That ſum may, to a certain degree, be conſidered as if it had not been appointed to be paid; and thence it reſults, that the expences actually diſburſed, whether by the authority of the two councils of the legiſlative body, by the miniſters, or by other perſons, amount only to three hundred and ſeventeen millions. The expences of the campaign of Italy are not included in this ſum, except ſome ſums particularly authoriſed; becauſe, as the army lives on the produce of the contributions which it cauſes to be levied, the account will be regulated definitively. But the army of Italy conſtitutes not the ſole force which the republic ſupports; it has beſides under its ſtandards, the armies of the Rhine and Moſelle, the Sambre and the Meuſe, the garriſons of the interior, the extraordinaries of the marine, &c.; and when the political ſituation of the republic is conſidered with impartiality, it ſhould be matter of ſurpriſe to ſee ourſelves arriving within two months of concluding the year, with a ſimple authority for the expence of three hundred and ſeventeen millions, whereas previous to the revolution, much greater ſums were expended in ordinary periods.

Doubtleſs, the ſum total of the expences is not yet exactly known, nor

nor conſequently ſettled; but what we already know and perceive, ſupports the force of this obſervation.

This ſtate of things will appear ſtill more aſtoniſhing, when you conſider, that of theſe three hundred and ſeventeen millions expended, more than eighty are ſtill due to the parties who ſhould receive them, and that their titles conſiſt either in a pledge on the value of national property, or on the produce of contributions to be brought in; thence it reſults, that if, on the one hand, the authoriſed expences amount to three hundred and ſeventeen millions, the payments made amount only to two hundred and forty, or two hundred and fifty millions. All the cheſts however are empty. We exist only from day to day; and this poſition, well known to the national treaſury, ought to prevail over all the hypothetical calculations which may be preſented to attempt to deſtroy it. Its exactneſs is beſides demonſtrated by all the ſtatements of monies already received, and of thoſe to be received, which the commiſſaries of the national treaſury have preſented almoſt every month. You will thence ſee, citizens repreſentatives, that whatever efforts we uſe, we cannot calculate, by the exiſting laws, on more than twenty-four or twenty-five millions; you muſt alſo foreſee, that the amount of the two or three following months will not arrive, by reaſon of the ſlowneſs experienced in the receipt of direct contributions during the harveſt. If calculations apparently higher are preſented, they give only nominal eſtimates; but it is not with them that the public ſervice can be maintained. What imports it, in reality, that the receipts amount to fifty millions (if you will) per month, if we muſt deduct therefrom ten millions remitted by orders of diſcharge, as many in *bons de requiſition*, two millions *en cotte nationale*, three millions in charges, which are reckoned neither in the accounts of receipt nor expenditure; as then there remain only twenty-five at diſpoſal.

It has been complained, that, in order to ſuſtain the public ſervice, *bons* have been given, payable out of the contributions to be levied; but with regard to ſums failed, there reſulted ſome inconveniences. What meaſure is exempted from inconvenience, when the receipt is below the expenditure? The executive directory has endeavoured to ſtop this proceeding, by deciding that, in future, no order of payment ſhall be delivered but on diſpoſable funds. To commence putting this meaſure in practice, there was of public treaſure only, 759,970 livres; it was neceſſary, from the want of documents, to conſider as already collected, all the preſumed incomes of a whole decade. Making a due diſtribution of this ſum, there remains diſpoſable for the ſervice of ten days, after deducting the pay of the ſubſiſtence of the army, the annuities, penſions, and indemnification of the legiſlative body, only 234,000 livres. That ſum being evidently inſufficient, the commiſſioners of the treaſury have been required to endeavour to procure 500,000 livres by negotiation; they replied, that they were unable to procure it; and if they had not been able to announce, at the ſame time, that we might calculate on 400,000 livres, ariſing from an anterior operation, we ſhould have found ourſelves under an impoſſibility of making ſupplies which could not

not be ſuſpended without endangering the public ſafety.

The executive directory has often already ſubmitted to you, citizens repreſentatives, its obſervations on this ſubject; it dreads not making known the ſtate of the public fortune, becauſe it is convinced of the poſſibility of recruiting it, ſo as to re-animate the confidence of good citizens, to ſtrike deſpair into our internal enemies, to aſtoniſh our external, and finally to demonſtrate, that the revolution has not been made in France, to terminate in that ſtate of diſtreſs which is now experienced in that country.

You will obſerve, citizens repreſentatives, that we are reduced to re-aſſeſs the landed contribution which ought to have been leviable ten months ago; that the law which was to produce ſixty millions by the perſonal contribution of the 5th year, is not yet made; that the great communes have not at their diſpoſition the ſupplementary means which are neceſſary for their local expences, and that we are under the neceſſity of remitting to the commune of Paris, that it may provide for its local expences, almoſt all the taxes of the department of the Seine; that the indirect contributions announced ſince the beginning of the year, are not even yet put in a train of diſcuſſion; that the improvements which may be attained from enregiſtering ſtamps, mortgages, and poſts, are yet but mere projects; that the reſources which may be drawn from mortgaged lands and rent-charges not feudal, are ſtill entire.

The utility and the neceſſity alſo of theſe objects have been long acknowledged; ſince it has been propoſed to ſubmit them to your deliberations, the hopes conceived from them had ſuſtained the ſervice; that reſource does no more exiſt; other means are become indiſpenſable; without authoriſing them, the ſervice of the next decade will be impoſſible.

It is the duty of the executive directory to declare to you, that it has arrived to the point of that criſis which it announced a long time ago, and that it has retarded it, by all the means in its power to uſe. You will find in your wiſdom the means of obviating the incalculable evils that muſt reſult, if the public treaſury does not receive prompt and efficacious ſuccours.

The executive directory invites you, citizens repreſentatives, to take into conſideration the requeſt that it has made to you.

The following facts prove how urgent it is:—

We learn that the pay of the army is in arrear.

There are only 234 thouſand francs for urgent purpoſes, which require ten millions.

There is more than five due to perſons in employment, the major part of whom have not yet received the whole of what was due to them in the month of Germinal.

The repairs of roads and public monuments are about to be ſuſpended.

The providers of bread to the priſons muſt ſtop.

The ſervice of the hoſpitals is expoſed to the ſame danger.

There is no effective reſerve.

There remains nothing diſpoſable.

It is to you, citizens repreſentatives alone, that it belongs to find a remedy.

(Signed)

CARNOT, Preſident.

LAGARDE, Secretary General.

Meſſage

Meſſage from the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, of the 14th Thermidor (Auguſt 1.)

Citizens Repreſentatives,

THE executive directory has juſt given the ſecond deciſion on the urgent payments to be made in the ſecond decade of Thermidor; the demands, originating from the moſt preſſing wants, amounted to about twenty millions. In order to maintain the public ſervice, it was neceſſary to conſider the preſumptive receipt of the departments during the laſt decade, and that of the national treaſury during the preſent, as funds actually to be diſpoſed of. The ſum total of theſe funds it has not been poſſible to rate higher than at 6,620,000 livres, which have been diſtributed in ſuch manner as appeared moſt conformable to the ſubſiſting laws, and the ſupport of the public ſervice, under the difficult circumſtances wherein we are placed. There remains a deficit of about fourteen millions for the next decade, to which is to be added the expence of the ten following days. Whatever calculations may be made, citizens repreſentatives, it muſt be evident to you, that our preſent means are not ſufficient. From the ſtatement tranſmitted to you a few days ſince, by the national treaſury, it is clear that we cannot expect to receive twenty-three millions in ſpecie during the month of Thermidor. With means ſo feeble, it will be impoſſible to maintain the public ſervice; and the difficulties it labours under renders its ſituation worſe every day. This ſtate of things deſerves your attention the more, as it might be altered by making uſe of the reſources which the republic has yet left. The perſuaſion, citizens repreſentatives, that theſe reſources ſtill exiſt, has hitherto ſupported our courage and animated our hope; but it is time to improve them. The miniſter of finances has pointed out ſome of them in the report annexed to this meſſage. The directory has met with frequent opportunities to invite you to examine into theſe reſources, and the danger of the preſent moment obliges them to repeat this requeſt. From a conviction that the adoption of proper meaſures for reſtoring public credit would produce the moſt fortunate change, the directory ſincerely wiſh that you may take them into ſpeedy conſideration.

(Signed)

CARNOT, Preſident.

LAGARDE, Secretary General.

Meſſage from the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, 9th of Auguſt.

Citizens Repreſentatives,

THE executive directory tranſmits you the deciſion which it has juſt made, reſpecting the urgency of the payments which are to take place during the 3d decade, the ſtate of the demands, formed by the proper officers, and the report of the miniſter of the finances. It deſires you would inſpect theſe documents, and compare the preſent ſtate of things with the ſituation in which we have been at a ſimilar period, during the two preceding decades.

It requeſts, above all, that you would compare the urgency of the public wants, the evils reſulting from them, the anxiety which they diffuſe, and the apprehenſion which they inſpire, on the ſubject of the common

common ſafety, with the advantages that could be enſured, were the reſources which are ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the republic made diſpoſable.

Take away, citizens repreſentatives, every thing that prevents you from enſuring the neceſſary returns for the maintenance of the military ſervice, the pay and ſubſiſtence of the troops, the payment of the public creditors, the ſalaries of the public functionaries, already ſeveral months in arrear, and the diſcharge of the expences which the government cannot poſtpone, without compromiſing the conduct which it ought to obſerve for the performance of its duty,—the internal and external ſafety of the republic.

The reſources which can be brought into action are of two kinds. The one requires ſome previous meaſure, before they can be made diſpoſable; the other may ſerve as ſecurities for contracts, the execution of which would furniſh a ſufficient delay for the attainment of the firſt.

But they both call for an immediate determination; and if no uſe be made of them, they are of as little moment as if they never exiſted. A proper uſe of them may, and can, extricate the finances from the dangerous criſis to which they are at preſent reduced. The peril is imminent; but if you enact the laws which have been demanded of you, which the public opinion calls for, and the commiſſions charged with the examination of them have pronounced to be neceſſary, the dangers with which we are threatened will diſappear. Our enemies know that France, with her preſent conſtitution, has only to expreſs a wiſh to ameliorate her finances, that the means of courſe will follow, and that, if theſe means be well employed, they muſt produce the deſired effect. It is time, citizens repreſentatives, to juſtify that opinion, by deliberations that will give validity to it. The ſafety of the country is intimately connected with them. Let the ſituation of our finances be once ameliorated, and peace will naturally find its way back to our territories. Under its auſpices all the French will reap the fruits of their glorious efforts in the cauſe which they have made triumph.

The executive directory, citizens repreſentatives, renews its moſt preſſing invitations, that you may take into your diſcuſſion the laws relative to the finances and the receipts, which may place the revenue on a par with the indiſpenſable diſburſements of the ſtate.

(Signed)
CARNOT, Preſident.
LAGARDE, Secretary General.

Meſſage from the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, on the 10th of Auguſt, in anſwer to the Reſolution of the Council, reſpecting the March of the Troops within the Conſtitutional Limits.

Citizens Repreſentatives,

THE executive directory delayed replying to your meſſage of the 4th of this month, relative to the marching orders given to four regiments of chaſſeurs, which were to paſs by Ferte-Alais, in the expectation that the report of the committee of inſpectors, upon which that meſſage had been adopted, would be printed. It is not yet printed, but the directory, who in the

the mean time have been collecting the documents they were desirous of procuring, respecting the route of these troops, consider it their duty to transmit to you such information as has reached them.

Citizen Lesage, commissary of war, has made the following declaration upon this subject:

"Citizen Lesage, commissary of war for the army of the Sambre and Meuse, charged with the police of the division of chasseurs commanded by general Richepanse, certifies, that after the said general had given to him, at Durenne, the itinerary of the route which this division was to observe in going to Chartres (an itinerary which was entirely written by general Richepanse, but not signed by him), he received at Aix la Chapelle the order of proceeding in that destination, and preparing, beforehand, at the places pointed out, the necessary provisions and quarters for four regiments which composed that division, but which were only to arrive in succession at three resting places; that, without examining the itinerary which had been given to him, or knowing that Ferte-Alais was within the constitutional limits of Paris, he expedited the order for the route, in consequence of which the troops were to march—that he followed the route to Rheims—that, being there assured that the letters he had written to Charleville, with directions to the municipalities of the places through which the troops were to pass, had been duly received, and having no further precautions to take, as the municipal administrations were charged with quartering and providing for the troops, he yielded to the desire of seeing his family, who reside at Chartres, and left the route of the division to take the shorter one by Soissons.

"He further certifies, that neither the general Richepanse, nor any other staff officer, gave him any other marching order than the above, the itinerary of which was transmitted to him at Durenne:—that, during the course of the march, he did not hear any of the troops speak of their destination; that he only heard, at Bonn and Durenne, persons, who did not belong to the army, say that the division was to embark at Brest."

General Richepanse states, on his part, that he received an order from general Hoche, dated Cologne, the 15th Messidor, in the following terms:

"General Richepanse, commanding the division of horse chasseurs, is hereby ordered to proceed, with the four regiments under his command, to Brest, by the way of Chartres and Alençon.

(Signed) "Hoche."

General Richepanse has besides made the following declaration, which he subscribed before the directory on the 22d of Thermidor:

"I certify, that it was in consequence of the order of the general in chief, Hoche, dated the 15th Messidor, directing me to proceed, with the four regiments under my command, to Brest, by the way of Chartres and Alençon, that I traced the route by which the division I commanded was to proceed to Chartres; that I was totally ignorant of the existence of any law which required that the troops should not come within twelve leagues of Paris;—that I even was inclined to have made them pass through

through Paris; and that the difficulty of maintaining order among troops quartered in a large city, was the only reaſon which determined me not to adopt that route; that my intention was evidently pure; for, if it had not, I would not have ordered a commiſſary of war to have preceded me, who was ſix days before the van of the troops, which was the head of the column commanded by me.

(Signed) "RICHEPANSE."

Such is the information which the directory has procured reſpecting the marching order given to the four regiments of chaſſeurs drawn from the army of the Sambre and Meuſe, and which were to paſs by Ferte-Alais to Breſt.

While the directory confine their anſwer to this point, they conſider it neceſſary to direct your attention to a ſtatement, which appears to have been contained in the report upon which your meſſage was founded.

All the journals agree in ſtating, that you were informed that arms and ammunition had recently been diſtributed at Chartres to five hundred ruffians, for the purpoſe of ſuppreſſing or of threatening the freedom of the legiſlative body. This ſtatement is completely diſproved by the municipality of the place: the *proces-verbal* of the municipality has been addreſſed to you; ſo that you muſt already be convinced, that the enemies of the country have led the members of your committee into an error upon this ſubject.

We now come, citizens repreſentatives, to the ſecond part of your meſſage.

The executive directory did not, till the day before yeſterday, receive the originals of the addreſſes of the defenders of the country from the different diviſions that compoſe the army of Italy. They were all deſtined for the executive directory, with the exception of two only; and theſe were addreſſed to the defenders of the country compoſing the other armies.

Though the meaning and ſenſe of the word *deliberer* (to deliberate) has not been ſo accurately defined, as to be clearly applied to the act by which, after having expreſſed their fears and their hopes to the executive directory and to their brethren in arms, the defenders of the country have only ſtated the wiſhes they had formed, and the ſentiments that animated them, the executive directory have nevertheleſs reſolved to prevent its circulation. They have alſo written to the general in chief, deploring the circumſtances which had induced the brave republican ſoldiers to commit thoſe acts which might be conſidered irregular, and inviting them carefully to avoid every thing which may in the leaſt degree tend to the infraction or violation of the conſtitution. The directory has not ſtopped there; they have thought it their duty to go back to the cauſes, and to point them out, perſuaded that you will, in your wiſdom, adopt ſuch meaſures as ſhall make them ceaſe to exiſt.

The cauſe of theſe proceedings, on the part of the defenders of the country, is to be attributed to the general alarm and diſquietude which, for ſome months paſt, having taken poſſeſſion of all perſons, has ſucceeded the profound tranquillity that reigned, and the general confidence which every where prevailed.

It is to be attributed to the defalcation in the revenue, which leaves all parts of the adminiſtration in the moſt deplorable ſituation, and deprives often, of their pay and their ſubſiſtence, the men who, for years paſt, have ſhed their blood and ſacrificed their health to ſerve the republic:—It is to be attributed to the perſecution and aſſaſſination of the purchaſers of national property, of the public functionaries, of the defenders of the country—in ſhort, of all thoſe who have dared to ſhew themſelves the friends of the republic:—It is to be attributed to the want of firmneſs and vigour in the puniſhment of criminals, and to the partiality of the public tribunals:—It is to be attributed to the inſolence of the emigrants and the refractory prieſts, who, recalled, and openly favoured, appear everywhere, keep alive the flame of diſcord, and inſpire a contempt for the laws:—It is to be aſcribed to the multitude of journals with which the armies, like the interior, are inundated—journals which threaten death to the ſupporters of liberty, which vilify all the republican inſtitutions, which openly and ſhamelefsly deſire the return of royalty, and all the oppreſſive and vexatious inſtitutions, which equally torment and humiliate the merchant, the artiſan, and the labourer, and even the rich proprietor who is untitled:—It is to be found in the intereſt (always ill-diſſembled, and frequently openly manifeſted) which the enemies of their country take in the glory and the proſperity of the Engliſh government and the Auſtrian court; while they endeavour, on the contrary, to diminiſh the true renown of our warriors, and ſpeak with an ill-diſguiſed contempt of the high deſtiny held out to France, and of the eminent degree of glory and of happineſs which ſhe was about to reach:—It is owing to the blame which has been thrown upon the moſt glorious and uſeful conſequences of the victories of our defenders—to the plan, openly declared, of calumniating and ruining the reputation of our republican generals, and particularly thoſe who, to the glory of the moſt brilliant triumphs and the moſt ſkilful campaigns, have added (one in the weſt of France, the other in Italy) the immortal honour of a political conduct, which will procure to their philoſophy and their humanity, as much praiſe as has already been beſtowed on their military genius.

Finally, the cauſe is to be found in the deſpair to which all true citizens, and particularly the defenders of the country, are reduced, in ſeeing at the moment of its concluſion, and after they had purchaſed it with ſo much blood and ſo many ſufferings, the definitive peace, ſolicited by the chiefs of the vanquiſhed coalition, placed at a diſtance—that peace which a government, the friend of humanity, ſeeks ſtill with the greateſt earneſtneſs to conclude. But, all at once re-animating their hopes, and reckoning upon the diſſolution of the republican government, in conſequence of the exhauſted ſtate of our finances, upon the death or the exile of our braveſt generals, and on the diſperſion and deſtruction of our armies, theſe ſame coaleſced powers have exhibited as much tardineſs in the progreſs of their negotiations, as they at firſt teſtified ardour to terminate them.

Such

Such, citizens repreſentatives, are the cauſes which have agitated the minds of the ſoldiers of the republic, and induced them to expreſs their fears and their reſolutions. The executive directory repeats, that they ſhall do what they ought to do, in recommending to the troops to avoid all irregular proceedings, which are contrary to that diſcipline which is the ſoul of armies, and oppoſite to the laws which are the ſupport of the ſtate: but they owe to you, in the mean time, a frank and faithful declaration of their ſentiments.

The government ſtill confidently hopes to ſave France from the diſſolution to which it is precipitately hurried; to extinguiſh the torches of civil war which are lighted up with fury; and to protect perſons and property from the danger of a new revolution. This reſolution the directory will purſue with perſeverance and with courage, and will not be turned aſide by any fears, or by any influence. They will not, however, conſent to inſpire a falſe ſecurity, either in their fellow-citizens of the interior, or in thoſe who defend the country without. They ſhould conſider themſelves guilty of treaſon towards their country, if they concealed the atrocious attempts that are unremittingly made to lead us into all the horrors of a ſecond revolution, by overthrowing the preſent government, either by treaſon or by force.

(Signed)

CARNOT, Preſident.

LAGARDE, Secretary General.

The council ordered the meſſage to be printed, ſent to the council of ancients, and referred to a committee.

Report of the Council of Five Hundred on the 4th Fructidor (Auguſt 21), by Thibeaudeau, *relative to the March of the Troops.*

YOU have ordered your committee to preſent to you legiſlative plans upon the different topics contained in the meſſage which was tranſmitted to you on the 22d Thermidor laſt. The committee, in the firſt place, conſider it their duty to direct your attention to our preſent ſituation. The republic lately advanced towards peace, public confidence was revived, the conſtitution began to be conſolidated, every thing preſaged to us happy and peaceful deſtinies. What evil genius has re-animated our paſſions, re-kindled our animoſities, created diviſions between the different branches of government, and planted terror in the breaſts of all good citizens? It is time to recall ſecurity, to give confidence to good citizens, to repreſs the bad, to reſtore public credit, and to ſupport the legiſlative body in the rank in which the conſtitution has placed it. To attain this object you muſt re-eſtabliſh your communications with the people. Never let your voice be unknown to them. From this tribune reaſon and juſtice ought always to be heard, with that ſpirit of peace and impartiality in which true dignity conſiſts. Your committee has proceeded to the examination of the meſſage of the directory.

An unexpected change in the miniſtry, and the march of the troops, had fixed the attention of the legiſlative body, and merited its ſolicitude. In expreſſing our regret on account of the diſmiſſal of

of the miniſters, and our alarms reſpecting the march of the troops, we did not conteſt with the directory the right of changing their miniſters, and diſpoſing of the armed force; but the legiſlative body had undoubtedly the right of demanding information reſpecting the violation of the conſtitutional limits. The directory replied, that it was to be attributed to an error in the marching orders. You referred this meſſage to a committee, which occupied itſelf, as it was wiſely ſaid by the reporter (Pichegru), leſs in proving the crime than in endeavouring to prevent it from being committed hereafter. This committee preſented to you the plan of a reſolution for aſcertaining the conſtitutional limits.

We ſhall not at preſent inquire into the cauſe of the marching of the troops. Perhaps we ſhall one day be made acquainted with it: we have as yet learned only that the conſtitutional limits have been violated. General Richepanſe declares, that having been four years on the frontiers, he knew not of the diſpoſitions of the conſtitution relative to this object. An excuſe of this nature would not be admitted in the courts of juſtice; but the teſtimonials we have had of the moral character of the general, induce us to think there has been no evil intention on his part.

I proceed to a more important object, the addreſſes * of the army of Italy. What would become of the republic, if thoſe who have received arms only for her defence, were to interpoſe in civil diſcuſſions? You are acquainted with the volume of addreſſes which have been drawn up by this army. They are marked by an ardent expreſſion of love for liberty; but they hold forth abſurd claims, extravagant opinions, and criminal projects. The firſt ſentiments belong to our generous defenders, the others to ſome factious men who wiſh to ſee the boſom of their country torn, even by thoſe who are charged with its defence. No, it is not our warriors, but ſome ferocious monſters, who have conceived the project of delivering to the enemy the conqueſts acquired by the valour and blood of our troops, and to lead them back to their families under the ſtandard of rebellion. Have you been able to read without indignation one of thoſe addreſſes, which aſſerts that the ſyſtem of royaliſm is unceaſingly purſued in the legiſlature? Does the audacious rebel who penned this impious phraſe yet exiſt? Does he exiſt, and are you free? Does the government ſlumber, that it has not proceeded with vigour againſt him? Theſe addreſſes are at preſent directed againſt the legiſlature — directors of the republic, they will ſoon be directed againſt you! Wretched! wretched is the authority which is ſupported by bayonets! They always conclude by annihilating the power which they have eſtabliſhed. The addreſſes have been certified by the chief of the etat-majors of the army. They have been officially tranſmitted to ſeveral adminiſtrations; they were deſtined to other corps of troops; and yet this, it is ſaid, was not a deliberation. Doubtleſs it was not; for had theſe

* This alludes to various addreſſes from diviſions of the French armies, offering to ſupport the directory againſt the councils.

addreſſes been deliberated upon, the would have been publiſhed in a camp of citizen ſoldiers, who would have cauſed the voice of the conſtitution to be heard. If the ſoldiers have not read them, they do not ſpeak the ſentiments of the army. The conſtitution prohibits addreſſes in the collective name of an armed body, and will a general be permitted to violate it? The more ſervices your generals and ſoldiers have rendered to the country, the more you ought to guard againſt all attempts upon the conſtitution. In a riſing republic do not permit the troops to act as if they had conquered only for themſelves, unleſs you would ſee, as once was the caſe in the Roman empire, your ſoldiers only obey their generals, and never their country. It has been attempted to perſuade the conquerers of Italy, that a ſyſtem of proſcription exiſts againſt them. Proſcribe them! Who would dare to attempt it? Who would deſire it? What Frenchman's heart does not glow at the recital of their heroic actions, which command the gratitude of their country, and cover with a veil of glory the dreadful events which have tarniſhed the revolution? They were citizens before they were ſoldiers—they muſt ceaſe to be ſoldiers to become again citizens.

The directory inform you, that they have put a ſtop to the circulation of theſe addreſſes, and that they have written to the commanders in chief, deploring the circumſtances which had led to this violation of the conſtitutional act. Your committee conſider it their duty to declare openly to you, that the anſwer of the directory has appeared to them unworthy of its power, and the rank in which the conſtitution has placed that body.

Conſider what progreſs has been made in conſequence of theſe dangerous examples. The ſpirit of faction has already introduced the language of anarchy into the camps. It has inſinuated itſelf even into the honourable retreat of our wounded warriors, for the fabrication of addreſſes: it heats the minds of men: it proclaims everywhere diſſolution and death.—Yet the government ſleeps! Awaken, legiſlators, watch for yourſelves and for the people. The conſtitutional limits are traced. Directors, generals, and ſoldiers, bow yourſelves before the will of the people. The legiſlative body will never balance with its duty. It is inacceſſible to fear, and will never ſubmit to menace.

Your committee will not humble itſelf in replying to the calumnies propagated by your enemies. A legiſlative body which is not accuſable, ought not to juſtify itſelf. By its acts it muſt be judged. We ſhall ſpeak the truth to the directory—we ſhall ſpeak the truth to the people.

The inſolence of prieſts and emigrants is denounced to you. As to the prieſts, is their proſcription in a maſs to be regretted? Liberty of conſcience, liberty of worſhip, and ſubmiſſion to the laws—ſuch are the principles maintained by all philoſophers—ſuch are the principles conſecrated by the conſtitution and the laws, in oppoſition to the claims of a religion which wiſhed to be excluſively eſtabliſhed. As to the emigrants, who favours them? Do not the laws reſpecting the emigrants exiſt? Do they not place in the hands of the directory the moſt active,

active, the moſt powerful, and the moſt arbitrary means? The return of noted emigrants is announced. The houſe in which they aſſemble is even mentioned: but what then is the duty of the police? Why thoſe eraſements, the traffic of which is publicly reported? It belongs to us to require from the directory an account of theſe monſtrous abuſes.

The directory tell you that aſſaſſinations are committed, and that partiality is diſplayed by the tribunals. It is neceſſary to inform them that they have overſtepped their duty, and we do them ſervice in recalling them to it. It is true that blood flows in ſeveral departments; but there are laws againſt aſſaſſination, and the directory ought to execute them. If there be partiality in the tribunals, there is a law to puniſh them, and the directory ought to denounce the guilty. In all caſes crimes cannot make us deſpair of juſtice; and we ought to demand of the directory an account of the meaſures they have taken to repreſs the crimes of which they complain. We do not underſtand the protection they claim for the purchaſers of national property. Their perſons and their property are under the ſafeguard of the conſtitution, and you have given a proof of your reſpect for them by your reſolution reſpecting the *preſbyteres*.

The directory inform you, that there are journals which breathe only murder and the return of royalty. It is certain, that the exceſſes of a multitude of pamphlets and journals, leave no citizen the power of repoſing his mind amidſt an ocean of extravagant and factious opinions; but you have manifeſted your deſire for repreſſing this abuſe; and there is only required a law which ſhall prevent it, without injuring the rights of citizens: all the elements of this law are ready, and the committee you named for preparing it, will ſoon make their report.

The deficiency in the public revenue, it is added, deprives our armies of their pay. We will not deny that negligence on the part of the receivers, and the want of order and œconomy, have thrown our finances into diſorder; but have the armies any reaſon to reproach the legiſlative body? At what period have you refuſed them funds? Your reſolutions on this ſubject have always been voted with *urgence*. The payment of the troops has always been attended to, in preference to every other expence. Is it then in vain that the unfortunate *rentier* divides with them his bread? Have then the forced loan, the aſſignats, the mandats, the contributions in the conquered countries, the national eſtates been found inſufficient? Let us rather ſay, that our reſources being diſtributed through ſuch a variety of channels, have been exhauſted; but that if they had been more prudently employed, the moſt important part of the public ſervice would not be in ſuch a deplorable ſtate.

Let the finances, then, alone occupy all your ſolicitude. I know that every day your attention is taken up with this ſubject. But the time is arrived, when you muſt diſregard the prejudices againſt direct contributions. Peace! Peace! This is the mean of extricating us from our embarraſſment. How very criminal would thoſe be who would wiſh to place it ſtill at a

distance! Doubtless, there are men who still preserve the criminal hope of overturning the republic. Traitors exist, we are told—why are they not detected? There are conspirators—why are they not punished? We have laws—why are they not executed? No! the defenders of the country will never be made to believe that the legislative body opposes a peace. Who has appeared more desirous than ourselves to obtain it. History will examine, whether the events which have lately taken place in Italy, have not contributed to retard the conclusion of it; but can France blame its generals for giving liberty to millions of men? And, when they have gained their liberty, can France refuse to them its friendship and its alliance? Your committee, however, does not wish to propose that you should approve, or even be silent upon these events.

The directory has gone beyond its powers. If war had been declared against the Italian states, who had the right to declare it without your consent? If treaties of commerce or subsidies have been made, who could make them without your approbation? The states of Italy cannot be the allies of France without a decree from you. Their government will be equivocal, their liberty without support, as long as the treaties shall not have been approved by us.

Fears have been entertained that the directory would be accused, and that the legislative body would be attacked. The legislative body has a right to accuse the directory; and if there existed any reasons for accusation, it would, without fear, without hesitation, accuse them. But an attack on the legislative body! who would make it! A few brigands? The recollection of their past defeats will serve them as a lesson. The soldiers? Never will they be seen marching under the colours of assassins. The directory? Such an idea cannot occupy our attention for a moment; its own interest is in opposition to it.

To conclude — you will find in your own courage and your own prudence extraordinary resources.

[Here Thibaudeau implored all the members of the government to act in union and concord. He invited the representatives and directors to be upon their guard against the exaggerations of parties, who sought only to heighten their animosities, that they might be hurried to a catastrophe which would destroy them all.]

In examining, he added, this message of the directory, its exaggerations, and the bitterness of its style, we have avoided giving new aliment to the factious. Legislators ought not to be guided by passion. In vain our common enemies meditate the ruin of the republic. The republic is deeply rooted; it has ripened in the midst of storms, and it belongs not alone to the present generation. The new dangers which threaten it serve only to display once more its strength. Each power shall return to its proper limits; and if some men have wished to overstep them, they shall be recalled, and confined to their proper station.

Citizen soldiers, you whom we must censure to-day, but whom we must always admire, believe that liberty is here defended by your friends. The legislature is the citadel of the constitution; it is your duty to die for it, and you are about to

to beſiege it. Let its voice be always heard among you; and when you return to your fire-ſides, you will find it cemented by your blood, and covered with your triumphs.

Thibaudeau concluded by preſenting the plan of two reſolutions.

The firſt declared, that all conſpiracies or crimes againſt the conſtitution, the legiſlative body, and the directory, came under the juriſdiction of the criminal tribunal of the place where the legiſlature ſits; that all perſons accuſed ſhould be denounced at the office of the public accuſer; but that they ſhould have the power of appealing from that tribunal, and in this caſe they ſhould be carried before a court pointed out by the tribunal of caſſation.

The ſecond declared every aſſembly of ſoldiers, for the purpoſe of deliberating, in other circumſtances than thoſe determined by the law, a crime; that any communication under the title of addreſſes from one armed body to another, or to the civil authority, ſhould be puniſhed as a ſeditious act; and determined the puniſhments to be inflicted upon the promoters of ſuch aſſemblies, and the ſubſcribers of addreſſes, according to the nature of the caſe.

Meſſage of the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, Auguſt 20th, 1797.

Citizen Repreſentatives,

THE executive directory has proceeded to the diſtribution of the funds aſſigned for the ſervice of the firſt decade of Fructidor. The ſingular and uncommon circumſtances in which they are placed, oblige them to lay before you the reſults of this diſtribution, which will convince you of the indiſpenſable neceſſity of rendering the means diſpoſable, which are requiſite to prevent the impending diſaſters. Deducting 63,888,967 livres, and 75 centimes, which remain to be paid on warrants already iſſued for urgent ſervices, and payments become due, the moſt preſſing demands amount to 21,002,790 livres, 54 centimes. This ſum conſiſts of the following articles:

	L.	*C.*
To pay the troops	7,128,309	3
To ſuſtenance -	3,944,916	95
To penſions and dividends - -	930,000	0
To conſtitutional ſalaries - - -	986,943	83
To ſalaries and penſions - -	5,040,990	0
To ſundries - -	7,001,629	29

The ways and means, as ſtated by the national treaſury, preſent, at firſt ſight, inſtead of diſpoſable funds, a deficit of 3,793,681 livres, which it would be neceſſary to cover previous to aſſigning any ſums of money for the ſervice of the different departments. It has been calculated, that the above deficit may in a great meaſure be covered by the preſumptive funds calculated as exiſting in the public cheſts of the departments; and that by adding to the funds actually exiſting in the public treaſury, thoſe which appear moſt diſpoſable, the ſuppoſition might be admitted, that a balance of about 800,000 livres might remain for the ſervice of the decade, independently of ſuch ſums as muſt unavoidably be paid at Paris on the arrears of the preceding decade. A calculation has afterwards been formed of thoſe articles

of expence which it is indiſpenſably neceſſary to meet, for the execution of the laws, as well as for the maintenance of the public ſervice. Under theſe heads have been claſſed the pay and ſuſtenance of the land and naval forces, dividends and penſions, the conſtitutional indemnifications of the legiſlative body; 63,703 livres 14 ſous for the payment of bills of exchange accepted by the national treaſury, and 50,000 livres for the moſt urgent expence to be made at Paris for the home department. Theſe objects amount to a ſum total of 8,850,729 livres 87 centimes. To find this ſum, it has been ſuppoſed that the national treaſury can furniſh 850,929 livres 87 centimes, actually in its poſſeſſion; that it is to receive in the courſe of the decade one million, and that the effective receipts in the departments during the laſt decade, muſt be ſuppoſed to amount to ſeven millions. This calculation is moſt ſurely exaggerated; it violates all proportion, and exceeds all probability, and the ſubſiſting circumſtances would alone authorize its admiſſion; and yet, citizens repreſentatives, you cannot but perceive that this is the chief reſource for meeting the moſt urgent and moſt indiſpenſable expence. To this meſſage are annexed the copy of a letter from the national treaſury, dated the 1ſt Fructidor (Auguſt 17), proving the neceſſity of the repartition for this decade being made according to a preſumptive eſtimate of the revenue, the ſtatement of ways and means for the firſt decade of Fructidor, tranſmitted by the national treaſury, and another of the diviſions and diſtributions, containing a detailed account of the demands, founded on the regiſters of the different commiſſaries. The directory refer to thoſe authentic papers, all thoſe who ſhall preſume to queſtion the truth of the reſults they offer. Who contradicts the following facts is either groſsly miſtaken, citizens repreſentatives, or endeavours to deceive you:—1. The national treaſury does not poſſeſs one million of diſpoſable funds for the preſent decade. 2. In order to find the above-ſtated ſum, it is indiſpenſably neceſſary to ſuppoſe the receipts in the departments amount to 7,000,000; and that, moreover, the national treaſury is to receive one million at Paris. This ſuppoſition is exaggerated, but muſt be admitted. 4. The law of the 23d Vendemiaire and 9th Thermidor, enact that the pay and ſuſtenance of the troops ſhall be paid in preference to every other demand. The aggregate ſum of theſe two articles of expence amounts to 7,073,226 livres 73 centimes. 5. The law of the 15th Vendemiaire aſſigns to the ſtockholders a ſixth of the taxes; the national treaſury demands under this head 900,000 livres. 6. The law which fixes the expence of the legiſlative body, ordains that the conſtitutional indemnification of its members ſhall be paid every month. 7. The engagements contracted by the national treaſury, with reſpect to accepted bills of exchange, demand the ſum of 63,703 livres 24 centimes. 8. The ſafety of Paris, the imperious force of the ſupreme law, demands that the miniſter of the interior be able to diſpoſe of 50,000 livres. 9. Theſe articles abſorb all the funds which may be conſidered as diſpoſable. 10. Except the ſalaries of the legiſlative body, there remains no money to diſcharge all other conſtitutional and other ſalaries and

and penſions; nor are any funds left for the hoſpitals, the repair of dykes, roads, canals, &c. 11. The directory cannot extend its diſtribution to any ſum exceeding the above amount; and it is to the want of diſpoſable funds, that ought to be imputed the failure of all the other branches of the public ſervice, and the danger with which they are threatened. 12. If the national treaſury is deſired, by means of negotiations, to augment the reſources, it is obliged to return in anſwer, that it does not poſſeſs any thing which may ſerve for that purpoſe. 13. The pay of the army is conſiderably in arrear. This is a certain and acknowledged fact. 14. The future ſuſtenance of the troops is compromiſed. 15. No funds remain to be diſpoſed of for the relief of hoſpitals. The executive directory can perceive no poſſible reſource that may be applied to aſſiſt them. The deciſion which it is enabled to make with reſpect to the urgency of the payments, makes no alteration in the deplorable ſituation in which they are placed. The directory conſidered itſelf bound to lay before you theſe ſtatements. It has fulfilled that duty; but it does not apprehend that this expoſition can ſhake the courage and perſeverance of the friends of the republic. It, on the contrary, finds a powerful motive, in the true picture which it has drawn, to hope that your deliberations on the finances will render thoſe reſources effective which can be brought into action. Theſe reſources poſſeſs the great advantage of being adequate to the re-eſtabliſhment of public credit, and of proving that France is fully capable of maintaining order in the interior, and of combating her foreign enemies. But theſe reſources, citizens repreſentatives, are as if they never exiſted, ſince the laws which are neceſſary to render them productive are not enacted. Had thoſe which regulate the direct contributions of the 5th year been ſooner paſſed, ten millions would moſt probably have been received, which remain ſtill due; and the power of diſpoſing of them, for the purpoſe of getting the principal articles of expence, would procure the means of obtaining what may be neceſſary for the indiſpenſable payment of penſions and ſalaries.

The directory, after preſſing the neceſſity of the council's immediately taking into their conſideration proper meaſures for the reſtoration of public confidence and credit, concludes in the following manner:

Our ſituation is ſuch, citizens repreſentatives, that the ſmalleſt delay increaſes the danger to which the nation is expoſed. The executive directory invites you to obtain an exact account of the ſtate of the finances; of the neceſſary wants of the public treaſury; of the real, and by no means exaggerated, product of the means which yet can be made uſe of, and of the reſources which can be employed. You will find in the reſult of your examination, proofs of the truths to which the directory has called your attention in all its meſſages. The exiſting means are inſufficient; thoſe which new laws have it in their power to produce, will be adequate to meet all our expences; and the moment of bringing them into action is arrived.

(Signed) CARNOT, Preſident.
LAGARDE, Sec. Gen.

Meſſage to the Council of Five Hundred, and Elders, dated Sept. 4, 1797.

Citizens Repreſentatives,

THE executive directory haſtens to communicate to you the meaſures it has been forced to take for the ſafety of the country and the maintenance of the conſtitution. With this view it tranſmits to you all the papers it has collected, as well as thoſe it publiſhed before you were aſſembled. If it had withheld itſelf from action one day more, the republic would have been delivered up to its enemies. The halls themſelves in which you meet, were the points of union of the conſpirators; it was from thence that they yeſterday emitted their cards and certificates for the delivery of arms; it was from thence that they correſponded with their accomplices laſt night; and, finally, it is there, or in the environs, that they ſtill endeavour to make ſeditious and clandeſtine aſſemblages, which the police is now employed in diſperſing. It would have been to commit the public ſecurity, and that of the faithful repreſentatives, to have allowed them to be confounded with the other enemies of the country. You ſee, citizens repreſentatives, that the conduct of the directory was marked out by the inſtant neceſſity of being beforehand with theſe conſpirators, who were deſtroying the government, who wiſhed to deprive the French of the fruit of their triumphs, and to make this magnanimous nation bow at the feet of the king it has ſubdued. In affairs of ſtate, extreme meaſures can be eſtimated by circumſtances alone: you will form a judgment of thoſe which have determined the executive directory, and which have produced the happieſt conſequences. The 18th Fructidor (September 4) will be a celebrated day in the annals of France; it is the more memorable, becauſe it enables you to fix for ever the deſtinies of the republic. Lay hold of this occaſion, citizens repreſentatives; convert it into a great epoch, reanimate patriotiſm, revive public ſpirit, and haſten to cloſe up the abyſs, in which the friends of kings had flattered themſelves they would bury even the remembrance of our liberty.

P. S. The executive directory will tranſmit to you without delay other papers, from which it reſults that Imbert Colomes, one of the new third of the council of five hundred, was the principal agent of the *ſoi-diſant* Louis XVIII, at Lyons.

Another Meſſage, dated Sept. 5, 1797.

Citizens Repreſentatives,

THE 18th Fructidor (Sept. 4) is deſtined to be the ſalvation both of the republic and of yourſelves. The people expect this. You witneſſed yeſterday their tranquillity and their joy. This day is the 19th Fructidor (Sept. 5), and the people aſk of you where the republic is, and what you have done for its conſolidation? The eye of the country, citizen repreſentatives, looks towards you. The moment is deciſive; if you allow it to paſs by, if you heſitate on the meaſures which are to be taken, if you put off your deciſion for a moment, all will be loſt, both you and the republic. The conſpirators have been upon the watch. Your ſilence has given

given them courage and audacity; they are intriguing afreſh, and are miſleading public opinion by infamous libels. The journaliſts of Blankenburg and London continue to diſſeminate their poiſon. The conſpirators do not attempt to conceal the fact, that their plot extends to the legiſlative body itſelf. They already ſpeak of puniſhing the republicans for the commencement of the triumph they think they have obtained. Is it poſſible to heſitate ſtill, as to the meaſure of purging the ſoil of the very few known and avowed chiefs of theſe royaliſt conſpirators, who wait for the convenient opportunity to deſtroy the republic, and to devour you yourſelves! You are at the brink of the volcano; it is about to ſwallow you up; you may cloſe it; and can you heſitate? To-morrow it will be too late. The leaſt heſitation is the death of the republic. You will be told of principles; formalities will be reſorted to; excuſes will be invented; delays will be called for; time will be gained; and the conſtitution will be aſſaſſinated, under pretext of keeping within its limits. This commiſeration, implored in favour of certain men, to what will it lead you? to ſee theſe very men take out of your hands the thread of their criminal conſpiracies, and collect in your boſom the horrible fire-brands of civil war, to ſet fire to the country. What a miſconceived pity! what a fatal ſentiment! what limited views would, in that caſe, draw the attention of the councils towards a few men, between whoſe fate and that of the republic they would heſitate! The executive directory has applied itſelf to point out to you the means of ſaving France, but it has to expect that you will avail yourſelves of them. The directory has felt a perſuaſion, that you are ſincerely attached to liberty and the republic, and that the conſequences of this firſt liberty ought not to terrify you. It lays them before you, and is obliged to tell you, that you are placed in an unprecedented predicament; and that ordinary rules cannot apply to an extraordinary caſe, unleſs you are deſirous to ſurrender yourſelves to your enemies. If the friends of kings find friends among you; if ſlaves can meet with protectors in you; if you wait an inſtant, the ſafety of France muſt be deſpaired of; the conſtitution will ceaſe to be in force; and the patriots may be told, that the hour of royalty is proclaimed throughout the republic. But if, as the executive directory is fully perſuaded, this terrible idea afflicts and ſtrikes you, appreciate the value of the moment, and embrace it; be the deliverers of your country, and lay the eternal foundations of its happineſs and glory.

L. M. Revelliere Lepaux,
Preſident.
Lagarde, Secretary.

Meſſage from the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, Sept. 5th, 1797.

Citizens Legiſlators,

THE embarraſſment of the finances was the moſt inveterate wound of the ſtate: the enemies of the republic and the friends of kings, ſought to render it incurable. By this they have injured the public ſervice, irritated the defenders of their country, and drove the public annuitants to deſpair. To-day your ſhackles

ſhackles are broken, which will inſpire thoſe with confidence whom circumſtances have alarmed. Will you reſtore peace at home, and dictate it abroad? announce your intentions upon the finances. That is the object of the directory's ſolicitude. They hope that, convinced of the urgency of the occaſion, you will give them all the neceſſary power, in order that the public ſervice may not be impeded.

France can only be ſaved by the legiſlative body occupying itſelf about the finances. It is neceſſary for you immediately to make ſome regulations in the direct taxes of the fifth year. One of the moſt certain means for haſtening the receipt of the money ariſing from them, would be to receive from the receivers general an account of the payments they have to make.

It will alſo be neceſſary to make regulations in the carriage of articles by land and water; to ſuppreſs franking and free letters; to reeſtabliſh the national lottery, and the right of enrigiſtering; and to eſtabliſh a duty of one per cent. upon paſteboard and paper; and to ſet the public debt afloat by creating *bons*, by the aid of which the payment of national debts may be made.

Proclamation of the Executive Directory to the French *People*, 18*th Fructidor* (*September* 4), 1797.

Citizens,

THE executive directory ſubmits to your view a few of the papers relative to the royaliſt conſpiracy. Theſe papers, the authenticity of which is inconteſtable, detail the plots, name the conſpirators, and develope the thread of the treaſons. Theſe texts are too poſitive and clear to need any comments. It is ſufficient that the directory ſhould retrace to you, in a few words, the events to which theſe papers refer. There are facts ſo palpable, that no impoſture can diſguiſe them in the eyes of nations: ſuch was the conſpiracy of Vendemiaire. It was in vain that tribunals, which in the firſt inſtance did not deny its exiſtence, declared afterwards that there was neither revolt nor ſedition; royaliſm itſelf bluſhed at this lie. All the circumſtances of that event too clearly proclaim its aim, nature, and characteriſtics; and the opinion of Europe would have been invariably fixed on this head, provided even no diſcovery had been made by the correſpondence of Lemaitre, by the papers of the emigrant Gelin, and by the palpable and convincing proofs of the intercourſe which the principal agitators, the plotters and the libellers of Vendemiaire, kept up with the exterior royaliſts. An important circumſtance, however, of that epoch was long concealed from us; and in laying it before you we fulfil a painful duty, ſince we have to denounce to you a traitor in the perſon of a man, who ſometimes led your defenders to victory. While the diſſolution of the national convention was plotting in Paris, and the faction endeavouring to ſeize on the ſupreme authority, Pichegru, ſtationed on the bank of the Rhine, received the propoſitions of Condé, and replied to them by plans of invaſion and royaliſm. If the white flag was not diſplayed in the French camp; if the Rhine was not croſſed by the hoſtile army; if your ſtrong holds

were not delivered up and taken poſſeſſion of in the king's name, by imperial troops; if Pichegru did not march to Paris; if he did not come hither in the ſpace of a fortnight;—citizens, it is dreadful to have to ſtate to you, that it was Condé who refuſed to put in execution Pichegru's plan. This plan would not, however, have ſucceeded: the brave ſoldiers whom the general dared to inſult, would not have permitted it to have been carried into effect. They were calculated to obey the voice of patriotiſm alone; and would have repulſed and overcome the treaſon.

"I ſhall leave nothing unfiniſhed," ſaid Pichegru; "I do not wiſh to be the new third volume of La Fayette and Dumourier." He was deſirous to reſemble them in perfidy; but he wiſhed alſo to ſurpaſs them in ſucceſs, and in the completion of his guilt. Behold then the ſecret of that favour which royaliſm conſtantly afterwards granted to Pichegru. This is the reaſon why he was the firſt to be choſen preſident of the council of five hundred, after the entry of the third. And this explains the calumnies which were heaped on the executive directory, when it merely, however, accepted of the reſignation of that general, whoſe infidelity it ſcarcely began to ſee through and ſuſpect. Subdued on the 13th Vendemiaire, royaliſm for a moment yielded to the ſtorm: for ſeveral months after, it diſplayed itſelf under the hideous features of terroriſm alone, perfectly certain of profiting almoſt equally, either by the ſucceſs or defeat of this new kind of manœuvre. Such, citizens, is the danger of anarchy, that if it triumphs, it leads to royalty through calamities and crimes, and it can only be ſubdued, by cauſing the public authorities to aſſume a carriage invariably more or leſs favourable to the partiſans of deſpotiſm. This laſt maxim has been but too much verified during fifteen months paſt; and royaliſm, ſtrengthened by the defeat of a few brigands, whoſe rage it had itſelf organized, and whoſe attempts it had directed, would, ſince the commencement of that period, have made a progreſs, if not more extenſive, at leaſt more rapid, provided one of its orators had not been in too much haſte to point out the aim in view. This orator, named Lemerer, has been, as well as Merſan, acknowledged by Duverne de Preſle to be the known and eſtabliſhed intermediary agent between a part of the legiſlative body and the agents of the pretender. When, in the month of Fructidor, of the 4th year, Lemerer undertook, in one of the national tribunes, to point out the conſtitution of 1791 as the object of the regret of his party; when he raſhly inſulted the triumph which liberty obtained on the 10th of Auguſt, 1792, the eyes of all the faithful deputies were inſtantly opened, and from that time to the 1ſt of Prairial laſt, they conſtantly oppoſed to every counter-revolutionary propoſition, their zeal, their energies, and their votes. Obliged to adjourn on the 1ſt Prairial, the epoch of its legiſlative ſway, royaliſm gave a new direction to its efforts. It encircled the ſeat of government more cloſely than ever; and by eſtabliſhing agents, guards, and emiſſaries on all ſides; by organizing their connections, their ſubordination, and their correſpondence; by, in ſome meaſure, ſetting up a counter-revolution in each department

deparment and in each commune, it fought at once to pave the way for the elections, and to ſecure a military force which it might bring into action at its pleaſure. Such, citizens, from the month of Pluvioſe, was the power of royaliſm, that the diſcovery of the conſpiracy of Brottier, Dunan, and Villernois, merely augmented its audacity, and fortified its means, even by their manifeſtation. Never did conſpirators, ſo fully convicted by their writings and confeſſions, find more apologiſts, ſupporters, and protectors, who did not heſitate to manifeſt the lively intereſt they took in their cauſe. In ſerving them, it was found to be more uſeful than dangerous, to diſplay the full extent of the different reſources of the party under which they acted. It cannot be doubted, citizens, but that in the majority of the departments, the elections were the work of this party. In proof of this you have only to refer to the debates of the military tribunal; to the two declarations which Duverne de Preſle has placed in our hands, and which we publiſh this day; and, finally, to the ſentiments and conduct of the new deputies, whom corruption and intrigue gave to the republic. Emigrants inundating Paris and the departments more and more; republicans either butchered or forced to fly from their homes; ſuperſtition and fanaticiſm recalled by thoſe even who, under the monarchy, contributed the moſt effectually to proſcribe them; the patriotic inſtitutions abandoned and inſulted; the ſymbols of royaliſm diſplayed audaciouſly; the licentiouſneſs of the preſs carried to an unexampled exceſs; the purchaſers of national domains menaced, and even ſtripped of their property; public credit almoſt annihilated; commerce paralyzed; induſtry precarious; private tranſactions without either rule or pledge; the national treaſury left without reſources in the midſt of numberleſs and urgent wants; diſcontents of every deſcription at their greateſt height; diſcords rekindled; the defenders of the country rewarded for their triumphs, ſacrifices, and wounds, by inſults and proſcriptions; and, finally, external peace retarded by a declaration of new innovations. Such, citizens, is the picture which the republic preſents; and it is thus, that the hope of the eſtabliſhment of the conſtitutional act, which had been increaſing for ſome months, has been daily diſſipated. No, it is not to return to ſo much wretchedneſs and diſgrace that you have encountered the perils of a revolution. Your children, your brothers, your friends, ſhall not in vain have diſperſed the armies of kings, and acquired the admiration of nations. The factious will not be allowed to overthrow the work of the national will. The conſtitution of the third year ſhall not be wreſted from us. Some of the repreſentatives of Blankenburg, uſurping the title of the choſen repreſentatives of the people, emigrants, chiefs of Chouans, heads of conſpirators, men who have conſtantly betrayed their duty in the moſt eminent functions, ſhall not deprive you of the fruits of your labours. The legiſlative body will, doubtleſs, make a wiſe diſtinction. It is upon its patriotiſm and its talents that you ought to rely for the accompliſhment of this great act of juſtice and neceſſity.—Confide in the legiſlative body, and give the law its courſe; without which your generous

generous impulſe, aſſuming an irregular and improper direction, and proceeding in the midſt of tumult, towards an object but faintly recognized, you will loſe the whole fruit of your exertion, if you do not experience the fatal effects of ſuch conduct as you already have ſo often experienced them. Never forget, citizens, that we are placed between two dangers equally great, that of leaving behind the germs of an evil which infallibly would produce new ſhocks, and that of periſhing by the too violent effect of the remedy.

La Reveilliere Lepaux, Preſident.
Lagarde, Secretary.

The Executive Directory to the Citizens of Paris, *Sept. 4th*, 1797.

Citizens,

ROYALTY has juſt threatened the conſtitution by a new attack. After having for a whole year ſhaken, by their dark manœuvres, all the foundations of the republic, they thought that they were ſufficiently powerful to conſummate its deſtruction. They thought themſelves ſufficiently protected to venture to aim its firſt attacks againſt the ſupreme depoſitaries of the executive authority. Arms were daily diſtributed to the conſpirators; and all Paris knows, that one of the diſtributers was arreſted with a great number of bonds, upon which he had already delivered a great number of firelocks. Cards ſtamped *Legiſlative Body*, and marked with an *R*, were circulated, in order to ſerve as rallying ſigns to the conſpirators charged with the office of maſſacring the directory, and the deputies faithful to the cauſe of the people. A great number of emigrants, cut-throats of Lyons, and brigands of La Vendee, attracted hither by the intrigues of royaliſm, and the tender intereſt publicly laviſhed upon them, without fear attacked the poſts which ſurrounded the executive directory; but the vigilance of the government, and the chiefs of the armed force, fruſtrated their criminal efforts. The executive directory is about to lay before the nation the authentic documents which it has collected, concerning the manœuvres of the royaliſts. You will ſhudder with horror, citizens, at the plots entered into againſt the ſafety of every one of you, againſt your property, againſt your deareſt rights, againſt your moſt ſacred poſſeſſions; and you may calculate the extent of the calamities from which in future you can alone be preſerved by the maintenance of the conſtitution. So many triumphs had already crowned the eſtabliſhment of this conſtitution; your generals and your intrepid defenders, had ſurrounded it with their immortal trophies; at the fame of their victories, agriculture and commerce reſumed their activity, public credit by degrees recovered, confidence and ſecurity began to ſpring up in every heart; and this is the moment which has been pitched upon to rekindle your animoſities, to propagate ſuperſtition, to recognize the power of fanaticiſm, to ſow doubts and alarms in every breaſt, by opening new avenues for the return of the emigrants, to ſhake the guarantee of public contracts, to give the ſignal of civil war, and to retard, by the hopes with which foreign nations were inſpired, the ſo much wiſhed concluſion of

of peace with our external foes, honourable and ſolid, worthy of the triumph of the French people, and of their generoſity. No, you will not loſe the fruits of your long ſacrifices, you will riſe indignantly againſt thoſe baſe emigrants, the authors of our calamities, of all our agitations, of all our ſufferings. You will arm yourſelves to ſtop their deſigns, and to defend againſt their attacks, your perſons, your property, and your rights. But beware of agitations:—do not diſgrace the moſt glorious of cauſes, by the exceſſes of an anarchy juſtly abhorred. Reſpect property. Let not an ill-directed patriotic impulſe throw you into a fatal confuſion. Obey no voice but that of the avowed chiefs appointed by the government. Rely upon the vigilance of your magiſtrates, and upon the exertions of your legiſlators, who have remained faithful to the cauſe of the people. Patriotiſm will reſume all its energy, the conſtitution all its force, the nation all its glory, and every citizen will enjoy, in their fulleſt extent, liberty, happineſs, and tranquillity.

Addreſs of the two Councils to the Departments, and to the Armies, 21 Fructidor.

THE council of five hundred, conſidering that in the extraordinary and critical circumſtances in which the republic is placed, it is the duty of the legiſlative body to make known to the French people the trammels that were prepared to bind them down to ſlavery, and to overthrow the republican conſtitution of the third year; to manifeſt to them the ſentiments and the hopes of the legiſlature, and at the ſame time to guard againſt the manœuvres which the accomplices of the conſpirators may attempt, in order to deceive them,—

Declare that there is urgency, and adopt the following reſolution:—

Article I. The legiſlative body makes to the departments and to the armies, the following addreſs:

"Frenchmen, we owe to you the truth: we are about to tell you the truth.

"A conſpiracy, which has for its object to eſtabliſh in France a throne, and with privileges and vexations, a thouſand times more odious than thoſe which were aboliſhed by your will; a conſpiracy conſtantly unmaſked, and yet never deſtroyed, had again brought the republic to the brink of an abyſs. The government, by its wiſdom and its firmneſs, diſconcerted the action at the moment when it was on the point of breaking out. One night more, and an eternal mourning would have covered our country! One night more, and an arbitrary deſpotiſm would have raiſed her hideous head, and ſealed her uſurpation on the bodies of all thoſe who had more or leſs ſerved the cauſe of liberty! Men, who had no other ambition of popular power, than to exerciſe it againſt the people, laboured for a long time in the execution of this execrable project; for the moſt part chiefs of the inſurgents of Vendemiaire, hardened by impunity, reſumed the thread of their intrigues; they ſtill correſponded more audaciouſly than ever with the agents of the pretender, Louis XVIII. The confeſſions of one of theſe royal agents (Duverne Dupreſle) bear teſtimony to the fact. Their

Their letters taken at Venice, their correſpondence with the emigrants and the principal rebels, prove it. All the documents are made public. Their means were,—1ſt. The extinction of all public national ſpirit. 2d. The aſſaſſination of every man whom they branded with the title *Suſpected of Patriotiſm*, and the impunity granted to the aſſaſſins by the tribunals ſold to royaliſm. 3d. The extinction of the financial reſources of the ſtate. 4th. The vilifying of the government and the republican inſtitutions. 5th. Civil war to be kindled in different points of the republic. 6th. Internal ſafety to be deſtroyed, and all the roads intercepted. 7th. By the ſtarving of the national creditor, the artiſan, and the ſoldier. And finally,—8th. By the active fabrication of all ſorts of laws ſubverſive of the conſtitution.

"This end, and all theſe means, will not aſtoniſh you, as you will learn by the authentic documents found, that their nominations, ordered beforehand, and regulated by particular offices of counter-revolution in all the departments, were founded on a general plan, formed and organized under the name of the *Society of Legitimate Sons*; a ſociety, one of whoſe rules was the moſt abſolute, the moſt blind devotion of its members to the orders that ſhould be given them by their unknown chiefs. It was by theſe means, French citizens, that you have ſeen ſpring out all at once, from the boſom of your primary and electoral aſſemblies, this crowd of delegates, hitherto unknown in the revolution, or known only by their inciviſm the moſt revolting. It was by theſe means that there was formed, in almoſt every place, a majority of men, ſeduced, bribed, or deluded, who ſpeaking conſtantly under ſpecial mandate, and employing themſelves only in the overthrow of the republic, made us doubt whether their conſtituents reſided in France or at Blankenburgh. It was thus that the votes of the true citizens were of no avail in the elections; and that, with the exception of a ſmall number of aſſemblies where their voices were attended to, almoſt everywhere the votes of crime and of royal intrigue were triumphant. We may conceive how, eſtabliſhing themſelves the judges of their own elections, they haſtened to declare them good or bad, as it ſuited their purpoſe: ſometimes making an argument of the majority of voters, to cover their violences, the denial of juſtice, and the unconſtitutional nature of theſe aſſemblies; and ſometimes oppoſing proteſts, obſcure, and without character, to the formal wills of a republican majority. Certainly, it is wonderful, that with ſo many means of corruption, and of deſtructive influence, ſome nominations—nay, that one ſingle place ſhould eſcape them; as after a vaſt conflagration, we ſometimes ſee with aſtoniſhment ſome buildings reſpected by the flames.

"We will not recall to you, citizens, what has been the deplorable ſucceſs of theſe atrocious combinations. In Floreal, peace, honourable and ſolid, ſmiled propitious to our wiſhes: it is flown. Could it reſide in a land in convulſion, ready to cover itſelf with blood and aſhes? National credit had taken conſiſtency; the creditor was about to be paid; ſalaries were diſcharged in currency; and in an inſtant, miſery and penury returned to burſt upon France.

France. The creditor ſunk into deſpair; the inſcriptions, which were at forty, fell to ten; the armies without pay, without clothing:—the armies that had triumphed over Europe—oh ſhame! oh grief!—were obliged to live either upon requiſition, or upon the product of their courage. And yet a hideous laugh eſcaped from the lips of the artificers of counter-revolution; each day they ſaw the embarraſſments of government augment, each day they increaſed them more and more; interpretations the moſt forced; want of faith the moſt imprudent; every thing was good in their eyes, provided they attained the deſired end. The labourers in fanaticiſm were recalled; a ſcandalous and public traffic for the eraſure of emigrants was openly carried on. Citizens, alarmed by theſe appearances, aſſembled to confer together: the right of meeting was interdicted; they reclaimed their rights; they were treated as ſeditious, and as cut-throats: they complained of miſerable men being aſſaſſinated; to which it was anſwered, that vengeance was legitimate, and crime was erected into ſyſtem. A new revolution, a thouſand times more bloody than the firſt, was iſſuing from every pore of the body politic; but ſome indiſcretions, ſome ſigns of premature joy, betrayed the conſpirators; they began to take pride in the title of royaliſts; a ſeparation, the *avant-courier* of aſſaſſination, took place between the proſcribers and the proſcribed. They firſt entitled themſelves the true repreſentatives; the others were no longer conſidered as their colleagues; judgment was paſſed upon them; they were republicans. Arms were diſtributed, poniards were made, many of which were ſeized along with the cards of rendezvous; regiſters of inrolment were opened. Oh country! oh ſecret and noble ſentiment of liberty! generous offſpring of honour and of national pride, what art thou become? Oh juſtice, morality, humanity! names ſo often profaned, ye ſocial and public virtues, where have ye taken refuge? They live in the armies!

"This intrepid advanced guard of a nation, whoſe deſtruction had been ſworn by traitors, faithful to its oath, rung the alarm; its cry was heard throughout all France; it was heard in the camp of the enemy; it ſtruck diſmay to the ſouls of the traitors. Then they changed their plan; without being leſs active, they feigned an extenſive moderation, to diminiſh the means of reſiſtance which they dreaded. But it was done; the *reveille* was beat; the government, that had been ſo long deceived, now recollected that it alſo was the repoſitory of the conſtitution, and guardian of the deſtinies of the republic. In the two councils a majority, courageous and clear-ſighted, conſtantly in open combat with a faction unmaſked, no longer deſpaired of bringing back to their ſide thoſe faithful members that the party had only inliſted by deceiving them. They perceived that the conſtitution, in not foreſeeing the caſe of a faction of legiſlators overthrowing it, even by ſurrounding themſelves with the appearance of its forms, left, by this very omiſſion, to thoſe who were deſirous to ſave it, the right of employing every ſort of meaſure to that purpoſe, and that it was abſurd to pretend, that if a factious or deceived minority ſhould decree

decree the abrogation of the republic, all the powers inſtituted by the conſtitution, ought to ſhut their eyes, and execute the decree.

" Frenchmen, the event did not deceive their hopes; and this time again, as in the tennis-court, Providence, the preſerver of knowledge, of the virtues, and of liberty, protected the republic! You know the reſult of the memorable day of the 18th Fructidor: the conſpirators were arreſted; the legiſlative body, freed from oppreſſion, and enlightened on the reiterated manœuvres of the guilty, feeling their own dignity and their duties, were not wanting to the one, while they diſcharged the other with courage. They did not, and they ought not to place any conſideration whatſoever, in circumſtances ſo imperious, in the balance with the ſafety of the country and the conſtitution; but in ſtriking down the conſpirators, they did not forget that they repreſented a ſenſible and great nation, and that they ought to preſerve to it its character. Theſe men, who talked of humanity while they were meditating aſſaſſinations; theſe men, who would not have ſpared the life of a ſingle republican, are going to lead their own lives far from us with remorſe and opprobium: they are tranſported.

" Not a drop of blood, not an act of violence or diſorder, has ſtained this day. Thus, this great and wiſe attitude of Frenchmen, and particularly of our brothers in arms, on this terrible occaſion, in completing their eulogium, atteſts the baſeneſs and infamy of thoſe who, in their criminal correſpondence, and in their audacious libels, have dared to paint Frenchmen as robbers and ruffians. The conſtitution is their fortune; they have ſealed it with their blood; they will not ſuffer it to be attacked; Frenchmen have placed it between royalty and anarchy, and they know how to keep it in its place.

" Oh ye fathers, mothers, huſbands, children! whom the remembrance of the misfortunes and the diſaſters of the revolution have irritated, conſider with affright what a horrible revolution they have prepared for you anew; and may this ſentiment remove for ever from your hearts, thoſe barbarous enmities, thoſe murderous oppoſitions, which diſſolve a nation and plunge it in a deluge of calamities!

" Citizens, the miſchief unmaſked will no doubt try to calumniate us, and to arm you one againſt another. Theſe calumnies we deſpiſe, but we cannot deſpiſe your peril. We have told you the truth; do you examine the intereſt of thoſe who ſhall ſpeak to you in other language. The legiſlative body conjures you to this — repel far from you every inſidious inſinuation; let not England and Auſtria tear from you the fruits of this laſt victory, which cloſes at length the revolution. Let us gather round the conſtitution; let us think and feel that its ſpirit and its letter ought never to be ſeparated.

" Oh! if after twenty years of this civil war, that they wiſhed to inflict upon us, and of the frightful cataſtrophes that would be its neceſſary conſequences, a beneficent genius were to bring us this conſtitution of the third year, with what tranſport ſhould we not receive it! what tears of gratitude would it not make us ſhed! what neweſt hopes would it not revive in families reduced to deſolation! — Well, we

have it, we poſſeſs it, let us learn to preſerve it. As to you, Frenchmen, it is to your union, it is to your confidence, that we are to look for encouragement. Returning preſently to our ordinary labours, all our cares will be to cloſe the wounds which our enemies are ſtriving to enlarge. The reſtoration of the finances, of commerce, of induſtry, of agriculture; the ſolace of the indigent claſſes, of the hoſpitals, of the national creditor; the debt of our immortal defenders, will demand our firſt regards. Peace alſo, that conſoling peace which is acquired by victory, ſhall ſpeedily come, and we have the ſolid hope of it, to conſolidate all our triumphs, and to repair all our loſſes. If, on the contrary, the enemy ſhould be obſtinate, to precipitate their own deſtruction, may the union of our good citizens, may their attachment to the conſtitution and government of the third year, be at once their deſpair, and the pledge of their approaching ruin!

"Magiſtrates, adminiſtrators, functionaries, the voice of your country calls you back to your poſts. Every where in a republic, that man is in the field of honour who conducts himſelf as a republican. Men of letters, you whom the deſpotiſm of calumny reduced to ſilence, reſume your priſtine energy; commence your republican inſtruction; make the coward apologiſts of ſlavery to bluſh; aid alſo the legiſlative body and the government; form the manners of the nation.

"Frenchmen, unity of action is re-eſtabliſhed between the two great powers, not that which reſults from the dependence of one of them, but that which produces the harmony of reciprocal wills. We have expoſed to you our conduct and our principles; our life is altogether devoted to the maintenance of the republic; we will not ſay that we are merely ready to loſe our lives in combating the factions, but we ſwear to you that we will overcome them."

Proclamation of the Executive Directory to the French *Nation, to the end that the* French *Armies may be complete and ready to march by the 15th Vendemiaire next, Oct. 6.*

THE 18th Fructidor (Sept. 4) impoſed ſilence on the orators of London who were ſtationed in Paris. After that very memorable day the Engliſh ambaſſador, preſſed to explain himſelf in a poſitive manner as to the firſt object of his legation, ſet off on his return for England. On her ſide, Auſtria ſuffers herſelf to be directed by the cabinet of St. James's, which labours inceſſantly to diſtract Europe and to foment troubles on the Continent. The emperor thwarts the wiſh of his ſtates and that of his court: he reſiſts the peace of which his ſubjects are in need, and confines himſelf excluſively to preparations for war. His armaments apprize us of what we ourſelves have to do. If the generous loyalty which urged us to ſubſcribe to the articles of Leoben is abuſed; if, ſpeaking conſtantly of peace, nothing is breathed but war, the French nation, which merely ſpeaks of war becauſe it is deſirous of peace, muſt put itſelf in a condition to ſupport its dignity; and the valour of its armies muſt recover its advantages. —It is more eſpecially eſſential fully

fully to convince the enemy, that there is no longer in France but one party, but one ſentiment, but one intereſt, that of a ſovereign nation, which is ſenſible of its greatneſs, and which wiſhes to preſerve its liberty. The executive directory is ſwayed by no other motives than theſe. The conſtitutional law authorizes it to provide for the ſafety of the ſtate. It is pleaſed to make you the judges of the reaſons which determine it to employ this ſacred right. Your enemies, who are not able to reſiſt your courage, have endeavoured to ſubdue you by ſtratagem. They deceived you by the ſhow of negotiations. If they had been ſincerely deſirous of what they appeared to ſeek, peace would have been now concluded. The executive directory haſtened to ſtop the progreſs of the French armies. It gave itſelf up with ſincerity to the hope of the good underſtanding which dazzled its ſight; and enjoyed, in idea, the means it was about to poſſeſs, of cauſing liberty to be beloved, and of procuring for France as great a proportion of happineſs in peace, as ſhe had acquired of glory in war. But after having obtained this interruption in the progreſs of our victories, what did our enemies wiſh? To gain time to foment among you inteſtine diviſions, and to take advantage of what would reſult from them, to cauſe Frenchmen to maſſacre each other, until they ſhould be enabled to fall on the remnant of population, to divide among themſelves the ſhreds of the country thus divided, and to blot out France from the liſt of nations. Republican good faith could not have ſuſpected this ſnare of the policy of courts: you muſt, however, have ſeen, citizens, whether this plan was not faithfully followed up: the majority of your public functionaries compoſed the auxiliary army which fought in the boſom of France for your moſt cruel enemies. —They had called hither ſwarms of thoſe barbarous emigrants who are bent on tearing in pieces the vitals of their country, and of thoſe fanatical prieſts who are ſkilled in kindling up every where the murderous zeal of homicidal piety. The national tribune no longer reſounded, unleſs with the voices of the deputies of Auſtria and England, calumniating your defenders, inſulting your generals, employing themſelves in paralyzing your government, and reducing it gradually to the abſolute nullity which correſponded ſo well with their royal inſtructions, and with the views of their conſtituents. At length the veil is torn off: the partizans of the foreign courts are no longer the organs of the national will; the helm of the republic is in the hands of the republicans; and the people of France have French repreſentatives. Citizens, in theſe circumſtances, what courſe ought your magiſtrates to purſue? Animated by a ſincere wiſh to give France a peace worthy of her, that is to ſay, a ſolid peace, agreeable to her intereſts, and conformable to her engagements, how are they at this time to repel the pretenſions and elude the frauds of the cabinet of London? How are they to put an end to the indeciſive tardineſs of the cabinet of Vienna, and to free Auſtria herſelf from Engliſh influence, the only real obſtacle to the peace of Europe? There is but one

mode. Since your enemies, in feigning to negotiate, hold themſelves in an hoſtile ſtate, their example forces you again to take up arms, and abſolves you, by anticipation, from all the calamities which, in their territories, are about to be the inevitable reſult of the rupture of the truce. Ah! if war be a ſcourge which cannot be too much deteſted, but the horrors of which fall on thoſe by whom it was provoked; if humanity revolts againſt thoſe who ſhed blood, who plunder cities, and lay provinces waſte without a neceſſity; if the author of an iniquitous war be reſponſible for the deſtruction of the cottages which are burned, for the loſs of commerce which enſues, for the proviſions which are deſtroyed, for the violences, diſorders, and crimes which are committed with arms in the hand; if thoſe who feed on the horrors of war, entered into without pretext, and without reaſon, are ferocious monſters, unworthy of the name of men, not merely enemies of the countries which they cauſe to be laid waſte, but of the whole human race:—you who have for ſix years been forced to fight for your independence! you, on whom certain perfidious men endeavoured to beſtow the fatal gift of a civil war! you, who conquerors and triumphant, laid down your arms to propoſe and hear the words of peace! you will not have to dread the imprecations, the legitimate anathemas which nature and juſtice addreſs to your enemies.—In returning, againſt your will, to the bloody conteſt from which you had withdrawn yourſelves, you may proteſt in the face of the whole world what your intentions have been, and call on Heaven to witneſs the juſtice of the cauſe you are about to defend. Thus then, citizens, again take up your arms, without ceaſing to be deſirous of peace. Your government perſeveres in offering it on the conditions which appeared to be meet and compatible. Perhaps the warlike appearance you are about to reſume will ſuffice to obtain a conſent of theſe conditions: but if they ſhould be refuſed, you will maintain the honour and the laws of the republic. It is in the name of the nation, it is to fulfil its will, to ſecure its rights and to preſerve its glory, that the executive power recalls to their ſtandards all ſoldiers of the country who have withdrawn from them on any cauſe whatever. The executive directory accordingly enjoins its commiſſioners ſtationed in the departments, to cauſe to be executed, without delay, and without reſtriction, the laws of 4 Frimaire and 4 Nivoſe, of the fourth year, together with the reſolutions of 4 Ventoſe, and the ſubſequent ones, and to cauſe all the ſoldiers and requiſitions whatever, who are now at their homes, to join by the 15th Vendemiaire (October 6). Frenchmen! it is neceſſary that at this epoch your armies ſhould be complete, that they ſhould be ready to march, and that their awful and terrible aſpect ſhould inſtantly command that glorious peace, which for ſix months paſt ought to have been the fruit of their triumphs. The executive directory reſolves, that the above proclamation ſhall be printed, ſolemnly publiſhed, and fixed up in all tha communes of the republic by its commiſſioners ſtationed at the central departmental adminiſtrations;

adminiſtrations; and that the war miniſter ſhall take all the neceſſary meaſures for its ſpeedy execution, of which he ſhall give an account every three days to the directory.

REVEILLIERE LEPAUX,
President.

LAGARDE, Secretary General.

Sept. 20.

Proclamation of the Executive Directory to the French *People.*

Citizens, *5th Brumaire,*

THE proclamation of the 4th complementary day in the 5th year (20 Sept.) had for its object to put the French armies in a condition to march on the 15th Vendemiaire, (October 6th.)

The defenders of their country have liſtened to the voice of the executive directory. From every part they have rejoined their reſpective armies, and the miniſter at war has returned on this head the moſt ſatisfactory accounts. In this generous ardour, in this eager zeal for the maintenance of liberty, the ſpirit of Frenchmen was recogniſed.

Their warlike attitude has already overthrown the obſtacles which the cabinet of St. James's has ſo long oppoſed to the concluſion of a peace with the emperor. On viewing your poſition, Auſtria returned to her true intereſts, and on the 26th Vendemiaire, the treaty which was ſuſpended for more than ſix months, was concluded at Campo Formio, near Udina, between the commander in chief, Buonaparte, plenipotentiary of the French republic, and four plenipotentiaries of the emperor, king of Bohemia and Hungary. You will learn with pleaſure that ſeveral millions of men have been reſtored to liberty, and that the French nation is the benefactreſs of theſe people.

But this is not all. A congreſs is about to be aſſembled, in order to conclude a peace with the empire. Citizens, every thing preſages that in a ſhort time you will gather the fruit of ſo many ſacrifices. The peace of the continent will ſoon be fixed on an immovable baſe.

It only remains to you to puniſh the perfidy of the cabinet of London, which is ſtill ſo blinded as to think of making other nations the ſlaves of their maritime tyranny, and who deceive the Engliſh themſelves by extorting from them the means of prolonging on the ocean the calamities of war, the effuſion of human blood, the deſtruction of commerce, and all the horror in which it traffics, and for which it pays. Theſe, however, will ſhortly be retorted on themſelves. It is at London that all the miſeries of Europe have been fabricated, and it is there that they muſt be terminated. Citizens, under theſe circumſtances the end very nearly approaches of thoſe military efforts which the government is ſtill to expect from French valour. But until this object be attained, be on your guard: do not lay down thoſe arms which make you ſo terrible to the enemies of your independence; do not liſten to the perfidious ſuggeſtions of thoſe who would wiſh to deſtroy the effect of your triumph; they are about to repeat to you that, peace being concluded, you ſhould now return to your homes: yes, the directory has undoubtedly ſigned for you a glorious peace; but, in order to enjoy its happineſs, it

is neceſſary that you ſhould finiſh your work; that you ſhould enforce the execution of thoſe articles which have been agreed upon between the emperor and France;—you ſhould aid the prompt deciſion of thoſe which are ſtill pending with the empire; and, in fine, you muſt crown your exploits by the invaſion of that iſland where your anceſtors carried ſlavery under William the conqueror, and carry thither again the genius of liberty, which will diſembark at the ſame time with the French.

Citizens, be aſſured that government is deſirous of accelerating that happy moment when, in concert with the legiſlature, they can reduce their armies to the footing of a peace eſtabliſhment, recompenſe thoſe heroes who compoſe them, and, after having conſecrated their valour by feaſts and monuments worthy of their triumphs, ſpread through every canton that republican ſpirit with which the armies have been animated, by ſending to their homes thoſe of their defenders who have a right to return.

But of this you ſhall judge yourſelves. The hour has not yet ſtruck; a few inſtants more, and the French republic, triumphantly eſtabliſhed, and everywhere acknowledged, will enjoy that repoſe which it is to procure to the world.

The executive directory decrees that the above proclamation ſhall be printed, and ſent into all the departments and to the armies; and that the arret annexed to the decree of the 4th complementary day ſhall continue to be executed according to its form and tenor.

The Miniſter of the Marine Department and Colonies, to the Civil and Military Officers, and to the Seamen and Marines of the Navy.

"Citizens, Nov. 6, 1797.

"THE time is at length arrived, when peace, reſtored to the Continent by the wiſdom of the executive directory and the valour of our brave armies, leaves to the republic only one enemy to vanquiſh. The ſolicitude of the legiſlative body and the government—the hopes of the whole nation, will centre in the navy; and the moſt efficacious means will concur for the increaſe of this moſt important part of the public force.

"Marines! it is you who henceforward will have to fight; it is to you that is reſerved the honour of terminating a war which has for ſo long a time afflicted human nature, to ſooth the ambition and hatred of a proud and perfidious power.

"You remember what has been the policy of the Engliſh government ſince the commencement of the revolution. It was it that, by artifice and manœuvre, ſet on foot the coalition of the kings of Europe againſt a nation which wiſhed to enjoy liberty, and which, excluſively occupied in its own regeneration, had ſolemnly declared, that it would not interfere with the government of any people.

"It was the Engliſh government that ſowed in France the ſeeds of trouble, miſtruſt, diſſenſion—which laviſhed gold to divide the firſt authorities, and to diſgrace by its exceſſes our moſt noble inſtitutions.

"It was the Engliſh government which, in deſpite of the rights of

men, attempted to ruin our finances by the introduction of falſe aſſignats, and by the adulteration of the coin.

"It was the Engliſh government which, having got poſſeſſion of the port of Toulon, not by force, but by the baſeſt treachery, threw into dungeons, or cauſed to be aſſaſſinated, your brethren in arms, faithful to their country. It was the Engliſh who, forced to fly ſhamefully, carried flames into the magazines, the veſſels, and the habitations of the citizens, in the hope of converting into a heap of cinders this bulwark of the republic in the Mediterranean.

"It was the Engliſh government that lighted up the torches of civil war in La Vendée, in the department of the Weſt, at Lyons, and in the South. It was it that drew together, under the banners of fanaticiſm and ariſtocracy, credulous men deluded by traitors, who had ſold themſelves to that government. It is it that, for the ſpace of four years, has inceſſantly fanned that conſuming fire, little caring whether it was proſperous or unſucceſsful, provided the blood of Frenchmen flowed.

"It is the Engliſh government that has vomited upon our coaſts the refugees who wiſhed to tear the boſom of their country, in order to ſubject us again to the yoke of deſpotiſm. It is it that, by every kind of ſeduction, introduced all the royaliſts who propoſed the counter revolution, and whoſe infamous projects were defeated by the glorious day of the 18th Fructidor (Sept. 4.)

"It is that government, in fine—it is that alone, which prolongs the troubles that ſtill agitate ſeveral countries of the world, and endeavours to deceive Europe by falſe demonſtrations, and an apparent deſire of peace.

"Sailors! the moſt brilliant career now opens before you: ſoon will the army of England be aſſembled on the ocean: you go to mingle with the conquerors of Fleurus and Arcola; the hero of Italy, all thoſe brave men who have extended the limits of the republic, ſhall be in your ranks in your veſſels; and their preſence alone ſhall make the enemy tremble, who ſhall not long have any barrier to oppoſe to you.

"Adminiſtrators! a grand taſk is impoſed upon you. The works muſt receive a new impulſe—Activity is about to reign in the arſenals; and the genius of liberty, which has increaſed the French armies, which has produced ſo many prodigies, which has triumphed over ſo many obſtacles, will preſide over the reſtoration of the navy. Felicitate yourſelves in your co-operation in ſo important a labour; and let the love of the country, that energetic ſentiment which, under royalty, is no more than a vain word, and which exiſts only in republics, redouble your zeal and your efforts.

"All you, citizens, to whom the executive directory confides the deareſt intereſts of the republic, depend upon its paternal ſolicitude: the end of your privation is at hand: your wants, and thoſe of your families ſhall be provided for, and you ſhall have no longer to ſtruggle againſt that penury which had long afflicted you, without diminiſhing your courage. Second the endeavours of the government. Remember the cauſe which you are to defend, and you will defend it.—Be all united in the ſame ſentiment. Let the ſame wiſh exiſt in every heart,

which ſhould be pronounced from every mouth, "Periſh the Engliſh government! Live the republic!"

(Signed) PLEVILLE LEPELLEY."

Proclamation of the French *Directory to* Frenchmen.

Frimaire, Nov. 21.

Citizens,

THE intereſt of the republic calls on you for a new triumph. After innumerable battles, where victory always reſted on your ſide, you are called on to ſubdue the firſt, the moſt intractable, and the moſt cunning of your enemies.

The executive directory is deſirous of a general peace. It wiſhes ſuch a peace for you and for Europe. It is now one year or more ſince a faithleſs enemy, reſtleſs and buzzing, has diſturbed all the cabinets, loudly propoſing peace, and ſecretly blowing up the embers of war. They affect to extinguiſh with one hand the torch which they are rekindling with the other. They ſend out with pomp their pacificator, yet they ſtifle every overture which has any tendency towards a pacification. This enemy your indignation can at once point out and name; it is the cabinet of St. James's, the moſt corrupting and corrupted of the governments of Europe; it is the Engliſh government.

It is not only againſt French liberty that this government had directed its conſpiracy; it is againſt the whole world. This perfidious government wiſhes to trouble, ſubjugate, or deſolate every part of the globe. Say, Americans, who were directly or indirectly your real rulers?—Unfortunate Indians, ſpeak—by what deteſtable arts this government has founded its tyranny amongſt ye?—And you, ye Europeans, ſtill more unfortunate, innocent inhabitants of Franconia and of the Northern Alps; ye numerous victims of the ſcourge of war, ſay who have been the moſt ardent inſtigators of the ſcourge of war, where immenſe treaſures have been engulphed—where more than a million of men have been ſlain—and where the eye of peace now can view nothing but general mourning, univerſal miſery, and vaſt deſpair. It is under theſe circumſtances that the cabinet of St. James's has revealed to afflicted Europe, that ſhe alone has felt nothing of theſe vaſt diſaſters. Hear the diſcourſe held from the height of the throne. "Our revenues," ſays the king of England, "have been meliorated; our national induſtry has even had a new increaſe; our commerce has paſſed its former limits."

If the king of England has told the truth, what a terrible leſſon is this for you, ye other powers of Europe? Of what deſcription is that power which is intereſted in your diſcords, who derives an intereſt from your calamities, who proſpers by your diſtreſs, and who fattens on the tears, the blood and the ſpoils of other nations?

This cabinet may deſire war, becauſe they are enriched by the war. It is this government, however, who has lately accuſed France of an "inſatiable avarice." It does not ſay that the Engliſh, the firſt devaſtators of our iſland of St. Domingo, have alſo taken without a blow the colonies of Holland, at that time their ally, and that they pretend to retain theſe robberies under the name

name of conqueſts.—The king of England, however, ſtill ſpeaks to the powers of Europe of the ambition of France!

The diſpoſitions of the French towards other nations are now underſtood. They are not to be obſcured by vague allegations. If the French republic can, by attaining her natural limits, repair the faults of her monarchy, ſhe diſdains the acquiſition of foreign conqueſts for this purpoſe. She wiſhes not to oppreſs the ſecondary ſtates or the feebler powers. She puniſhes without hatred, and, naturally generous, ſhe does not even hate the Engliſh nation. In France, no miniſter ſhall ever be deified for his hatred to the Engliſh nation. But the people of France are agreed on one point:—When they remember Toulon, Dunkirk, Quiberon, and La Vendée, they muſt deteſt the cruelty and perfidy, the bloody Machiaveliſm of the Britiſh miniſtry. They muſt deplore, at the ſame time, the inconceivable blindneſs by which the people of England ſuffered themſelves to become the horror of the world.

The great nation will avenge the univerſe, and for this end, Frenchmen, it offers you ſeveral means. The firſt and the moſt rapid is a deſcent upon England. By your unheard-of exploits you are diſuſed from reckoning upon obstacles. In ſuch enterprizes the name of the army is the promiſe of triumph, and the juſtice of its cauſe the guarantee of ſucceſs. There is no longer a time to diſcuſs the means, or to dwell on the probability of effecting a deſcent. Where Frenchmen are at the point, their will is the victory. The army of England is about to dictate peace in London, and there, republicans, you ſhall find your auxiliaries. You will find there a number of men whom reaſon has not ſo far abandoned, not to feel the odium which their governors have caſt upon the Engliſh name. You will there find thouſands of men who have long ſtruggled to promote parliamentary reform. You will there find artizans without number who ſigh for peace, and whom the war reduces to wretchedneſs, and who weigh as light, in the balance of their diſtreſs, the magnificent trumpery of royal harangues, the illuſion of manifeſtoes, and the chimeras of conqueſt!—You will alſo find the Iriſh nation, oppreſſed for ſo many years, and which has borne with ſo much pain the chain of a court which has been nouriſhed by its ſweat, fed by its blood, and which now inſults its deſpair!

Proceed under theſe auſpices, brave republicans! Second the unanimous wiſhes of the nation. Conducted by the hero who has ſo long led you in the path of victory, you will be followed by the applauſe of every juſt and virtuous mind. Go and re-eſtabliſh the dominion of the ſeas. Confine within its juſt limits the diſordered ambition of a government, which has not only diſturbed its own ſtate, but that of the univerſe.—The repoſe of the French republic is identified with that of Europe. At this time the Britiſh government ſmiles with cold diſdain, or with a fierce regard, on all the operations on the continent. It is for you to make them pay their ſhare of the expences of the war, of which ſhe has eternized the duration, and to which they can put an end, whenever they ſpeak to the French republic a language which ſhe

ſhe may underſtand, and which ſhe may deem ſincere.

Citizens, you will recognize your own ſentiments in thoſe of the directory. The ſame ſpirit animates your faithful repreſentatives. It is in vain that the cabinet of London exhauſts its efforts to ſow amongſt you diſcord and miſtruſt, or to perſuade you that their efforts have ſucceeded. The 18th Fructidor has annihilated Engliſh influence, and from that day the members of the councils and of the Directory offer only the intereſting ſpectacle of complete union. No patriot can have a ſeparate intereſt, nor is there in the republic but one wiſh and one opinion. A war againſt the cabinet of St. James's is the unanimous cry of France. What glory is promiſed to the army of England; it is only neceſſary to inſpire them with enthuſiaſm; it is only neceſſary to remind them of what they had done. The walls of fortified towns fell before them; the firſt generals of the age could not reſiſt them. Bender was taken priſoner at Luxemburg, and Wurmſer at Mantua. The tri-coloured ſtandard now floated over the banks of the Rhine and of the Ægean Sea. After ſo many victories, what can add to the ardour of French ſoldiers? They hear the voice of their country, and they remember their own exploits.

The Executive Directory decrees that this proclamation ſhall be publiſhed, printed, and ſent to all the communes of the republic, and to all the diviſions of their armies by land and ſea. The miniſters of the army of the interior, of the marine, and of the colonies, are to render an account of its due publication.

(Signed)

REVELLIERE LEPAUX, Preſident.

Proclamation of Louis XVIII. *to the* French.

A PROFOUND grief penetrates our breaſt every time we ſee Frenchmen groaning in captivity, through their attachment to the ſafety of France. But will it ſatisfy your tyrants to have procured new victims? In this conſpiracy which they impute to them, in the papers they publiſh ſo faſtidiouſly, will they not ſeek pretexts to calumniate our intentions? Is it not to be dreaded, finally, that either by forging papers, or by throwing out ſubtle inſinuations, they will attempt to paint us to you in falſe colours?

It is our duty to admoniſh you againſt a perfidy which the experience of what is paſt authorizes us to foreſee; it is our duty to manifeſt to you the ſentiments with which our heart is filled. The tyrants envelope themſelves in the ſhades of myſtery; a father dreads not to be ſeen by his children. Thoſe of our faithful ſubjects whom we have appointed to inſtruct you as to your true intereſts, will retrace in this paper the inſtructions they have received. Thoſe whom the purity of their zeal and the wiſdom of their principles will entitle to our confidence in future, will here read aforehand the inſtructions which will be given to them. Finally, all the French who, ſharing our love for the country, wiſh to concur towards ſaving it, will inſtruct themſelves in the rules they ought to follow; and all France, acquainted with the end to which every one ſhould concur in concert, and the means which ought to be employed, will form a judgment for itſelf of the good which it ought to expect from them.

We have ſaid to our agents, (note, by the Directory, Dunan, Brottier,

Brottier, and Lavilleheurnois) and we repeat to them inceſſantly, "Bring back our people to the holy religion of their forefathers, and to the paternal government which ſo long conſtituted the glory and happineſs of France. Explain to them that the conſtitution of the ſtate has been calumniated, becauſe it has been miſunderſtood. Inſtruct them to diſtinguiſh it from the regime which had been too long introduced. Shew them that it is alike oppoſite to anarchy and deſpotiſm, the two ſcourges which are as odious to us as they are to them, but which have alternately afflicted France ſince ſhe has no longer had a king. Conſult wiſe and enlightened men as to the new degrees of perfection, of which that conſtitution may be ſuſceptible, and make known to them the forms it has preſcribed to effect its own amelioration. Affirm that we have adopted the moſt efficacious meaſures to preſerve it from the injuries of time, and from the attacks of authority itſelf. Guarantee once more the oblivion of errors, of injuries, and even of crimes. Quench in every breaſt every the ſmalleſt wiſh of private revenge, which we are reſolved to repreſs with ſeverity. Tranſmit to us the public will as to the regulations which are calculated to correct abuſes, the reform of which will be the conſtant object of our ſolicitude. Apply all your attention to prevent the return of that regime of blood, which has coſt us ſo many tears, and with which our wretched ſubjects are ſtill menaced. Direct the choice they are about to make, towards men of worth, friends of order and peace, who are at the ſame time incapable of betraying the dignity of the French name, and whoſe virtues, intelligence, and courage, may help us to reſtore happineſs to our people. Promiſe rewards proportioned to their ſervices, to the military of every rank, and to the members of the adminiſtrations who ſhall co-operate towards the re-eſtabliſhment of religion, laws, and the legitimate authority.—But, in the re-eſtabliſhment of them, avoid the employment of the atrocious means which were practiſed to overthrow them. Expect from the public opinion a ſucceſs which it alone can render ſolid and durable; or, if it ſhould be neceſſary to have recourſe to force of arms, do not at leaſt employ this cruel force until the laſt extremity, and to give it a juſt and neceſſary ſupport.

Frenchmen! all the documents you may meet with in conformity to theſe ſentiments, we ſhall glory in avowing. If any ſhould be preſented to you in which you ſhould not recognize theſe characters, reject them as the production of liars; they are not in conformity with our heart.

Given on the 10th of March, of the year of grace 1797, and of our reign the ſecond.

(Signed) LOUIS.

Proclamation intended to have been iſſued previous to the Entrance of Louis XVIII. *into* Paris.

Louis the XVIII. to all Frenchmen.

PROVIDENCE has permitted for the inſtruction of kings, and for the puniſhment of nations, that the monarchy of France ſhould be overturned by a handful of factious men, whoſe conduct has been ſtained by every ſpecies of guilt.

The clergy, the nobility, and all the perſonages of the higheſt diſtinction

tinction and probity, have been either perfecuted, exiled, or maſſacred.—Our auguſt brother, and a part of his family, have been the victims of this cruel tyranny.

Frenchmen, your hearts are now opened and ſoftened. They are returned to thoſe ſentiments of love for their king which have ever diſtinguiſhed them beyond all other nations; they have recognized our ſacred right to govern them: they have recognized us, in the perſuaſion that we ſhall not ſuffer the diadem on our brow to be diſhonoured.

Yes!—we take the Moſt High to witneſs, that we ſhall forget the faults of our ſubjects who have been miſled by the ſeditious. Far from marking our acceſſion to the throne by any terrible diſplay of vengeance, I ſhall ſhew myſelf like a tender father, who pardons the errors and wanderings of his children. We ſhall pardon with as much pleaſure as our tyrants have found in ſacrificing. The juſtice of God does not reſemble that of men; he alone can read our hearts, and puniſh their hardneſs.

(Signed) LOUIS.

Declaration of the General Adminiſtration of Lombardy.

WHEREAS, notwithſtanding the declaration of neutrality of the Helvetic Republic, the inhabitants of the bailiwicks of Lugano and Belinzona have openly favoured the deſertion of the Auſtrian priſoners; whereas money, boats, and clothes are procured, and roads pointed out to them to join their armies; whereas the magiſtrates permit Auſtrian and Engliſh emiſſaries to reſide in thoſe bailiwicks, from whence they endeavour to diſturb the internal tranquillity of Lombardy; whereas the principal magiſtrate at Lugano has dared to compel by force ſome Lombards who reſided in that town to lay aſide the cockade of the firſt power in Europe, which is the French Republic: in fine, whereas theſe infringements of the neutrality diſplay a tendency hoſtile to the French Republic, and contrary to the good underſtanding which ought to ſubſiſt with Lombardy, the General Adminiſtration reſolves as follows:

1ſt. All the inhabitants of the bailiwicks of Belinzona and Lugano, who ſhall appear on the territory of Lombardy unprovided with paſſports of the Lombard conſtituted authorities, ſhall immediately be arreſted as ſuſpected perſons, conducted beyond the frontiers, and, ſhould they return again, be treated as ſpies of the hoſtile powers, and judged by martial law.

2d. All the Swiſs barges, on board of which Auſtrian deſerters ſhall be found, are to be confiſcated, and their maſters judged by military law as perſons recruiting for the enemy.

3d. As long as the agents of Auſtria, eſpecially one Andreazzi, calling himſelf an imperial commiſſioner, ſhall not be baniſhed from thoſe countries, the importation of corn from Lombardy ſhall be prohibited.

Buonaparte, *General in Chief of the Army of* Italy, *to the People of* Carinthia.

General Quarters at Clagenfurt, *April* 1ſt.

THE French army does not come into your country to conquer it, nor to effect any change in your religion,

religion, manners, or cuſtoms. It is the friend of all nations, and particularly of the brave people of Germany.

The Executive Directory of the French Republic have ſpared no pains to bring to a termination the calamities which deſolate the Continent. Reſolved to be foremoſt in the accompliſhment of this plan, they ſent General Clarke to Vienna, as a plenipotentiary, to commence negotiations for peace; but the court of Vienna refuſed to hearken to them: it has even been declared at Vicenza, through the medium of M. St. Vincent, that it did not acknowledge the French republic. General Clarke demanded a paſſport, to go to ſpeak to the emperor himſelf; but the miniſters of the court of Vienna dreaded, with reaſon, that the moderation of the propoſitions which he was charged to make, would influence the emperor to conclude a peace. Theſe miniſters, corrupted by Engliſh gold, betrayed Germany and their prince, and are as reluctant to negotiation as the perfidious iſlanders who are the horror of all Europe.

Inhabitants of Carinthia! I know it, you deteſt, as much as us, both the Engliſh, who are the only gainers by the exiſting warfare, and your miniſter, who is ſold to them.

If we have been at war for ſix years, it is contrary to the wiſhes of the brave Hungarians, of the enlightened citizens of Vienna, and of the ſimple but honeſt citizens of Carinthia.

No matter! In ſpite of England, and the miniſters of the court of Vienna, we are friends. The French republic aſſures to you the rights of conqueſt; let them diſappear before the contract by which we are reciprocally bound. You will not join in a conteſt which is contrary to your ſentiments. You will furniſh the proviſions which we may want. On my part, I ſhall protect your religion, your manners, and your property. I ſhall not exact from you any contribution. Is not the war of itſelf deteſtable enough? Have you not already ſuffered too much, you who are the innocent victims of others folly? The impoſitions which you have been accuſtomed to pay to the emperor, will indemnify you for the inevitable loſſes attending the march of an army, and the proviſions with which you will furniſh us.

Proclamation relative to the Diſturbances in the Venetian *Territory.*

THE conduct of the republic of Venice, during the commotions in Europe, has always been, and ſtill remains, ſo perfectly neutral and friendly towards all the belligerent powers, that the Senate did not imagine it neceſſary to give the leaſt attention to the evil-diſpoſed who pretended to queſtion their ſincerity; but, as theſe malignant enemies of the republic have diſſeminated the vileſt ſlanders againſt the ſincerity of the peaceable diſpoſition of the republic, in a fabricated proclamation, dated Verona, March 22, in which expreſſions injurious to the French republic are attributed to the Proveditori Battagia, the republic of Venice feels itſelf under the neceſſity of declaring that proclamation forged, and of warning all its faithful ſubjects not to be deceived by ſuch ſlanders, or induced to ſuppoſe that its

its friendſhip towards the republic of France is in the leaſt changed. The ſenate entertains no doubt that the French nation will treat ſuch calumnies with the contempt they deſerve, and repoſe that confidence in the republic of Venice which it has merited by its irreproachable conduct.

Manifeſto of General Buonaparte *againſt* Venice.

Head Quarters, Palma Nova, 14 Floreal (May 13).

WHILST the French army was engaged in the defiles of Styria, and left far behind them Italy and the principal eſtabliſhments of the army, where only a ſmall number of battalions remained, this was the conduct of the government of Venice:—1. They profited of paſſion-week, to arm 40,000 peaſants, uniting them with ten regiments of Sclavonians, organized them into different corps, and ſent them to different points, to intercept all kind of communication between the army and the places in the rear.—2. Extraordinary commiſſaries, guns, ammunition of all kinds, and a great quantity of cannon, were ſent from Venice even to complete the organization of different corps of the army.—3. All perſons in the Terra Firma who had received us favourably, were arreſted; benefits and the confidence of the government were heaped upon all thoſe who poſſeſſed a furious hatred to the French name, and eſpecially the fifteen conſpirators of Verona, whom the Proveditori Prioli had arreſted three months ago, as having premeditated the maſſacre of the French.—4. In the ſquares, coffee-houſes, and other public places of Venice, all Frenchmen were inſulted, treated badly, and called by the names of jacobins, regicides, atheiſts. The French were to leave Venice, and a ſhort time afterwards it was prohibited to them even to enter it.—5. The people of Padua, Vicenza and Verona, were ordered to take up arms, to ſecond the different corps of the army, and to begin at length thoſe new Sicilian veſpers. It belongs, ſaid the Venetian officers, to the Lion of St. Mark to verify the proverb,—that Italy is the tomb of the French.—6. The prieſts in the pulpit preached the cruſade; and the prieſts in the ſtate of Venice never ſpeak any thing but the will of the government. Pamphlets, perfidious proclamations, anonymous letters, were printed in the different towns, and began to agitate the minds of all; in a ſtate where the liberty of the preſs is not permitted, in a government as much feared as it is ſecretly deteſted, printers print, and authors write, nothing but what the ſenate pleaſe.—7. All ſmiled at firſt at the perfidious project of the government. The French blood flowed on all ſides. On all the roads, our convoys, our couriers, and every thing reſpecting the army, were intercepted.—8. At Padua a chief of a battalion and two other Frenchmen were arreſted. At Caſtiglione de Mori our ſoldiers were diſarmed and aſſaſſinated. On all the great roads from Mantua to Legnano, from Caſſano to Verona, we had more than two hundred men aſſaſſinated.—9. Two French battalions, wiſhing to join the army, met at Chiari with a diviſion of the Venetian army, which attempted to oppoſe their paſſage: an obſtinate conflict took place, and our brave ſoldiers

ſoldiers cut a paſſage for themſelves, by putting theſe perfidious enemies to the rout.—10. At Valeggio there was another battle; at Deſſennago another. The French were every-where the weakeſt in numbers; but they know well that the number of the enemy's battalions is never counted when they are compoſed only of aſſaſſins.—11. The ſecond feaſt in Eaſter, at the ringing of the bell, all the French were aſſaſſinated in Verona. Neither the ſick in the hoſpitals were reſpected, nor thoſe who, in a ſtate of convaleſcence, were walking in the ſtreets, and were thrown into the Adige, where they died, pierced with a thouſand wounds from ſtilettoes. More than four hundred French were aſſaſſinated.—12. For a week the Venetian army beſieged the three caſtles of Verona. The cannon which were placed on the battery were carried at the point of the bayonet. The town was ſet on fire, and the moveable column that arrived in the interim, put theſe cowards to complete rout, by taking three thouſand of the enemy priſoners, among whom were ſeveral Venetian generals.—13. The houſe of the French conſul to Zante was burnt in Dalmatia.—14. A Venetian ſhip of war took an Auſtrian convoy under its protection, and fired ſeveral ſhot at the corvettee *la Brune*.—15. The *Liberateur d'Italie*, a veſſel of the republic, with only three or four ſmall pieces of cannon, and a crew of forty men, was ſunk in the very port of Venice, and by order of the ſenate. The young and intrepid Haugier, lieutenant and commander of the ſaid ſhip, as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf attacked by the fire of the fort and the admiral's galley, being from both not more than piſtol-ſhot, ordered his crew to go below. He alone got upon the deck, in the midſt of a ſtorm of grape-ſhot, and endeavoured, by his ſpeeches, to diſarm the fury of his aſſaſſins; but he fell dead. His crew threw themſelves into the ſea to ſwim, and were purſued by ſix ſhallops, with troops on board, in the pay of Venice, who cut to pieces ſeveral that fought for ſafety in the open ſea. One of the maſters, with ſeveral wounds, and bleeding in every part, had the good fortune to reach the ſhore, near the caſtle of the port; but the commandant himſelf cut off his hand with an axe.

On account of the above-mentioned grievances, and authorized by the 22d title, article 328, of the conſtitution of the republic, and on account of the urgency of affairs, the general in chief requires the French miniſter to the republic of Venice to leave the ſaid city; directs the different agents of the republic of Venice in Lombardy, and the Venetian Terra Firma, to quit it in twenty-four hours; directs the different generals of diviſions to treat as enemies the troops of the republic of Venice, and to pull down, in the towns of the Terra Firma, the Lion of St. Mark. Every one will receive, in the orders of the day to-morrow, a particular inſtruction reſpecting ulterior operations.

BUONAPARTE.

Proclamation of General Buonaparte.

Head Quarters, Monte Bello, 11th Meſſidor, 5th year.

THE Ciſalpine republic was for many years under the dominion of the

the houſe of Auſtria. The French republic ſucceeded it by the right of conqueſt. It now renounces this right, and the Ciſalpine republic is free and independent. Recognized by France and the emperor, it will ſoon be equally acknowledged by the reſt of Europe. The executive directory of the French republic, not content with employing its influence, and the victories of the republican armies, to ſecure the political exiſtence of the Ciſalpine republic, extends its care ſtill further; and convinced that, if liberty be the firſt of bleſſings, the revolution which attends it is the greateſt of evils, it has given to the Ciſalpine people their peculiar conſtitution, reſulting from the wiſdom of the moſt enlightened nation. From a military regime the Ciſalpine people paſs to a conſtitutional one. That this tranſition ſhould experience no ſhock, nor be expoſed to anarchy, the executive directory has thought proper to nominate, for the preſent, the members of the government and the legiſlative body; ſo that the people ſhould after the lapſe of one year, have the election to the vacant places, in conformity to the conſtitution. For a great number of years there exiſted no republic in Italy. The ſacred fire of liberty was extinguiſhed, and the fineſt part of Europe was under the yoke of ſtrangers. It belongs to the Ciſalpine republic to ſhew to the world by its wiſdom, its energy, and the organization of its armies, that modern Italy is not degenerated, and is ſtill worthy of liberty.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

Ordinance publiſhed at Verona *on the 8th of Auguſt*, 1797.

WHEREAS citizen George Giuſti continues, notwithſtanding repeated admonitions, to revile the popular government and equality; and inſtead of ſtyling himſelf citizen, aſſumes the title of count; ſince he daily boaſts to his ſervants that he is of one of the beſt families in Rome; and, what is much worſe, continually inveighs againſt the popular government; the ſaid citizen George Giuſti is hereby ſentenced to pay 100 ſequins; which money ſhall be appropriated to erect a column to liberty in the Green-Market. This ſentence ſhall be read to citizen Giuſti in the preſence of all his ſervants and domeſtics, by the ſecretary of the municipality, to inſtruct the whole family in the true principles of liberty and equality.

Approved by General Verdier, French Commandant in the province of Verona.

Letter of General Buonaparte *to the Chief of the Maniotes, dated Milan, 12th Thermidor, (July 30th.)*

THE council of the French republic at Trieſte has acquainted me with the attention your lordſhip had ſhewn in ſending a deputation to intimate to me the deſire you had to ſee in your ports ſome French veſſels, and to be in any reſpect uſeful to the brave French ſoldiers of the army of Italy.

The French eſteem the ſmall but gallant Maniote people, who alone of ancient Greece have preſerved their liberty. In all the circumſtances which may occur, they ſhall ever

ever give proofs of their protection, and a particular care to favour their veſſels and their citizens.

I beg your lordſhip to receive with kindneſs the bearers of this, who have the ſtrongeſt deſire to ſee more nearly the worthy deſcendants of Sparta, who, to be as renowned as their anceſtors, wanted only to appear on a larger theatre.

The firſt time that any of your relations have occaſion to viſit Italy, I beg you to recommend them to me. I ſhall feel a real pleaſure in giving marks of the eſteem which I entertain for you and your compatriots.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

Buonaparte *to the Proviſional Government of the* Ciſalpine *Republic.*

"*Milan*, 21 *Brumaire (Nov.* 11.)

"BY the 1ſt of Frimaire, your conſtitution ought to be in full activity. Your directory, your legiſlature, your tribunal of appeal, and every inferior adminiſtration ſhould then be completely organized. You are the firſt example in hiſtory of a people who have become free without factions, without revolutions, and without civil broils. We have given you liberty; learn to preſerve it. Next to France, you are the moſt populous and the richeſt republic in the univerſe. You are called by your poſition to perform a great part in the affairs of Europe. To become worthy of your deſtiny, you muſt enact wiſe and moderate laws. Cauſe them to be executed with force and energy. Favour the progreſs of knowledge, and reſpect religion. Form your battalions, not of men without principle, but of citizens who cheriſh republican ſentiments, and who are warmly attached to the proſperity of the ſtate. In general, you do not ſufficiently feel the extent of your own ſtrength, nor the dignity which belongs to freemen. Divided and bowed down for ſo many ages by tyranny, you were not able to conquer liberty for yourſelves; but in a few years no power on earth will be able to tear it from you. Until that period ſhall arrive, the great nation will protect you againſt the attacks of your neighbours. Its political ſyſtem will be connected with yours. Had the Roman people made the ſame uſe of their power that the French have done, their eagles would ſtill have remained on the capitol, and eighteen centuries of ſlavery and deſpotiſm would not have diſgraced mankind. With the ſole view of conſolidating your liberty, and promoting your happineſs, I have done that which has hitherto only been performed in conſequence of ambition and the love of power. I have filled up a number of places. In doing ſo, I was doubtleſs liable to overlook the worthy citizen, and to prefer the intriguer: but there would have been much inconvenience in leaving theſe nominations at that time to the people; you were not then organized. I leave you in a few days. The orders of my government, or imminent danger to the Ciſalpine republic, can alone bring me again among you. But to whatſoever place the ſervice of my country calls me, I ſhall always feel a lively ſolicitude for the happineſs and the glory of your republic.

BUONAPARTE.

Reſcript addreſſed to his Excellency M. de Fahenberg, *Directorial Miniſter of* Auſtria *at* Ratiſbon, *on the Part of his Majeſty the Emperor and King, dated Feb.* 7, 1797.

HIS Majeſty the Emperor and King, in beholding the prodigious efforts of an enemy who, according to his irreligious and artful ſyſtem, permits himſelf all poſſible means to enſure ſucceſs, and conſidering the hazards attending the fate of arms, has always endeavoured to make the ſtates underſtand how impoſſible it would be for him, without the moſt efficacious aſſiſtance of the whole empire, to reſiſt alone the danger which threatens the conſtitution of the Germanic body with its ruin, and the individual members of the empire with the entire loſs of their poſſeſſions.

The exiſtence of this impending danger had plainly enough manifeſted itſelf, when one of the moſt powerful ſtates of the empire abandoned the common cauſe, to conclude with the enemy a peace which, as it is conjectured, contains ſecret conventions that cannot but be far from favourable to the integrity of the Germanic empire.

Theſe apprehenſions and alarms gained an additional weight when ſeveral Proteſtant princes and ſtates of the empire, following the aforeſaid example, and, in the midſt of a war deliberated by one common accord, did not heſitate to ceaſe co-operating in the defence of the Germanic empire, their country, by acknowledging and admitting the line of demarcation and neutrality. The danger becoming greater every day, his Majeſty ſeveral times appriſed the ſtates of the empire of it, and above all the eccleſiaſtical ſtates: he ſtrove to perſuade them, that their farther exiſtence was threatened; that there were forging ſecretly plans of ſecularization; and that, according to appearances, it was intended not to aſſign any ſort of indemnity to the eccleſiaſtical ſtates, and to force the Germanic empire, divided and incapable of defending itſelf, to accept this ſacrifice as the principal baſis of the conditions of peace, with the concurrence of the French forces, united with the Proteſtant powers dependent on Pruſſia.

Notwithſtanding the accuracy of theſe repreſentations on the part of his Majeſty, they did not however wiſh to own and be convinced of them till now; and by a miſtaken œconomy they would not recur to the only means of ſalvation propoſed by his Majeſty, which were to oppoſe the enemy with all the poſſible forces of the ſtate. At preſent, ſince the projects which the enemies themſelves have manifeſted, have tranſpired by the negotiations of peace entered upon at Paris and rendered public, no perſon will doubt the apprehenſions of his Majeſty having been perfectly well-founded, that the ſecularization of the different eccleſiaſtical ſtates of the empire ſtill continues to make part of the enemy's deſtructive plan; and that, in conſequence, the admonitions of his Majeſty, and his proclamation, particularly to the eccleſiaſtical ſtates, to unite themſelves as cloſely as poſſible with him, were well worthy of their taking the trouble to reflect upon them in time.

The eccleſiaſtical ſtates cannot have failed to obſerve, after an attentive examination of the negotiations for peace opened at Paris, that his Majeſty would not acquieſce

eſce in the plans prejudicial to the empire; that he has each time conſtantly rejected them, and that he has manifeſted that he would not accept of indemnities at the expence of the faithful and patriotic ſtates of the empire; that, on the contrary, he was reſolved rather to hazard all, and to make his laſt efforts, than be forced to it.

His Majeſty expects that, in the face of the imminent and preſſing danger which menaces the eccleſiaſtical ſtates, the electorates, the principalities, and the other ſtates of the empire, they will have nothing more at heart than to deliberate among themſelves upon the means of forming a cloſe union with the auguſt houſe of Auſtria, and of giving ſuccour to his Majeſty in every poſſible manner, by uſing all the forces, all the means, which are in their power, and to ſtrengthen his Majeſty in the generous reſolution of defending with vigour, both during the war and at the concluſion of peace, the rights and the cauſe of the eccleſiaſtical ſtates and the country.

In this confident expectation, the Directorial Archducal embaſſy of Auſtria ſhall poſitively demand, that the contingents of all the ſtates of the empire which expect any farther aſſiſtance from the imperial and royal court, be furniſhed as ſpeedily as poſſible, complete, according to the quintuple proportion, and provided with all the military ſtores, as likewiſe the diſcharge of the arrears ſtill due in Roman months, &c. in order that, at the opening of the enſuing campaign, where it will be required to act with all poſſible vigour, we may aſcertain in due ſeaſon the effective amount of the troops that will be employed, as well as the other auxiliary means for the vigorous proſecution of the war.

Imperial Reſcript to the Diet of Ratiſbon, *reſpecting the furniſhing of the Quintuple Contingents.*

HIS Majeſty, the Emperor and King, has not ceaſed to endeavour to convince the ſtates of the empire during the preſent war, that the vigorous ſupport of the united empire is required to avert the danger which threatens the Germanic conſtitution with total ſubverſion. This danger became the more manifeſt, ſince ſeveral princes of the empire entered into ſeparate negotiations with the French republic, and by ſo doing exempted themſelves from all further active co-operation for the defence of Germany. The apprehenſions which his imperial majeſty has ſo frequently expreſſed, that, to all appearances, there would be propoſed plans for ſecularizing ſeveral eccleſiaſtical ſtates of the empire as fundamental terms of peace, have been confirmed by the negotiations lately entered into at Paris; and the eccleſiaſtical ſtates of the empire cannot but have remarked his majeſty's total averſion to conſent to a plan ſo deſtructive to the empire, and to an indemnity at the expence of his patriotic co-eſtates; and that his imperial majeſty would rather venture every extreme than ſuffer ſuch conditions to be forced upon him.

His majeſty, therefore, expects, on the other hand, that as the danger becomes hourly more imminent, the ſtates of the empire will moſt ſpeedily unite, and by exerting their utmoſt efforts, procure all poſſible

aid and ſupport, in order to ſecond his imperial majeſty in the generous reſolution of defending, in the moſt efficient manner, the cauſe of the eccleſiaſtic ſtates of the empire, both in war and at the concluſion of peace. To attain, however, this ſalutary end, the furniſhing of the quintuple contingent is an object of immediate neceſſity.

BARON VON THUGUT.

Vienna, Feb. 6, 1797.

Declaration of the Prince Biſhop of Wurtzburgh, *in Anſwer to the Imperial Reſcript.*

HIS Serene Highneſs the Prince Biſhop of Wurtzburgh entered into the preſent war on the principle of exerting all his powers to ſatisfy in the moſt ſcrupulous manner the concluſa of the empire reſpecting the furniſhing of the contingents and of the Roman months. His ſerene highneſs has long been convinced, that, had the French government ſucceeded, agreeable to the tenor and the views of the treaty of Baſil, to force the imperial court on the banks of the Danube to make peace, the conſequence would have been the overthrow of the Germanic conſtitution, which muſt have been ſubſcribed to in that caſe; the eccleſiaſtical elective ſtates would alſo have fallen, and by their fall that of other ſtates would have been prepared.

His ſerene highneſs has never ſanctioned any unconſtitutional meaſure with his conſent; he has ſupported at all times the common cauſe with all his power, and will alſo ſtrive in future to prove his unchangeable attachment to the Houſe of Auſtria. No arrears for Roman months are therefore due from his highneſs. And in order to complete his quintuple contingent, a conſiderable levy of recruits has already been ordered, and will take the field, provided with all neceſſaries, at the beginning of this campaign. His highneſs has ſupplied the imperial army with fruits, to the amount of 648,205 florins; with wood, worth 31,131 florins; waggons, at the rate of 20,753; which, including ſome other articles of expenditure, will occaſion a loſs of 300,000 florins for the dioceſe of Wurtzburgh alone.

In other reſpects, his highneſs the prince biſhop is convinced, that there actually exiſts in Germany a powerful confederation of the proteſtant princes, who have reſolved beforehand, to do nothing more to ſerve the common cauſe; but his highneſs has no doubt that, on the other hand, all the Catholic, eſpecially the eccleſiaſtical elective princes, unanimouſly agree in the main point of doing every thing for the common cauſe, and are already united with the imperial court; his highneſs, at leaſt, owns ſuch a connexion for his own part, and is prepared to ſuffer all the viciſſitudes which this covenant may hereafter produce, and which cannot but turn out to be conſolatory and remunerating to the fortitude and the pure policy of the imperial court. His highneſs, with the reſt of his eccleſiaſtical co-ſtates, is ready to enter into a more explicit and confidential engagement with his imperial majeſty upon that ſubject, which he expects with gratitude.

Wurtzburgh, Feb. 15, 1797.

Note delivered by M. de Weckaſovich, *Chargé d'Affaires of* Ruſſia, *to the Electoral Circle, and that of the Upper Rhine.*

ALTHOUGH, in the actual circumſtances, the emperor, my auguſt maſter, thinks it not neceſſary to put the reſolution of the late empreſs, his auguſt mother, into execution,—his imperial majeſty will nevertheleſs not remain leſs faithful and inviolably attached to the alliances and obligations entered into in reſpect to the preſent war; and his Majeſty is firmly reſolved to ſupport them in all their integrity.

The conſiderations, the intereſt, and ſolicitude which the emperor will not ceaſe to take for the well-being of the German empire, can but determine his majeſty to exhort the ſtates and members compoſing that body, to act in common concert with his majeſty the Roman emperor, and to fulfil, towards their ſupreme head, thoſe duties which the conſtitution has preſcribed, and on which the ſalvation and tranquillity of the empire depends.

Jan. 11, 1797.

Reſcript, publiſhed by Order of the King of Pruſſia *reſpecting the* Pruſſian *Territories on the Left Bank of the Rhine.*

Frederic William II, &c.

WE having been informed, that an opinion has been propagated through a part of our ſtate of Weſtphalia, ſituated on the left bank of the Rhine, to wit, the provinces of Cleves, Meurs, and Guelders, in the actual poſſeſſion of the French troops, that ſufficient remonſtrances and proteſtations had not been made on our part againſt the various innovations and oppreſſions which the French commiſſaries and agents exerciſe over our faithful ſubjects; we have therefore thought it good to make this public declaration, by means of our regency, jointly with our chamber of war and of territory; and we do publicly declare, that we have never ceaſed, nor ſhall we ever ceaſe, to intereſt ourſelves in behalf of our ſaid ſubjects, by the intervention of our envoy, to the French republic; and that it is far from our intention to depart from the baſis of the treaty of Baſle, reſpecting the civil or financial adminiſtration of thoſe countries.

In concluding the treaty by which the war between our ſtate and the French republic was put an end to, it was never our intention to grant them more than a mere military poſſeſſion of our provinces on the left ſide of the Rhine, till peace ſhould be concluded with the emperor; and this intention, which has been taken as a baſis in the negotiations, is ſufficiently manifeſt by the tenor of the 5th article, which expreſsly declares, "that the troops of the republic ſhall occupy theſe countries belonging to us."

The difference between provinces conquered from an enemy, and thoſe which belong to a power in alliance, and which have been merely conceded for a temporary military occupation, is ſufficiently evident, and it is obvious that they ought not to be treated in the ſame manner.

It is therefore impoſſible for us to believe that the French government, conſidering the amicable ties

ſubſiſting between us and it, will ſtill oppoſe ſuch evident reaſoning. It cannot fail to conceive, that neither ſequeſtration nor confiſcation of the goods of the clergy, nor the projected ſale of woods, nor the enormous contribution of three millions, impoſed on the country between the Meuſe and the Rhine, which would entirely ruin that country, can take place with any regard to appearance of juſtice.

It has already in effect given our envoy at Paris the moſt poſitive aſſurance, that the meaſures taken with reſpect to the clergy ſhould be put an end to, and that the eccleſiaſtics ſhould remain in quiet enjoyment of their goods and revenues. We therefore conſtantly expect the revocation of the order for the ſale of woods, and, in general, a renunciation of all thoſe deſtructive innovations relative to our dominions.

We ſhall not by any means recognize as valid the ſale of woods, which have already taken place to our great aſtoniſhment; and we are poſitively determined to have recourſe to the purchaſers for reſtitution in kind, or for the value at which the property ſold ſhall be eſtimated by our agents, and for the damages which ſhall reſult from the waſte committed on theſe woods.

In thoſe caſes, where the purchaſers cannot be found, we ſhall exerciſe our ſeverity on all thoſe who are employed by theſe laſt for cutting and carrying wood. We, in conſequence, exhort our faithful ſubjects of the ſaid provinces to remain aſſured of our laſting and efficacious protection, and to wait with confidence for the return of that ancient order of things, ſo highly to be deſired.

At Weſel, in our chamber of war and territory, 29th December, 1796, in the name and on the behalf of his majeſty.

BARON DE STEIN, firſt preſident.

Given at Emmeric, in our regency, the 29th December, 1796, in the name and on the behalf of his majeſty.

ELBERS.

Letter of Convocation addreſſed to the Plenipotentiary Envoys of the Aſſociated States of Northern Germany, *by* Von Dohm, *the Pruſſian Miniſter.*

THE underſigned is charged, by the expreſs command of the king of Pruſſia, his moſt gracious ſovereign, to make the following overtures to all their excellencies the plenipotentiaries of the aſſociated ſtates of Northern Germany, delegated to aſſemble in convention at Hildeſheim. The general concerns of Germany, with regard to the continuance of the war, ſtill remain in a moſt undecided condition, and the conſolatory hope of a general peace, ſo devoutly to be wiſhed, remains as yet uncertain and remote to the laſt degree, ſince the negotiations entered upon for that purpoſe may, alas! produce a farther and more obſtinate war, rather than bring about its final concluſion. In this perplexing ſituation, it certainly is a happineſs which Northern Germany cannot ſufficiently praiſe, to ſee itſelf entirely freed, not only from the miſeries of this ravaging war, but alſo from all the inconveniencies connected with it, ſuch as the requiſitions of the belligerent powers, the paſſage and marches of troops, and many other ſimilar burdens. It needs but a ſlight comparative glance at the moſt piteous ſtate

ſtate of the countries of ſouthern Germany, formerly flouriſhing, and now ruined for a long time to come, in order to feel, in its whole extent, the happineſs of the northern parts, which have, for the two laſt campaigns, enjoyed the moſt perfect tranquillity.

The king is fully convinced, that it can be unknown to none of his co-ſtates, who participate in this bleſſing, that it is the mere reſult of the indefatigable exertions of his majeſty, by which he has laid a ſafe foundation for the neutrality of northern Germany, and moſt effectively protected it by a corps of his own troops, and of thoſe of the two allied courts. His majeſty has further conſolidated this neutrality, by the formal acceſſion of his ſerene highneſs the elector of Saxony, in virtue of a ſupplementary article added to the convention of the 5th of Auguſt, 1796, by which a line of demarcation, extending from the utmoſt coaſts of the North Sea to the Lower Rhine, and from thence to Sileſia, encompaſſed the whole north of Germany. The two aſſociations in this vaſt extent of territory muſt remain ſeparate, with reſpect to the maintenance of the troops drawn out to cover their neutrality, which is done in Upper Saxony by a corps belonging to the elector himſelf; but with regard to their common deſign, they join hands, and by this enlargement, effected by his majeſty, the neutrality of northern Germany receives a new and manifeſt importance.

The king is likewiſe firmly reſolved to ſecure farther, and until the concluſion of the war, the full enjoyment of the neutrality to all the aſſociated ſtates, to protect them and their territories againſt every power, and to defend them in particular, at all times, and in the moſt effectual and powerful manner, againſt the incurſions of the troops of the belligerent powers, againſt each and every demand of military requiſitions, of whatever ſort, and the levying of thoſe requiſitions which might be attempted by execution, and againſt all ſimilar burdens of war; likewiſe to ſcreen them by his moſt forcible interpoſition, during the period of this neutrality, from all the ſubſequent demands of ſupplies for the war of the empire.

The underſigned is expreſsly inſtructed to give once more theſe definite and explicit aſſurances. It affords infinite pleaſure to his majeſty to have thus ſecured the invaluable benefits of the neutrality to all his co-ſtates, connected with his dominions by their topographical locality; in the ſame manner as it has been done to his own territories, and to have thus given them ſo ſtrong a proof of his friendly ſentiments. Beſides the gratifying conſciouſneſs of having hitherto accompliſhed this happy end, his majeſty requires no other proof of gratitude on the part of his co-ſtates, than that they ſhould continue, as heretofore, to co-operate in the maintenance of the troops. The king flatters himſelf the more to find the moſt perfect readineſs on their part, ſince the burden which will ariſe from this meaſure to the countries thus protected, does not bear the moſt diſtant compariſon with the manifold evils, and the probable and entire ruin averted from them, eſpecially ſince the two courts allied with his majeſty, and furniſhing troops in a like manner,

make the major part of the ſacrifices required for that end. This latter circumſtance muſt ſtrike all the aſſociated ſtates with the moſt perfect conviction that the continuance of thoſe meaſures will not be prolonged a ſingle moment beyond the period of their indiſpenſable neceſſity. But the underſigned has his majeſty's direct commands to declare, in the moſt poſitive manner, that his majeſty deems the continuance of thoſe meaſures abſolutely neceſſary for the preſent, as he will only find himſelf enabled by the corps of troops which is drawn out, covering the line of demarcation, maintaining farther, in the moſt efficacious manner, the neutrality of the countries ſituate within their precincts, to fulfil the promiſes previouſly given. Yet in this he will not commit himſelf reſpecting thoſe very poſſible events which accompany the viciſſitudes of the fortune of war. But whereas the king is under the neceſſity of ſetting boundaries to the great ſacrifices he has already made; and whereas the concurrence farther demanded of the protected countries for the maintenance of the troops who defend them, is ſo extremely juſt and equitable, the underſigned has alſo expreſs orders herewith to declare, that in the unexpected caſe of the majority of the ſtates not diſplaying the neceſſary zeal and alacrity, his majeſty will forthwith withdraw his troops, renounce entirely all the obligations which he has voluntarily taken upon him from motives of patriotiſm; ſuppreſs totally the convention made for that purpoſe with the French republic, and confine himſelf ſolely to the defence of his own dominions, abandoning all the reſt to their own means and reſources, and making known his intention to the belligerent powers. Should ſuch a reſolution once be taken, and the corps be withdrawn, no circumſtance, of what complexion ſoever, ſhall induce his majeſty to recur again to the adoption of ſimilar meaſures; and the underſigned is obliged to announce before-hand, that his majeſty will at no rate intereſt himſelf again in the fate of thoſe of his co-ſtates who ſhall not now accept of the friendly proffer of protection, made with ſo much friendſhip, and ſo many perſonal ſacrifices.

The coldneſs which has for ſome time paſt been manifeſted from various quarters, reſpecting the maintenance of the troops, has induced his majeſty to authorize the underſigned to make this frank and explicit declaration, and to give the well-meant warning not to ſuffer themſelves to be deceived by the hope of a ſpeedy peace, but rather to rely upon the ſufficiently public-ſpirited and patriotic ſentiments of the king, and his majeſty's knowledge of the general ſituation of public affairs, and to entertain the firm confidence that his majeſty would certainly, and with great pleaſure to his co-ſtates, ſave the burdens required by the maintenance of the troops, if there was the leaſt poſſibility of ſecuring to their territories the benefits of the neutrality, and all the advantages which have hitherto accrued from it, without ſuch a meaſure.

That, however, the ſaving of the burdens occaſioned by the maintenance of the troops, according to the general ſituation of affairs, being impoſſible, and his majeſty deeming it abſolutely neceſſary to preſerve

preſerve the corps of obſervation till the concluſion of a peace, if the tranquillity and neutrality of northern Germany are to be maintained, his majeſty doubts not but all his aſſociated co-ſtates will ſhew their readineſs for that purpoſe, in the maintenance of the troops, diſplay proper zeal in a meaſure ſo cloſely connected with ſelf-preſervation, and render practicable the farther execution of the beneficent deſigns of his majeſty.

With this confidence, the underſigned, by ſupreme command, has the honour to make known to you, &c. &c.

[Here follow two articles, ſpecifying the ſupplies to be granted, for three months longer, in flour, oats, hay, and ſtraw, for the Pruſſian, Hanoverian, and Brunſwick troops, at two different periods, viz. the 15th inſtant; and the 1ſt of April. In order to ſecure the ſubſiſtence of the troops in future, the ſtates of northern Germany are to meet in convention at Hildeſheim on the 20th inſtant, or to ſend plenipotentiaries to regulate the quotas of ſupplies, in neceſſaries or in money, for as long as the war may laſt.]

As thoſe deliberations (in convention at Hildeſheim) will preclude all ſubjects not eſſentially and directly relating to the maintenance of the troops, the underſigned will loſe no time to terminate them with the utmoſt ſpeed, and not to detain the plenipotentiaries a moment longer than ſhall be neceſſary from following their other affairs. The flattering confidence with which the underſigned has hitherto been honoured in the late negotiations, makes him equally confident that his zeal and activity will be entirely depended upon in that buſineſs. He has only moſt urgently to requeſt that, for the ſake of diſpatch, the ſtates may furniſh their plenipotentiaries with full inſtructions for the purpoſe, which has been thus plainly notified, in order not to waſte time in ſending for new ones, but that the neceſſary reſolutions may be taken, not only for the farther ſubſtantial regulation of the maintenance, but for the obligatory aſſent to the ſame to the end of the war.

The underſigned has it likewiſe in command to requeſt, that their excellencies the plenipotentiaries may arrange matters in ſuch a manner as not to quit the convention till the ſtate of affairs ſhall permit its ſuſpenſion or concluſion, ſince the gradual departure of many plenipotentiaries has formerly occaſioned a precipitate ſuſpenſion of the firſt convention, which has been highly prejudicial to the diſpatching of buſineſs. His majeſty will alſo conſider the fulfilment of this wiſh, and the infallible meeting of the convention, according as it is expected to meet, as a gratifying proof that his ſerene co-ſtates wiſh to do juſtice to his efforts and ſacrifices.

And the underſigned alſo looks forward for the deſired anſwer reſpecting the fourth ſending of ſupplies, before the expiration of the preſent month; and hopes to have the honour and pleaſure to ſee again their excellencies the plenipotentiaries at the ſecond opening of the convention, on February 20.

(Signed) DOHM.

Halberſtadt, Jan. 4, 1797.

Cleves,

Cleves, 14 *Nivoſe* (*Jan.* 3.)

The Adminiſtrators of the Cantons of Cleves, *and* Xanten *to the Inhabitants of the ſaid Cantons.*

Citizens,

THE director-general of the conquered countries between the Meuſe and the Rhine, having the entire adminiſtration of thoſe countries, could not ſee without the greateſt ſurpriſe the order of the royal chamber of war and domains of Weſel, and of the regency of Emmerick, dated the 29th of December (O. S.) which forbids the cutting down of wood ſold, under the penalty of reſtitution and repriſal.

We ſhould be eſſentially wanting in the diſcharge of our duties and obedience, if we ſuffered other authorities to interfere in the adminiſtrative affairs of our cantons, without having previouſly received a formal order from our ſuperiors.

You have ſeen ſeveral times ordinances emanating from thoſe authorities; you have ſeen alſo that the French government has not, on that account, diſcontinued the direction of Pruſſian as well as of other countries. Do not doubt that they ſtill continue it; you will, perhaps, be convinced of it when you ſhall pay attention to the manner in which the ordinances have been communicated. We appeal to the members of thoſe chambers, if a foreign authority were to intimate orders to them, would not they ſay, with reaſon, "We have a ſovereign; it is only to him that we owe obedience;" and would not they continue their functions without paying any attention to the order? We are therefore, determined, citizens, to maintain with firmneſs all the operations undertaken, or to be undertaken, in the name of the government which we repreſent, and to puniſh exemplarily all thoſe who ſhall ſhew any diſobedience in any manner whatever. But you have already given us ſufficient marks of your obedience, to make us believe that we ſhall not be forced to have recourſe to ſuch extremities.

(Signed) WASSEINEL. SEIDA.

Declaration publiſhed by the Pruſſian Government *at* Weſel.

THE royal chamber of war and domains has learned, with ſurpriſe, from ſeveral quarters on the other ſide of the Rhine, that the French agents inſiſt not only upon the payment of the firſt inſtalment of the contribution of 3,000,000, but that a fixed number of men are alſo to be put in requiſition, to cut down the wood deſtined to be ſold. And whereas an edict, publiſhed by the king's ſupreme command, in that part of the country, declares ſuch a proceeding unlawful, and contrary to the treaty of peace concluded at Baſle; the Magiſtrates of Xanten can by no means be farther authorized to make payments of a ſimilar deſcription, and to do actions directly in oppoſition to his majeſty's royal intention. There is no doubt but the French agents, upon a maturer inveſtigation of the matter, will be of the ſame opinion; and the magiſtrates of Xanten need to be the leſs afraid of compulſion by military execution, which would render the French agent reſponſible, ſince we are informed that the orders of the directory at Paris, purporting that the royal Pruſſian provinces ſhall be exempted from

all farther requiſitions and contributions, are already arrived at Aix la Chapelle.

(Signed) SEIMBURGER,
VON BERNOTH,
WULFING.

Done at Weſel, in the Royal Chamber of War and Domains, January 6th, 1797.

Proviſory Regulations for the Pruſſian Provinces *ſituate on the Left Bank of the Rhine.*

Art. I. ON the 1ſt Germinal, of the fifth year the Republic (March 21, 1797) all the French adminiſtrations, under what denomination ſoever they may have been organized, ſhall entirely ceaſe their functions. In order to replace them, and examine their operations, there ſhall be created an intermediate commiſſion of five members, one of whom ſhall be perpetual preſident. The commiſſion ſhall reſide at Bonn.

II. The ancient conſtitutions, uſages, cuſtoms, laws, and contributions, ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed at the above mentioned period, for the Pruſſian provinces on the left bank of the Rhine. Their magiſtracies, chambers of juſtice, and finances, ſhall reſume, with full right, their functions. The clergy of all orders ſhall remain in the entire poſſeſſion of their property; and no wood ſhall, under any pretence, be felled, without a ſpecial and explanatory order from the commander in chief of the French army, called of the Sambre and Meuſe; be it however obſerved that, until farther orders, the authority of the Republic is the only one that ought to be acknowledged in the conquered countries.

III. The intermediate commiſſion ſhall appoint a commiſſioner with the Pruſſian adminiſtrations, whoſe functions ſhall be to watch over the execution of the orders given, either by the commander in chief or by the commiſſion, to receive and tranſmit to the commiſſion the requeſts, either of the adminiſtrations or private individuals; as likewiſe all the inſtructions he may happen to obtain, and to give information to the government reſpecting the conduct adopted by ſome of its former agents in the conquered countries.

IV. Immediately after the inſtallation of the magiſtracies, which ſhall be certified by an authentic act (proces verbal) the chamber of finances of the Pruſſian provinces ſhall order the agents of the former adminiſtrations to give a detailed account of their operations, which it ſhall examine and forward to the intermediate commiſſion, with ſuch remarks as it ſhall think proper to add thereto.

V. The new magiſtrates ſhall correſpond with the intermediate commiſſion on ſuch matters as relate to their adminiſtration; they ſhall addreſs to the commiſſion all the juſt requeſts which they may deem proper to form, and give every month a minute account of their conduct.

VI. The produce of the taxes of the ſaid Pruſſian ſtates, of which the mode of collection ſhall without delay be fixed, as well as the arrears due on the forced loan, ſhall be thrown, without any deduction, into the cheſt of the paymaſter-general of the army, who will give proper receipts.

VII. By virtue of the execution of the preceding article, no requiſition

fition in money or proviſions ſhall be made in the Pruſſian provinces. Should, however, the events of the war, or other circumſtances, render neceſſary a ſupply of proviſions or cattle; or ſhould the want of ſpecie oblige the perſons paying contributions to acquit themſelves in articles of daily conſumption, the proviſions ſhall be received at the prices hereafter mentioned, and in defalcation of the taxes, namely, a quintal of wheat, nine livres; a quintal of rye, barley, or ſpelt, ſix livres; a ſack of oats, of ſix Pariſian buſhels, ſix livres; a quintal of hay, two livres five ſous; a quintal of ſtraw, one livre; a pound of meat, four ſous ſix deniers.

VIII. The members of the magiſterial corporations, and the bailiffs, who, for any cauſe whatever, may have transferred their reſidence to, or preſerved the ſame on the right bank of the Rhine, are authorized and invited to reſume their charges. In caſe of the demiſe of any member of the chambers, tribunals, or bailiwicks, the intermediate commiſſion is authorized to appoint to the vacant places, perſons recommended as proper objects by the magiſtrates, who are to be immediately reinſtalled.

Theſe preſents, corroborated with the ſeal of command, and delivered to the deputies of the Pruſſian provinces, have been reſolved at Cologne, the 22d Ventoſe, 5th year of the Republic (March 12, 1797.)

The General commanding in chief the army of the Sambre and Meuſe, charged by the executive directory with the general adminiſtration of the conquered countries.

(Signed) LAZARUS HOCHE.

Promulgated at Weſel,
March 18, 1797.

Letter of his Majeſty the King of Great Britain, *to his Majeſty the Emperor.*

"THE letter which your majeſty has been pleaſed to write to me, of the date of the 7th of September laſt, relative to the occupation of the imperial city of Nuremberg, the dependencies of the biſhopric of Eichſtadt, and of the equeſtrian order in Franconia, I conſider as a precious monument of the ſentiments of juſtice and paternal ſolicitude by which your majeſty has evinced how much you have at heart the preſervation of the conſtitution of the empire, and the exact obſervation of its capitulation of election, a circumſtance that muſt contribute to your higheſt honour. I received this letter with a ſentiment of reſpect equal to the gratitude which the gracious confidence of which your majeſty thus gave me a proof had inſpired; accordingly I felt myſelf called upon to beſtow my moſt ſerious attention upon the object there mentioned, and to weigh it with the moſt lively intereſt.

"Your majeſty is perfectly acquainted with the ſentiments which I entertain with regard to the ſupport of the ſyſtem of the empire, and the conſideration due to its laws, as well as the invariable diſpoſitions by which I am led conſtantly to contribute to that object every exertion in my power. I could not overlook the importance and extenſive conſequences of the events in queſtion, and I cannot but applaud the dignified wiſdom of the meaſures which your majeſty has adopted.—Your majeſty has expreſſed a deſire to know my opinion and my thoughts upon this ſubject, and requeſted my interpoſition with the king of Pruſſia. I am perſuaded, in fact, that the electors

electors of the empire, now with his Pruſſian majeſty, in the preſent circumſtances purſue the courſe that is moſt proper, ſince full of confidence in the ſentiments and mode of thinking of this prince, they have good reaſon to conclude that his ſaid majeſty will leave juſtice its free courſe, and will prefer to every thing the maintenance of the lawful poſſeſſors in the enjoyment of their rights. I am convinced, therefore, that I comply with your imperial majeſty's intentions in ſending to his majeſty the king of Pruſſia the letter, a copy of which I do not heſitate to annex. Nothing can be more agreeable to me than to have it in my power to demonſtrate upon every occaſion to your imperial majeſty, the entire and ſincere confidence which I repoſe in you, and thus to ratify the high regard with which I conſtantly am, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE *Rex.*

St. James's, Feb. 7, 1797."

Letter of his Britannic *Majeſty to the King of* Pruſſia.

" THE entire confidence which I entertain in the patriotic ſentiments of your majeſty, as well as the friendſhip which I flatter myſelf your majeſty reciprocally entertains for me, induce me to inform you, without heſitation, that his imperial majeſty had addreſſed to me as elector, a circumſtantial and detailed letter relative to your taking poſſeſſion of the imperial city of Nuremberg, the dependencies of Eichſtadt, and the equeſtrian order, which took place laſt year, on account of the principalities of Brandenbourg in Franconia. His majeſty expreſſed a deſire to know my opinion upon theſe events, and at the ſame time deſired my interpoſition with your majeſty.

" As his imperial majeſty, in the different proceedings which have taken place on this ſubject, is deſirous to diſcharge the duty preſcribed by the capitulation of election in a manner that muſt redound to his higheſt glory, and at the ſame time manifeſt the high conſideration which he entertains for your majeſty; accordingly I conceive that, in my quality of elector, and agreeably to my duties, I cannot and ought not to deny the requeſt of his imperial majeſty.

" I am very far, however, from wiſhing to decide upon the legality of your majeſty's pretenſions, or even to enter into a diſcuſſion of their principles. I ſhall content myſelf with relying upon the wiſdom and knowledge of your majeſty, which cannot overlook any thing connected with the ſyſtem and the conſtitution of the German empire, over the preſervation of which, you are principally called upon to watch, and I ſhall only refer to the noble and generous ſentiments which your majeſty thought proper to preſcribe to yourſelf in the public inſtruction, publiſhed the 27th of March 1792, for the regencies of Anſpach and Bareuth, and on the ſpecific ſubject of the pretenſions and differences which might ariſe in the ſaid principalities.

" Theſe ſentiments and manifeſtations of your majeſty leave me no doubt of your diſpoſition uniformly to ſupport, by conſtitutional means, your pretenſions on your neighbours in Franconia, and of courſe that you will leave your leſs powerful co-eſtates and other proprietors of the empire in the enjoyment of what the

the law ſecures to them, and what you allow to your own ſubjects againſt yourſelf, to wit, their maintenance and re-eſtabliſhment in a legal and inconteſtible poſſeſſion.

"In thus teſtifying with pleaſure my entire confidence in your majeſty, I take this opportunity to renew the aſſurances of the perfect eſteem with which I am, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE *Rex.*

St. James's, Feb. 7, 1797."

Subſtance of a Letter addreſſed by the Elector of Saxony *to his Majeſty the King of* Pruſſia, *relative to the late Differences ſubſiſting between that Monarch and his Neighbours in* Franconia.

FAR from meaning to decide upon, or to call in queſtion the validity of the pretenſions of your majeſty to the rights of ſovereignty, which, in later times, have been enjoyed by ſeveral of your neighbours in Franconia, reputed, in conſequence, to be members of the equeſtrian order of the empire, I think it my duty to ſuppoſe, from the known equity of your majeſty, that you will not determine to aſſume theſe rights without impartially examining your pretenſions, and that all the ſteps which are taken reſpecting the principalities of Franconia have been directed by juſtice, and a deſire to pave a way (for you and your electoral houſe, and for the advantage of the ſubjects of Franconia, ſuffering from the differences that have ariſen reſpecting the ſovereignty) which may lead to a diſtinct and amicable conciliation of all their reſpective rights. Your majeſty, however, is too enlightened not to be convinced, that, after all the laws which have been made, pretenſions to rights which are not united with the poſſeſſion muſt be previouſly referred to the judge, and decided, in order to be able to come at the enjoyment of them; and that the arbitrary depoſing of him who is actually in poſſeſſion, cannot be approved by any one. In truth, it cannot be doubted, that if your majeſty had employed meaſures of negotiation with the different powers, it was much to be feared that the buſineſs would not have been ſpeedily terminated and arranged. But this conſideration was not ſufficient to ſet you above all the laws againſt arbitrary power, which are ſo ſalutary in themſelves, and ſo interwoven with the ſpirit of the Germanic conſtitution. We can no longer accuſe the ſupreme tribunals of the empire with partiality and injuſtice: if they exerciſe their functions agreeably to the laws by which they ſhould be guided, and if they apply them to the actions and conduct of your majeſty, the conſequences which will reſult from it will be felt. Your majeſty has been revered with reaſon by a great part of the empire, as one of the firſt defenders of the conſtitution; and what matter of affliction will it not be for every ſtate of the empire torn from the country, if that confidence, which is founded upon veneration, is weakened by the new ſteps taken in Franconia! I leave to your majeſty's wiſdom to decide, whether theſe premature ſteps will not lead them to form very curious notions of the Germanic aſſociation, whoſe founders had for their principal object the ſupport of the laws of the empire, and the preſervation of its conſtitution? Upon the ſeizure of the county of Schaumbourg by Heſſe, your

your majeſty teſtified that a member of that aſſociation would draw upon him the reproaches of the whole body, if he attempted to diſpoſſeſs a coeſtate of the empire without having recourſe to a judicial proceſs. I confeſs that that differed in ſeveral particulars from the preſent caſe; but they are ſimilar in reſpect to the arbitrary procedure in both caſes. It is ſatisfactory for me to learn, that after having concluded an arrangement with different ſtates, your majeſty hopes that the ſame thing will take place with neighbouring ſtates. I conſider the ſpeedy fulfilment of this proſpect as the only means of preventing thoſe conſequences which will follow from a juridical information, if the difference cannot otherwiſe be accommodated. After all theſe conſiderations, and conformably to the ſentiments of friendſhip and veneration which I feel for your Majeſty, I intreat you to employ ultimately the moſt proper means for effecting an equitable arrangement with the ſtates of the empire, and to remove every thing which looks like being unconſtitutional in your conduct to theſe ſtates.

Edict publiſhed at Berlin.

Frederic William, *by the Grace of God, King of* Pruſſia, *&c. &c.*

HAVING underſtood that the Aulic Council of Vienna have adopted, without ever conſulting us, different meaſures, on the requeſt of one party, and wholly to the advantage of the complainants, by which they have attacked us and our rights, and diſſuaded our ſubjects from performing thoſe obligations which they have contracted on oath with us, and have even formally ſummoned thoſe of the equeſtrian order not to regard us as their ſovereign,—the meaſures which they have adopted, by printing and circulating them, to miſlead our ſubjects, are,

1ſt. A mandate of the Aulic council, dated March 17th, 1797, on the ſubject of the claims of the ſovereignty of Brandenbourg againſt the biſhopric of Etchſtadt. 2d. A *concluſum* of the aulic council, of the 23d March, concerning the pretenſions of the ſovereignty of Brandenbourg againſt the equeſtrian order in Franconia. 3d. *Idem*, of the 8th of April, and againſt the imperial town of Weiſſenbourg. 4th. *Idem*, March 5th, &c. againſt the elector of Cologne, as grand maſter of the Teutonic order. 5th. *Idem*, May 9th, &c. againſt the imperial town of Nuremberg.

Conſidering what the laws of the empire preſcribe, we can by no means regard, nor will regard, theſe meaſures as legally valid and obligatory, but, on the contrary, we muſt conſider them as real encroachments on our rights of ſovereignty, and peculiarly prejudicial: we, in conſequence, therefore, ſolemnly and ſeriouſly, by the preſent patent, adviſe and forewarn all thoſe of the equeſtrian order who have hitherto belonged to the cantons of the equeſtrian order of the empire, as alſo all other perſons whoſe ſovereigns belong to the equeſtrian order, or are neighbouring princes, not to ſwerve in the leaſt degree from their duties as ſubjects: we aſſure them that our intention has never been to interfere with the oath which they have taken to their reſpective ſovereigns; and we promiſe to protect them with all

all our power againſt every one. At the ſame time we would appriſe all thoſe who ſhall attempt to diſſuade any ſubject from his due allegiance to us, that they will be proſecuted in the moſt rigorous manner.

FREDERIC WILLIAM.
FINKENSTEIN ALVENLSIEBEN.
HARDENBERG HAUGWITZ.

Given at Berlin, June 14, 1797.

Madrid, March 1ſt.

Proclamation of the King of Spain.

THE glory of my crown and the honour of my people, with the government of whom I have been entruſted by divine providence, and the intereſt I take in defending their rights, and in obtaining a juſt ſatisfaction for the inſults they have ſuſtained by the Engliſh, by a notable infraction of the moſt ſolemn treaties, founded upon the reciprocal utility of both ſtates, obliged me, contrary to my pacific intentions, to enter into a new war, when hardly diſengaged from that which I had maintained againſt the French republic, which terminated in an honourable peace that ſecured the tranquillity and happineſs of my faithful ſubjects. But to conſolidate this important benefit, and to contribute to the repoſe of which Europe ſtood ſo much in need, I find myſelf under the indiſpenſable neceſſity of entering into new engagements, which require an enormous expence and immenſe proviſion.—As it has ever been my principal object to unite the high dignity of my crown with the good of my ſubjects, already ſo much oppreſſed by the weight of the public revenue as ſcarcely to admit of any new impoſts, I have not availed myſelf of the power with which I am inveſted, nor adopted any of the means pointed out to me as capable of producing the deſired effect; being perſuaded that, on the contrary, it would be more convenient to adopt other meaſures, which may greatly facilitate the neceſſary ſuccours, ſuch as the re-eſtabliſhment of the loan upon the revenue of tobacco, created by my auguſt predeceſſor, according to a royal decree of December 17, 1782, and conformable to my edict of December 10, 1794, which will effectually unite the neceſſities of the ſtate with the good of individuals, of which it is compoſed. The return of the capital having the moſt advantageous ſecurity, will tend to inſure the future ſubſiſtence of families, without the riſk to which money might be expoſed when at the arbitrary diſpoſal of inexperienced and diſſipated youth—I have therefore reſolved to open the above loan for the term of one year, reckoning from the 1ſt of January, 1797, with the liberty of continuing the ſame as I may find it convenient.

(Signed) I THE KING.

Abſtract of a Proclamation iſſued by the Court of Spain, *relative to the Prohibition of* Engliſh *Merchandiſe.*

THE firſt article prohibits the importation into Spain of all Britiſh goods and manufactures, and likewiſe of all articles that have been conveyed to any port of Great Britain, and ſubject to a duty, under any pretence whatever.

The fourth article enjoins all perſons who have Engliſh goods in their

their poſſeſſion, to deliver an account of the ſame within fifteen days after the date of the proclamation, and grants ſix months for the ſale of the goods ſpecified in the inventory. Thoſe that neglect to make a declaration within the period abovementioned, are informed by the fifth article that the goods will be confiſcated.

The ſixth article ſtates, that ſuch prohibited goods as ſhall not be diſpoſed of in the ſpace of ſix months allowed for that purpoſe, ſhall be ſold by public auction in lots. The price of each article cannot exceed the price of the ſame kind of goods before the war: the value ſhall, therefore, be aſcertained before the ſale.

The merchants who may not have had an opportunity to diſpoſe of all the Britiſh merchandiſe in their poſſeſſions, and who may not chooſe to have the reſidue ſold in the manner ſtated in the preceding article, will be permitted to ſend them to Cadiz, whence they may export them to the West Indies.

The Engliſh merchandiſe that may be imported ſubſequent to the proclamation, ſhall be confiſcated, together with the ſhips or other vehicles by which they were conveyed. The carriers of theſe goods, if it ſhould be proved in evidence that they acted with intent to evade this proclamation, ſhall be impriſoned for the term of eight years.

The fourteenth article provides, that, three months after the publication of the royal ſchedule, no merchandiſe ſhall be received in the ports of Spain from foreign parts without the magiſtrate's or inſpector's certificate reſident at the place whence they have been exported. The certificates muſt ſpecify the quality and quantity of the goods, the materials of which they were fabricated, and likewiſe that they have not been manufactured in, or paid any duties to England.

The twentieth article mentions, that, as many articles of Engliſh manufacture are imitated with the greateſt exactneſs in France, the utmoſt care is to be obſerved by the collectors of the duties, that goods of French manufacture may not experience any diminution in the demand in Spain.

The twenty-ſecond article relates to the regulations with reſpect to Britiſh merchantmen who may be forced into Spaniſh ports through ſtreſs of weather.

The twenty-third and ſucceeding article mentions, that the former regulations will be obſerved with reſpect to Engliſh property taken and carried into Spain by Spaniſh or French privateers.

Imperial Ukaſa, or Edict, iſſued at Peterſburg, *reſpecting the Importation of* French *and* Dutch *Merchandiſe.*

Paul I. by the Grace of God, Emperor and ſole Governor of all the Ruſſias, &c.

We do moſt graciouſly ordain,

1. THE importation of all French wines, without exception, alſo ſallad oils of Provence, olives, capers, anchovies, to be freely permitted in all our harbours in neutral bottoms.

2. French and Spaniſh brandy is only permitted to be imported by neutral ſhips in thoſe harbours which are ſpecified in the ukaſa of the 11th of December, 1784, and

to which we add the ports of Liebau and Windau.

3. The duties on wine, oils, &c. ſhall be taken from the tariff of September 27, 1782, till a new one ſhall appear; and the duty on French brandy ſhall be regulated agreeably to the ukaſa of November 25, 1793.

4. The ukaſa of the 8th of April, 1793, ſhall be ſtrictly obſerved, as far as it forbids the importation of various French goods, and of others which are mere objects of luxury; as likewiſe all communication with the French until a lawful government and order of things ſhall have been introduced into that country; the certificates of conſul or government, ordained by the ſaid ukaſa, ſhall alſo no longer be demanded in the future importation of French goods, except for ſuch articles for which ſome duties are to be remitted.

Done at St. Peterſburgh,
January 22, 1797.

SECOND UKASA.

Paul I. *&c.*

WE do hereby moſt graciouſly permit the free importation, in all our harbours, of ſuch Dutch goods as are not prohibited in the tariff or ukaſa, provided ſuch importation takes place in ſhips belonging to neutral powers. Thoſe goods are to pay the duties preſcribed by the tariff of September 27, 1782, till a new tariff ſhall be publiſhed.

Done at St. Peterſburgh,
January 22, 1797.

Meſſage of the Preſident to Congreſs, Jan. 19, 1797, *with a Letter, from Mr.* Pickering *to Mr.* Pinckney, *relative to the Diſputes between* America *and* France.

Gentlemen of the ſenate, and of the houſe of repreſentatives.

AT the opening of the preſent ſeſſion of congreſs I mentioned that ſome circumſtances of an unwelcome nature had lately occurred in relation to France; that our trade had ſuffered and was ſuffering extenſive injuries in the West-Indies from the cruizers and agents of the French Republic; and that communications had been received from its minister here which indicated danger of a further diſturbance of our commerce by its authority, and that were in other reſpects far from agreeable: but that I reſerved for a ſpecial meſſage a more particular communication on this intereſting ſubject. This communication I now make. The complaints of the French miniſter embraced moſt of the tranſactions of our government in relation to France from an early period of the preſent war; which therefore it was neceſſary carefully to review. A collection has been formed of letters and papers relating to thoſe tranſactions, which I now lay before you, with a letter to Mr. Pinckney, our miniſter at Paris, containing an examination of the notes of the French miniſter and ſuch information, as I thought might be uſeful to Mr. Pinckney, in any farther repreſentations he might find neceſſary to make to the French government. The immediate object of his miſſion was to make to that government ſuch explanations of the principles and conduct of our own, as by manifeſting our good faith might remove all jealouſy and diſcontent, and maintain that harmony and good underſtanding with the French republic

republic which it has been my conſtant ſolicitude to preſerve. A government which required only a knowledge of the *truth*, to juſtify its meaſures, could not but be anxious to have this fully and frankly diſplayed.

GO. WASHINGTON.

United States, Jan. 19th, 1797.

From Mr. Pickering, *Secretary of State, to Mr.* Pinckney, *Plenipotentiary of the United States at* Paris.

Department of State,

Sir, *Jan. 16th* 1797.

IN my letters of the 5th and 26th ult. I ſent you two notes from Mr. Adet, the miniſter of the French republic to the United States; the former dated the 22d of October, and the other the 15th of November laſt; and my anſwer to the firſt. The latter note embracing numerous topics of complaint, and going as far back as the year 1793, required a particular examination of all the tranſactions of our government from that time to the preſent. The other indiſpenſable duties of the office prevented my entering on this examination as early as I expected, and the current buſineſs has retarded the purſuit. The reſult of this examination I am now by the direction of the preſident of the United States, to communicate to you. This hiſtory of our affairs you will find ſupported by documents, many of which were delivered to you, at your departure, and the reſidue will be herewith tranſmitted. The remarks and reasonings on facts you will duly appreciate; and from the whole joined to your own obſervations, you will be enabled, it is believed, to vindicate the United States, and to demonſtrate their impartiality, as a neutral nation, their fidelity in the obſervation of treaties, and their friendſhip as an ally.

The diſcuſſion on which I am entering will involve much repetition; for the general queſtions and particular caſes grouped together in the miniſter's laſt note, have been ſubjects of controverſy and correſpondence from May 1793, to this day. Some other points have indeed been contended for, which the miniſter has now paſſed without notice. Why they are omitted, I know not: for in theſe caſes, the United States were as poſitively charged with violating treaties as in thoſe which he has been pleased now to detail. Some of them it may be found proper to introduce, to render leſs imperfect the view of our relations to France.

The complaints of the French miniſter againſt the United States, have reference to three principal ſubjects.

1st. To the abandonment of their neutral rights to the injury of France in not maintaining the pretended principles of the modern law of nations, *that free ſhips make free goods*, and that the timber and naval ſtores for the equipment and armament of veſſels are not contraband of war.

2d. To violations of our treaties with France even in their letter.

3d. To the treaty of amity and commerce between the United States and Great Britain; which he alleges "deprives France of all the "advantages ſtipulated in a previous "treaty."—A fourth complaint is truly ingenious. The fortune of war has conſtrained ſome of the belligerent powers, from enemies to become her allies, and if the alleged abandonment of the rules of the

modern law of nations, in its conſequences, works an injury to thoſe allies, from that moment France is alſo injured. Perhaps it will be in time to notice this laſt charge when thoſe allies themſelves complain; if the anſwer to the firſt, involving the ſame principle, ſhould not render ſuch notice altogether unneceſſary. I ſhall now preſent to your view thoſe facts and obſervations which will prove, we conceive, that the miniſter's complaints are without any juſt foundation.

Under the firſt charge, that we have not maintained, as we ought to have done, our neutral rights, it is alleged;

1st. That the poſition, *that free ſhips make free goods*, is an eſtabliſhed principle of the modern law of nations, and that Great Britain, by capturing French property on board our veſſels, has violated our neutral rights; and that unleſs we compel Great Britain to reſpect thoſe rights, France will be juſtified in violating them.

Not to remark on the ſingular reaſoning, that if one warring power commits an act of injuſtice towards a neutral and innocent nation, another warring power may commit the like injuſtice; we may aſk what authority is adduced, to ſhew that the modern law of nations has eſtabliſhed the principle, *that free ſhips make free goods?* Vattel* ſays poſitively: "that effects belonging "to an enemy, found on board a "neutral ſhip, are ſeizable by the "rights of war." Agreeably to this long eſtabliſhed rule of the law of nations, France herſelf in her maritime laws has directed that *the merchandiſes and effects belonging to her enemies which ſhall be found on board neutral veſſels, ſhall be a good prize*†. By a former law, indeed, the neutral veſſels themſelves, as well as the effects of her enemies on board were declared to be a good prize. Valin‡ remarks, however, that this regulation was peculiar to France and Spain; and that elſewhere the *goods* of the enemy were *alone* ſubjected to confiſcation. And in the treaty of France with the city of Hamburg, in 1769, it was ſtipulated that "all effects, provi- "ſions and merchandiſe whatſoever "belonging to her enemies and found "on board the veſſels of Hamburg "ſhould be confiſcated."

Mr. Adet remarks, that one of his predeceſſors, in July 1793, applied on this ſubject to the government of the United States, but was unſucceſsful. He muſt refer to Mr. Genet's letter to Mr. Jefferſon, dated July the 9th 1793‖. (The ſubject was reſumed in terms ſtill more extraordinary in his letter of July the 25th 1793,) to which Mr. Jefferſon anſwered on the 24th, declaring "his belief that it cannot be "doubted, but that by the general "law of nations, the goods of a "friend found in the veſſel of an "enemy are lawful prize."—"It is "true that ſundry nations, deſirous "of avoiding the inconveniences of "having their veſſels ſtopped at ſea, "ranſacked, carried into port and "detained, under pretence of having "enemy goods on board, have, in "many inſtances, introduced *by their* "*ſpecial treaties*, another principle "between them, that enemy bot- "toms ſhall make enemy goods, "and

* Book 3, ſect. 115. † Valin, p. 250. Reg. Oct. 21, 1744, article 5.
‡ Valin, vol. 2, p. 252, 253. ‖ State Papers, p. 50, 53, 55, voy. Correſp. de Genet, p. 30, et 123.

" and friendly bottoms, friendly " goods; but this is altogether the " effect of particular treaty, con- " troling *in ſpecial caſes*, the *general* " *principle* of the law of nations, " and therefore taking effect between " ſuch nations only as have ſo " agreed to control it." And it is plain that it was to avoid the inconveniences reſulting from this general rule of the law of nations that France and the United States ſtipulated, in the 23d article of their commercial treaty, " That " free ſhips ſhould give freedom to " goods; and that every thing " ſhould be deemed free which " ſhould be found on board the ſhips " belonging to the ſubjects of either " of the contracting parties, al- " though the whole lading, or any " part thereof, ſhould appertain to " the enemies of either, contraband " goods being always excepted."

It is alſo plain that this ſtipulation was intended to operate (indeed it was its ſole object and otherwiſe could have no operation at all) when one of the parties ſhould be at war with a nation or nations, with whom the other ſhould be at peace. France, therefore, has now no right to complain if the goods of her enemies find protection on board American ſhips, or to pretend that in order " to reſtore the balance of neutrality " to its equilibrium," ſhe may ſeize on ſuch goods: The juſt equilibrium, between her and the United States will be reſtored when we are at war, and ſhe at peace; at which time the goods of our enemies will find protection on board the veſſels of her citizens.

2d. It is alleged that we have abandoned the modern public law on contraband, and by our treaty with Great Britain *granted* to that power, excluſively, the free carriage of articles for the equipment and armament of veſſels.

Here as in the former caſe the queſtion recurs, what is the law of nations on the point in diſpute? Vattel * defines contraband goods to be " commodities particularly uſed in war—Such are arms, military and *naval* ſtores, *timber*, horſes, " and even proviſions in certain " junctures, when there are hopes " of reducing the enemy by famine." In the treaty between France and Denmark concluded on the 23d of Auguſt 1742.†—" Tar was declared " contraband, together with roſin, " ſails, hemp, cordage, maſts, and " timber for ſhip building." Thus, on this account (ſays Valin) there would have been no cauſe for complaining of the conduct of the Engliſh, if they had not infringed particular treaties; for of right theſe things are now contraband, and have been ſo ſince the beginning of this century, which, however, was not the caſe formerly. " The modern public " law on contraband," mentioned by Mr. Adet, and his predeceſſors, probably refers to the principles declared by the armed neutrality during the American war. This tranſaction is too remarkable to paſs unnoticed. During that war, Great Britain, and the other belligerent powers, exerciſing the rights aſſured to them by the law of nations, made prize of enemies' property on board neutral veſſels, and of contraband goods belonging to neutrals. Eager as neutral nations muſt be to ſeize the opportunity which war preſents, of being the carriers for the belligerent

* Book 7, Sect. 112.

† Valin, vol. 2, p. 264.

rent nations, whoſe ſhips and mariners are wanted for military operations, it was perfectly natural that the former ſhould deſire to eſtabliſh as a rule that free ſhips ſhould make free goods; or, in other words, that neutral bottoms ſhould protect the goods on board, to whomſoever theſe belonged; and it was equally natural for them to deſire to diminiſh the liſt of contraband. In reſpect to the latter, it muſt have been particularly intereſting to the three northern maritime powers, from whoſe dominions chiefly the other maritime nations of Europe receive ſupplies of timber and naval ſtores, to ſtrike theſe from the liſt of contraband, or by ſome means to exempt them from capture.

With theſe diſpoſitions, the empreſs of Ruſſia, in February 1780, made public the principles on which ſhe would maintain the commerce of her ſubjects. It is neceſſary here to recite only two of them. 1ſt. That all the effects belonging to the ſubjects of the nations at war ſhould be free on board neutral veſſels; contraband goods excepted. 2d. That the articles of contraband ſhould be regulated by the 10th and 11th articles of her treaty of commerce with Great Britain, extending the regulations of thoſe articles to all the belligerent powers.

To enforce the obſervance of theſe principles ſhe gave orders for equipping a conſiderable part of her marine.

In July of the ſame year, Denmark acceded to the principles of the armed neutrality, and entered into a convention with Ruſſia, for maintaining them, aſſuming for her rule in determining what articles ſhould be deemed contraband, her treaty of commerce with Great Britain, concluded the 11th of July 1670. In the third article of this treaty, the deſcription of contraband goods is in general terms; "any proviſion of "war, as ſoldier's arms, machines, "cannon, ſhips, or other things of "neceſſary uſe in war." But by a convention concluded at London on the 4th of July 1780, between Great Britain and Denmark, "to explain "the treaty of commerce of 1670, "between the two powers," the articles deemed contraband are particularly enumerated, and among them we ſee "timber for ſhip-"building, tar, roſin, copper in "ſheets, ſails, hemp and cordage, "and generally whatever ſerves "directly for the equipment of a "veſſel, unwrought iron, and fir "planks excepted." It is remarkable that theſe are the very articles admitted to be contraband in the 18th article of our treaty of commerce with Great Britain; and for which admiſſion, Mr. Adet declares "all the commercial relations be-"tween France and the United "States are entirely broken."

But it is further to be noticed, that this convention between Ruſſia and Denmark, concluded in the midſt of the American war, for maintaining the principles of the armed neutrality, and to which other European powers acceded, is explicitly declared in the 9th article, to have been concluded, and agreed on *for the time that war ſhould laſt* *; though it was to ſerve as a baſis for future engagements which circumſtances might render neceſſary, on account of new naval wars in Europe; and with the latter

* Hiſt. Armed Neutrality, p. 77. Martens Treaties, vol. 2. p. 103.

view,

view, the king of Sweden manifeſted the utmoſt ſolicitude, leſt the war ſhould be cloſed without the intervention of the neutral powers. He therefore was urgent that the empreſs with all the parties to the maritime convention, "ſhould propoſe to the belligerent powers the "eſtabliſhing of a congreſs, in "which the different concerns, both "of the powers at war, and of the "neutral ſtates ſhould be examined "and terminated *."

And these concerns he afterwards mentions to be "the pacification "and the settling of a maritime "code of laws;" objects truly important, and meriting all the ſolicitude manifeſted on the occaſion by the king.

But theſe ſteps of the king of Sweden ſerve as additional proofs, that the principles of the armed neutrality were not conſidered by the parties to the maritime convention, as ſanctioned by the exiſting law of nations. For permanently to eſtabliſh thoſe aſſumed principles, by introducing them into a maritime code, was obviouſly the influential motive with the king for deſiring a congreſs, at which ſuch a code might be ſettled with the aſſent of all the nations of Europe. But this project did not ſucceed: no congreſs was formed: the belligerent powers made peace at different periods; and with that war ended the maritime convention. This no nation has more reaſon to regret than our own, as well becauſe the principles in queſtion reſpect ſome very valuable portions of our exports, as becauſe our diſpoſition and our policy preſerving us in peace, ſuch an extended liberty of commerce would prove highly advantageous to us as carriers for the powers at war.

We have ſeen then, that the law of nations, the marine laws of France, her own treaties as well as thoſe of other nations, and even the ſyſtem of the armed neutrality, inconteſtibly eſtabliſh these principles, that enemies goods on board neutral veſſels, are rightful ſubjects of capture and condemnation; and that timber, and other articles for the equipment and armament of ſhips are contraband of war; and therefore, that the admiſſion of theſe principles, in the treaty between the United States and Great Britain, not being a grant to her of any right (for in what ſenſe could we be ſaid to give what ſhe before poſſeſſed?) furniſhes no juſt ground of offence to France. In what ſenſe too can the United States be ſaid to have "*refuſed* to other nations a "right," which they and we voluntarily and mutually agreed to *renounce*? or, how are we chargeable with, "partiality in favour of Eng"land," becauſe we do not take arms to *compel* her to *renounce* it? But Mr. Adet, ſtill reſting on the idea, that not to *compel* Great Britain to *renounce*, is to *grant* her a *right*, seems to imagine, that we ſhall attempt to obviate his complaints by ſaying, "that France "having the right by her treaty of "1778, to enjoy all the advan"tages in commerce and navigation, "which the United States have "granted to England, is not injured "by the ſtipulations of the treaty "of 1794, (with Great Britain) re"lative to contraband of war, as "they become common to her."—

* Hiſt. Armed Neutrality, p. 147. 150.

But we ſhall ſay no ſuch thing. The 2d article to which he refers has no relation to this ſubject. Had we *granted* any particular *favour* to Great Britain, or to any other nation in reſpect to commerce and navigation, we readily admit that by this article France would be immediately entitled to the ſame. But in regard to contraband of war, *we have granted nothing*, and therefore, under that article, *France can claim nothing*.

Under the influence of preſent and temporary intereſts, the very *nature* of the ſtipulations between France, and the United States, on the ſubject of free commerce, and the limitation of contraband, ſeems to be forgotten. They took for the baſis of their treaty "the moſt "perfect equality and reciprocity:" would they then conſpire to their own hurt? Would they *voluntarily* and *mutually* ſtipulate for *injuries*? or for *advantages*? Certainly the latter; and both conſidered the agreement reciprocally *advantageous* which ſecured to each, in its turn, the freedom of commerce provided by the rules, that free ſhips make free goods; and that timber and naval ſtores ſhould be excluded from the liſt of contraband.

Connected with this ſubject is what concerns the article of *proviſions*. Mr. Adet ſays, that "after "having aſſured to the Engliſh the "carriage of naval ſtores, the federal "government *wiſhed* to aſſure that "of meals; in a word, *it desired to* "*have commerce only with England*. "Thus it ſtipulates by the 18th ar- "ticle, that the American veſſels la- "den with grain, may be ſeized "under the *frivolous pretext* that it "is extremely difficult to define the "caſes in which proviſions, and "other articles, which are generally "excepted, could be claſſed in the "liſt of contraband of war."

There are ſo many extraordinary aſſertions in Mr. Adet's notes, that thoſe in the above paragraph, excite no ſurpriſe. The federal government is conſtituted of citizens, who have a common intereſt with their fellow-citizens of the United States. That common intereſt has a peculiar relation to commerce, on the freedom and extenſion of which the public revenue, and the general proſperity of our country chiefly depend. Will it then be believed that the government *wiſhed* this commerce to be *reſtrained*, particularly the commerce in *meals*, which compoſe the moſt valuable part of our exports? Eſpecially will it be believed, that the government *deſired* that our citizens might have commerce *only* with *England*? Let the general ſenſe of our fellow citizens anſwer theſe charges. Let the great maſs of our commercial brethren anſwer —They whoſe enterpriſe traverſes every ſea, and explores every region of the globe to extend their gainful trade; citizens whoſe commercial adventures to France and her colonies have riſen annually to many millions; adventures by which many have hazarded their credit and fortunes. Yet among all our citizens none have been more ſolicitous to form a commercial treaty with Britain, none more decided in approving that which has been made.

For the reaſoning of our own government on this ſubject, I beg leave to refer you to my letter of Sept. 12th 1795, written by the preſident's direction to Mr. Monroe. Therein it was attempted to ſhew the

the *neceſſity*, and our *right* of forming that treaty with Great Britain, and I hope it will appear to you, that the concluſion is there fairly drawn; that even the 18th article, as it reſpects proviſions, would operate favourably to France.

Before the treaty with Great Britain, her cruizers captured neutral veſſels bound to France with proviſions. She aſſerted, that in certain caſes proviſions were contraband of war; conſequently that ſhe might lawfully capture and confiſcate ſuch proviſions. We oppoſed the principle and the practice. Britain inſiſted on her right. In this dilemma it was agreed by the treaty, that whenever proviſions, becoming contraband by the law of nations, ſhould be captured, they ſhould be paid for with a reaſonable mercantile profit. This ſtipulation, without admitting the principle, by ſecuring the American merchants from loſs, in caſe of capture, would certainly tend to promote, rather than to diſcourage adventures in proviſions to France.

But as this treaty has been the ſubject of ſerious complaint on the part of France, it is important to enquire with what foundation the complaint is made.

I might paſs over the unworthy inſinuations of the miniſter, that the treaty was entered into by us, *in order to enſure advantages to the Engliſh, and to furniſh our own government with a reply to the claims of France and peremptory motives for refuſals to accede to them; that the true object of the negociation was inceſſantly diſguiſed under ſpecious pretexts, and covered with the veil of diſſimulation.* These inſinuations have been indiſcreetly addreſſed to the people of the United States. They will gain no belief; it may however be uſeful to you to be truly informed on this ſubject.

The preſident's meſſage to the ſenate, on the 16th of April 1794, does not declare, (as Mr. Adet aſſerts) "that Mr. Jay was ſent to "London *only* to obtain a redreſs of "wrongs." The preſident ſays, that Mr. Jay's miſſion would announce to the world "a ſolicitude for a friendly "adjuſtment of our complaints," and that, "going immediately from "the United States, ſuch an envoy "would carry with him a full "knowledge of the exiſting temper "and ſenſibility of our country, and "thus be taught to vindicate our "rights with firmneſs, and to cul-"tivate peace with ſincerity." And ſhall the purſuit of either of theſe objects be denied to us? What were our complaints! The moſt urgent regarded the ſpoliations of our commerce and the inexecution of the article of the treaty of peace reſpecting the poſts. With the latter was connected the Indian war, with which we have been haraſſed for ſo many years; and with the former the injury and ruin of our merchants and the conſequent extenſive damage to agriculture. Theſe being the moſt prominent objects of the miſſion, were of courſe moſt obſervable and moſt talked of; and without them the miſſion probably would not at that time have been contemplated. But had we no other "com-"plaints?" did not the impreſſment of our ſeamen, like the ſpoliations on our commerce, excite an univerſal complaint? Had we never manifeſted our uneaſineſs at Great Britain's avoiding a commercial treaty? Was it not even a ſubject of complaint and reproach? Was not the inducing her to enter into ſuch

ſuch a treaty the object of divers meaſures agitated in congreſs? Had not a commercial treaty with Great Britain been earneſtly ſought for from the concluſion of the war, to the time of Mr. Jay's miſſion? How alſo could Mr. Jay, after adjuſting the primary objects of his miſſion, better prove the ſincerity of our pacific diſpoſition, and more effectually "cultivate peace," than by forming arrangements calculated to extend and protect our trade, to promote good neighbourhood and a friendly and mutually beneficial intercourſe; by preſcribing a previous demand of juſtice and ſatisfaction to haſty repriſals which naturally lead to war; and by agreeing on other regulations to prevent diſputes, or to adjuſt them, when they ſhould ariſe? All theſe objects then, and whatever elſe would be the means of "cultivating "peace," were clearly comprehended in the preſident's meſſage.

But Mr. Adet ſays, "that Mr. "Jay's negociation was enveloped "from its origin in the ſhadow of "myſtery." And to whom was our government bound to unveil it? To France or to her miniſter?—Mr. Adet ſhould anſwer, or not have complained. And was it for this, to make us a dependance on the French empire that our alliance was formed? Did we ſtipulate to ſubmit the exerciſe of our ſovereignty (if it is not a contradiction in terms) to the direction of the government of France? Let the treaty itſelf furniſh the anſwer*. "The eſſential and "direct end of the preſent defenſive "alliance is to maintain effectually "the liberty, *ſovereignty* and *inde-* "*pendence abſolute* and *unlimited* of "the ſaid United States, as well in "matters of "*government* as of *com-* "*merce*." So likewiſe the treaty of amity and commerce, in its preamble, declares, that his moſt chriſtian majeſty and the United States, willing to fix the rules which ought to be followed, relative to the correſpondence and commerce which they deſire to eſtabliſh between their reſpective countries, have taken "for the baſis of their "agreement, the moſt perfect *equa-* "*lity* and *reciprocity*—and reſerving "withal to *each party* the liberty of "admitting *at its pleaſure other* "*nations* to a participation of the "ſame advantages." Correſponding with this declaration in our treaty of amity and commerce, is the declaration of the marquis de Noailles, her ambaſſador at the Court of London, on the 13th of March 1778, five weeks after the treaty was ſigned. Some paſſages in this declaration are ſo pertinent to the ſubject in diſcuſſion, I ſhall quote them at length.

"The underſigned ambaſſador of "his moſt chriſtian majeſty has re- "ceived expreſs orders to make the "following declaration to the court "of London."

"The United States of North "America, *who are in full poſſeſſion* "*of independence*, as pronounced by "them on the 4th of July 1776, "having propoſed to the king to "conſolidate by a formal conven- "tion the connexion begun to be "eſtabliſhed between the two na- "tions, the reſpective plenipoten- "tiaries have ſigned a treaty of "friendſhip and commerce, deſigned "to ſerve as a foundation for their "mutual good correſpondence."

"His Majeſty being determined

* Treaty of Alliance, art. 2.

"to

" to cultivate the good underſtand-
" ing ſubſiſting between France and
" Great Britain, by every means
" compatible with his dignity, and
" the good of his ſubjects, thinks it
" neceſſary to make this proceeding
" known to the court of London,
" and to declare at the ſame time,
" that the contracting parties have
" paid great attention *not to ſtipulate*
" *any excluſive advantages in favour*
" *of the French nation, and that the*
" *United States have reſerved the*
" *liberty of treating with every*
" *nation whatever upon the ſame*
" *footing of equality and recipro-*
" *city.*" Why after all this do we hear from Mr. Adet, the complaint, that the negociations of the British treaty were ſecretly conducted? In other words, that in exerciſing their abſolute and unlimited rights of " government and commerce," the United States did not lay open to the French miniſter or his government the inſtructions to *our* envoy for ſettling *our own* diſputes, and *regulating our own commerce* with Great Britain? So far as candour and friendſhip required, a communication was made to the French miniſter. He was officially informed, " that Mr. Jay was not inſtructed " to weaken our engagements to " France." This inſtruction was obeyed; Mr. Jay having taken care to inſert in the 25th article of the treaty this explicit ſtipulation, that " Nothing in this treaty contained, " ſhall be conſtrued, or operate " contrary to former and exiſting " public treaties with other ſove-" reigns, or ſtates."

The government gave a further proof of its candour and friendſhip, by communicating to the French miniſter the treaty itſelf, prior to its ratification, " in order to enable him " to make ſuch obſervations thereon " as he might judge proper." Theſe obſervations you will ſee in Mr. Adet's letter to the ſecretary of ſtate of June 30th 1795; and the refutation of his objections in the ſecretary's anſwer, dated the 6th of July following.

With theſe facts in view, facts of which the chief are drawn from our treaties with France, and from her own acts and laws, what opinion is to be formed of Mr. Adet's declaration, " That the executive directory " regards the treaty of commerce, " concluded with Great Britain, as " a violation of the treaty made " with France in 1778, and equiva-" lent to a treaty of alliance with " Great Britain?"

I will now advert to the charge, " That far from offering the French " the ſuccours which friendſhip " might have given, without com-" promiſing it, the American go-" vernment in this reſpect, violated " the letter of treaties."

As far as I can diſcover, the latter part of this charge is reſted wholly on the 17th article of the commercial treaty, which, therefore, it will be neceſſary to examine. The ſtipulations are mutual; but the examination will be ſimplified by conſidering their application to France alone. The 17th article then declares,—

I. That the ſhips of war and privateers of France may freely carry the ſhips and goods *taken from their enemies*, into the ports of the United States without being obliged to pay any fees to the officers of the admiralty or any other judges.

II. That ſuch prizes are not to be arreſted or ſeized, when they enter the ports of the United States.

III.

III. That the officers of the United States ſhall not make any examination concerning the lawfulneſs of ſuch prizes; but

IV. That they may hoiſt ſail at any time, and depart, and carry their prizes to the places expreſſed in their commiſſions.

V. That on the contrary, no ſhelter or refuge ſhall be given in the ports of the United States to ſuch as ſhall have made prize of the ſubjects, people, or property of France; but if ſuch ſhall come in, being forced by ſtreſs of weather, or the danger of the ſea; all proper means ſhall be vigorouſly uſed, that they go out, and retire thence as ſoon as poſſible.

It will alſo be convenient here to notice the ſtipulations contained in the 22d article; theſe are,

I. That foreign privateers not belonging to French ſubjects, or citizens, having commiſſions from any other prince or ſtate in enmity with France, ſhall not fit their ſhips in the ports of the United States.

II. Nor ſell their prizes, nor in any other manner exchange their ſhips, merchandiſes, or any other lading.

III. Nor purchaſe victuals, except ſuch as ſhall be neceſſary for going to the neareſt port of the prince or ſtate from which they have commiſſions.

The caſes that have occurred in the courſe of the preſent war, in relation to our treaty with France, particularly the 17th and 22d articles juſt mentioned, have led to numerous diſcuſſions, in which ſeveral points have been deliberately ſettled, either by legiſlative or executive acts, or by judicial deciſions.

The firſt important executive act was the proclamation of neutrality by the preſident of the United States. This was iſſued on the 22d of April 1793.

At the next meeting of congreſs, on the 3d of December 1793, the preſident laid this proclamation before both houſes. The ſenate in their addreſs in anſwer to the preſident's ſpeech, thus expreſs their opinion of the proclamation.

"We deem it a meaſure well "timed and wiſe, manifeſting a "watchful ſolicitude for the welfare "of the nation, and calculated to "promote it."

The addreſs of the houſe of repreſentatives was *unanimously* agreed to. We read in it this paragraph: —"The United States having taken "no part in the war, which had "embraced, in Europe, the powers "with whom they have the moſt "extenſive relations, the maintenance of peace was juſtly to be "regarded as one of the moſt important duties of the magiſtrate "charged with the faithful execution of the laws. We accordingly "witneſs with approbation and "pleaſure, the vigilance with which "you have guarded againſt an interruption of that bleſſing by your "proclamation, admoniſhing our "citizens of the conſequences of "illicit, or hoſtile acts towards the "belligerent parties; and promoting by a declaration of the exiſting legal ſtate of things, an eaſier "admiſſion of our right to the "immunities belonging to our ſituation."

Yet this is the inſtrument thus approved by congreſs, and whoſe only object was to caution our citizens to avoid certain acts which would violate the laws of nations, which Mr. Adet has ventured to call "an inſidious proclamation of "neutrality!"

The next executive act, noticed by Mr. Adet, is the letter of the 4th of Auguſt 1793, written by the preſident's command, by the ſecretary of the treaſury, to the collectors of the cuſtoms and accompanied by the rules, which the preſident had adopted for preventing all armaments in favour of any of the belligerent powers. Theſe rules were conſidered as juſt and neceſſary deductions from the laws of neutrality eſtabliſhed and received among nations. The letter from the ſecretary of the treaſury is explanatory of theſe rules, and among other inſtructions, particularly points the collectors to the 17th and 22d articles of our treaty with France; leſt by inattention or miſconception of them ſhe might be injured, and her enemies benefited. The letter concludes with enjoining the collectors to execute thoſe inſtructions "with vigilance, care, activity, and "impartiality," "becauſe omiſſions "would tend to expoſe the govern- "ment to injurious imputations and "ſuſpicions, and proportionably to "commit the good faith and peace "of the country." How could ſuch rules, with ſuch reaſons to enforce them, not escape cenſure? They were framed and required to be executed with *ſtrict impartiality*; and conſequently were to prevent Frenchmen continuing thoſe aggreſſions on our ſovereignty and neutrality, which had been commenced under Mr. Genet's orders, and which were calculated to involve us in a war with Great Britain, Spain, and Holland; for at that time theſe had all combined againſt France. Frenchmen were to have no other preferences *than thoſe ſecured to them by treaty*, (except that they were not forbidden to ſell their *lawful* prizes in our ports), and our citizens were to be reſtrained from committing hoſtilities under the banners of France, as well as thoſe of other powers. The third offenſive act was the preſident's *ſubmitting* to congreſs theſe meaſures, and ſuggeſting the expediency of extending our legal code, giving competent juriſdiction to the courts, and providing adequate penalties, to prevent, or puniſh violations of the laws of nations. The next complaint reſpects the act of congreſs paſſed on the 5th of June, 1794, "for the puniſhment "of crimes againſt the United "States;" being thoſe to which their attention had been called by the preſident's ſpeech. Mr. Adet aſks, "what was its reſult?" and gives himſelf the following anſwer. "In conſequence of this law the "greater part of the French priva- "teers have been arreſted, as well as "their prizes; not upon formal de- "poſitions, not upon eſtabliſhed teſ- "timony, not upon a neceſſary body "of proofs, but upon the ſimple in- "formation of the conſul of one or "the powers at war with the French "republic, frequently upon that of "ſailors of the enemy-powers; "ſometimes according to the orders "of the governors, but often upon "the demand of the diſtrict attor- "nies, who aſſert, upon principles "avowed by the government, that "their conviction was ſufficient to "authorize them, without com- "plaint or regular information, to "cauſe the privateers to be proſe- "cuted in virtue of the law above- "mentioned." And "when the mi- "niſters of the republic have aſked "for juſtice of the government for "the vexations experienced by the "privateers, in contempt of the "17th article of the treaty, they

"have

"have *never* been able to obtain "satisfaction."

Judging only by these declarations of Mr. Adet, a stranger would imagine there had been a combination of the general and state governments and of our courts, to harass and do injustice to Frenchmen engaged in privateering. But our own citizens place a different estimate on this impeachment of their president, their senators and representatives in congress, their judges and other public officers: and an examination of the cases cited by Mr. Adet, to support his assertions, will manifest their incorrectness.

First Case. The French privateer Sanspareil, and her prize the Perseverance.

On the 26th of August, 1794, Mr. Fauchet complained that the prize had been seized on the pretext, that the Sanspareil had been illegally armed in the United States; the answer of September 2d from the secretary of state, which Mr. Adet censures "as indicative of de-"lay," assured him that the secretary had urged the governor of Rhode Island, where the prize was carried, to report the circumstances of the case without delay. On the 27th of September, the secretary informed Mr. Fauchet, that the governor had decided that the prize should be restored. On the 17th of October, Mr. Fauchet renewed his complaint; for on the suit of the claimant the prize had again been arrested by process from the district court. The secretary of state answered on the 22d, with information that ought to have satisfied Mr. Fauchet. For admitting, that agreeably to the law of the 5th of June 1794, the courts had authority and were bound in duty to take cognizance of captures made within the jurisdiction of the United States, or by privateers illegally fitted in their ports, (the right of doing which Mr. Fauchet did not contest), they could not refuse it in the case of the prize of the Sanspareil: the guard against vexatious prosecutions being the judgment for costs and damages, to which an unjust prosecutor is exposed. The circular letter written on this occasion to the governors of the states manifests the solicitude of our government to prevent vexatious suits.

Second Case. Glass and Gibbs.

By the copy of the proceedings in the supreme court of the United States, in this case you will see that the court did not, as stated by Mr. Adet, determine "that the tribunals "could decide whether a prize be-"longed to enemies or neutrals." The question before the court was of the cognizance of a captured vessel and cargo, the former the property of a Swede, and the latter belonging partly to some Swedes, and partly *to a citizen of the United States*. The opinion therefore pronounced by the supreme court applied to the case, in which one of the claimants was a citizen of the United States; and, after solemn argument, the court decided, "that "the district court of Maryland had "jurisdiction, and should accordingly "proceed to determine upon this "case agreeably to law and right."

I will add only one more remark —That the 17th article, the letter of which we are charged with violating, in suffering our courts to take cognizance of French prizes, expressly refers to "the ships and "goods taken from *their enemies*," and it is the "examination con-"cerning the lawfulness of such "prizes,"

" prizes," which the article forbids. But no examination of ſuch prizes has been attempted by our government or tribunals, unleſs on clear evidence, or reaſonable preſumption, that the captures were made in circumſtances, which amounted to a violation of our ſovereignty and territorial rights.

Third Caſe. The French privateer l'Ami de la Pointe à Pitre, capt. Wm. Talbot, and her Dutch prize, the Vrouw Chriſtiana Magdalena.

To the information contained in the papers collected in this caſe I have to add, that this cauſe was finally decided in the ſupreme court in Auguſt term 1795. The court were unanimouſly of opinion that in the particular circumſtances of Talbot's caſe, notwithſtanding his French commiſſion, and his taking an oath of allegiance to the French republic, he continued to be a citizen of the United States. But the cauſe, as I am informed, did not appear to have turned on this point. Talbot had aſſociated with one Ballard, commanding an armed veſſel called the Ami de la Liberté, which had been fitted out in the United States, *and had no commiſſion.* Talbot and Ballard cruized together as conforts; and in fact it was Ballard's veſſel that took the prize; Talbot not coming up till an hour after the capture. Ballard was afterwards tried before the circuit-court for piracy.

The court were alſo of opinion, from the tenour of the evidence, that Talbot's veſſel was owned by citizens of the United States, to whom the prize money would eventually find its way in the caſe of reſtitution to the captors.

Ballard and Talbot were both citizens of Virginia. The attempt of the latter to become a French citizen was conſidered to be fraudulent, being made for the ſole purpoſe of obtaining a commiſſion, under colour of which he might plunder the ſubjects of nations with whom the United States were at peace.

An obſervation ought not to be omitted here, that although the captors, Talbot and others, had been defeated, both in the diſtrict and circuit courts, yet they carried the cauſe up to the ſupreme court: thus uſing the legal right of appealing to the court in the laſt reſort; a right which alike exerciſed by the ſubjects of powers who were enemies to France, has formed a principal ſubject of Mr. Fauchet's and Mr. Adet's continued complaints.

Fourth. Under the head of complaints for vexatious proſecutions, Mr. Adet mentions only two caſes in which damages and intereſt were allowed to the French captors, viz. one of *la Neueſtra Sennora del Carmen* at Rhode Iſland, and the other of *la Princeſſa des Aſturias* at New York. " Yet (ſays he) the tribunals " have always allowed damages to " the captured, when they have de- " clared the prizes illegal." How far the facts will warrant this laſt aſſertion, I am not poſſeſſed of documents to determine; I preſume it is to be underſtood in a *general* ſenſe only, and to admit of exceptions; and in this ſenſe there will be no difficulty of admitting the truth of the aſſertion, and accounting for it. The captures here referred to were made either within our juriſdictional line, or by illegal privateers, being ſuch as were equipped in whole, or in part, in the ports of the United States. Of theſe material facts the captors

captors could not be ignorant; conſequently they could have no apology for defending their unjuſt claims in our courts; and of courſe were juſtly condemned in coſts and damages.

In the caſe of the prizes of the privateer, the Citizen of Marſeilles, damages were claimed by the captors, but denied. For thoſe prizes had been conſidered in the diſtrict court to be illegal. And although the ſentence of that court was reverſed in the circuit court, yet it was upon the introduction of *new teſtimony* on the part of the captors. This laſt deciſion was affirmed in the ſupreme court: yet without damages; inaſmuch as the teſtimony was conſidered to be ſo ambiguous as to juſtify the appeal.

The ſame remarks apply to the prizes of the privateer General Laveaux; with this addition, that one of the judges diſſented from the opinion of the court; being firmly of opinion, that this privateer was covered American property. The privateer, la Pariſienne, had been regiſtered as *an American coaſting veſſel*, under the name of the Harok. During the embargo, in the ſpring of 1794, ſhe ſlipped out of Charleſton and went to Port de Paix; where ſhe was ſold to one Blochos, a Frenchman, who armed her, and provided her with a commiſſion. Having afterwards arrived at Charleſton, ſhe was recognized and proſecuted for a breach of the revenue laws, in *having gone to a foreign port*, while ſhe was in the legal predicament of a coaſter. The diſtrict court condemned her: but on the application of Blochos, to have her reſtored, on paying the appraiſed value, the judge permitted him to take her, in *a ſtate of warlike equipment*. Shortly afterwards ſhe put to ſea, and captured two valuable Britiſh prizes, the Brigantine Cæſar, and Favourite. On their arrival, the one at Charleſton, the other at Savannah, ſuits were commenced to obtain their reſtitution, as having been captured by an illegal privateer. The decrees of the courts were in favour of the captors, but without damages. The ſupreme court diſapproved of the reſtitution of the privateer without diſmantling her: and conſidered the miſtake committed in this reſpect a ſufficient reaſon to cover the party proſecuting from the payment of damages. All the other caſes of captures by French privateers which have been brought up to the ſupreme court, were decided at laſt Auguſt term. In ſome of them the circumſtances would not have warranted an award of damages; in others *the counſel for the captors omitted to aſk for them*. When demanded, you know that it is in the diſcretion of the court to grant or refuſe them: this diſcretion being regulated by all the circumſtances of each caſe. Hence, when a party is drawn before the court without good cauſe, and vexatiously, damages are always given; but are denied when there appears a reaſonable cauſe of controverſy.

Fifth. Mr. Adet having briefly noticed ſeveral caſes by name, ſeems to reſerve thoſe of the Vengeance and the Caſſius for a full diſplay of unwarrantable conduct in the government and courts of the United States; and therefore deſcants on them at ſome length; but with ſo many aberrations from the facts, with ſo many erroneous ideas concerning our juriſprudence, and

ſo

ſo many injurious inſinuations reſpecting our courts and their officers, it will be neceſſary that you ſhould learn the true hiſtory of theſe caſes from authentic documents.

Caſe of the French privateer La Vengeance.

For the full history of this privateer and her prize, I muſt refer you to the documents in the caſe. The principal facts are these. About the latter end of June, or beginning of July 1795, the privateer La Vengeance, arrived at New York, with a valuable Spaniſh prize called the Princessa de las Asturias. Don Diego Pintado, the owner, commenced a suit for his vessel, on the ground that she had been taken by an illegal privateer. The suit was instituted by Mr. Troup, not wantonly, but on information, which was afterwards verified by the oaths of ſeveral witneſſes. In the progress of the cauſe theſe witneſſes were contradicted by the witneſſes produced on behalf of the captors, for whom a decree was finally given; the claſhing evidence preponderating, in the judge's opinion, in favour of the captors; but he expreſsly declared, that there was probable cauſe for the ſeizure. After this ſuit for the prize had been commenced, the Spaniſh conſul complained to Mr. Harriſon, the diſtrict attorney, in his official capacity, of a violation of law, on the part of the privateer La Vengeance, in conſequence of which a Spaniſh ſubject had been injured. Mr. Harriſon, upon an enquiry, found at leaſt a probability, that the complaint reſpecting the privateer was true. This probability aroſe from what he conſidered as affording the certainty of *material proof*; and therefore, in conformity with his official duty, commenced a proſecution on the act of congreſs forbidding the arming of privateers in our ports. The deciſion of this and of the other prize cauſe, depended on the ſame evidence. The deciſion being in favour of the captors, Mr. Harriſon acquieſced in it as it reſpected the privateer, and he united with his aſſociate counſel in the prize cauſe, in adviſing the like ſubmiſſion in that caſe. But the Spaniſh conſul deemed it his duty to purſue the claim to the court in the last reſort. This can warrant no complaint; for Mr. Harriſon remarks, perhaps there never were cauſes in which more contradictory and irreconcileable evidence was offered, and in which the minds of the auditors were more divided as to the real ſtate of the facts.

The ſecond public ſuit concerning the privateer, was, for exporting arms and ammunition from the United States, when ſuch exportation was prohibited by law. The evidence which appeared in the other cauſes gave riſe to this proſecution; and upon the trial the judge condemned the privateer. An appeal from this ſentence was interpoſed by the French conſul. The appeal was heard in the circuit court, and upon new evidence the ſentence of the diſtrict court was reverſed.

Mr. Adet complains, that while one ſuit was pending for the prize, and another againſt the privateer, the diſtrict attorney ſhould exhibit a ſecond information againſt the privateer, on which ſhe was arreſted anew, for having exported arms in violation of a law of the United States, which was in force when the Vengeance ſailed from New York; and that this information was filed on the ſimple declaration of Mr. Giles,

Giles, the marſhal of the court, who, as informer, was to ſhare part of the confiſcation. As Mr. Harriſon remarks, it was in favour of the privateer, that this ſecond information was filed *while the firſt was pending*; becauſe it ſaved time. Had he poſtponed the latter until the firſt had been decided, there might have been ſome foundation for a charge of unneceſſary delay. Mr. Harriſon's ſtate of the caſe ſhows, that this ſecond information was not made on the declaration of the marſhal, but on the evidence that appeared on the examination of the firſt.

Mr. Adet having been pleaſed to cenſure the conduct of the attorney, clerk and marſhal of the diſtrict court of New York; in juſtice to them I have added to the other documents in this caſe, the letters of Mr. Harriſon and Mr. Troup. They will anſwer the double purpoſe of juſtifying them, and of vindicating our government and tribunals.

Mr. Adet particularly notices the papers he had received from St. Domingo, "proving" as he ſays "in "the moſt convincing manner, that "the Vengeur (La Vengeance) had "arrived at Port de Paix with-"out any armament or equipment "whatever; and that ſhe had been "ſold, armed and equipped wholly, "and commiſſioned as a privateer, "on the territory of the republic. "Theſe documents were certificates "of the general, the ordonnateur, "and of the greater part of the "principal officers of St. Domingo, "&c. He haſtened to communicate "them to the ſecretary of ſtate, and "to requeſt him to order the at-"torney of New York diſtrict to "ſtay the proceedings inſtituted in "the name of the government: "there was nothing done with them, "and Mr. Harriſon continued his "proſecution." It will appear by my letter of October 1ſt 1795 to Mr. Harriſon, that theſe papers were ſent to him, and by his anſwer of October the 3d, that he received them. That the bill of ſale (one of the papers) was produced to the court, in behalf of the claimant of the privateer; but that the certificate of General Laveaux could not be conſidered as evidence in the cauſe; and if it had been admiſſible, "The claimant would be very cau-"tious of producing it, *on account of* "*its differing* from the witneſſes."

Sixth. *Caſe of the French privateer* Le Caſſius.

For the full hiſtory of this caſe I muſt alſo refer you to the documents, and here only preſent you with a conciſe ſtatement.

The Caſſius, under the name of Les Jumeaux, was fitted and armed for a veſſel of war in the Port of Philadelphia, in violation of a law of the United States. In December 1794, having eſcaped from the port to deſcend the river, orders were given to the militia of the ſtate of Delaware to intercept her. The attempt was made, and failed.—The crew of Les Jumeaux, which was unexpectedly found to be very numerous, reſiſted the officers who went on board, manned their cannon, and brought them to bear on the cutter in which the militia (about 40 in number) were embarked. Their force being inadequate to the enterprize they retired, with an intention to return next day, with a reinforcement. They did ſo; but Les Jumeaux had failed, and gone to ſea. The agent, Mr. Guenet, by whom Les Jumeaux had been fitted out, was tried in the circuit court of Philadelphia, con-

victed of the offence, and received ſentence of fine and impriſonment.

Les Jumeaux proceeded to St. Domingo. Samuel B. Davis, a citizen of the United States, there took the command of her, with a commiſſion from the French Government. Davis probably ſailed from Philadelphia, in Les Jumeaux, for the purpoſe of finally taking the command of her. Her name was now changed to Le Caſſius; and on a cruize ſhe took a ſchooner called the William Lindſay, belonging to Meſſrs. Yard and Ketland of Philadelphia; Mr. Ketland having purchaſed an intereſt in her after her ſailing. The ſchooner and her cargo was condemned as prize at St. Domingo. In Auguſt 1795, capt. Davis commanding Le Caſſius, came with her to Philadelphia. She was immediately known. Mr. Yard, with a view of obtaining an indemnification for the loſs of the ſchooner and her cargo, libelled Le Caſſius in the diſtrict court, and cauſed the captain to be arreſted. Soon after the ſupreme court being in ſeſſion, captain Davis's counſel applied for and obtained a prohibition to the diſtrict court, to ſtop its proceedings; by which the ſuits, both againſt him and Le Caſſius, were defeated. The prohibition was granted on this principle; that the trial of prizes taken without the jurisdiction of the United States, and carried into places within the juriſdiction of France, for adjudication, by French veſſels, and all queſtions incidental to it, belong excluſively to the French tribunals; and conſequently that its veſſels of war and their officers are not liable to the process of our courts, predicated upon ſuch capture and ſubſequent proceeding within the juriſdiction of the French government.

Meſſrs. Yard and Ketland having failed to obtain indemnification in this mode, procured new proceſs on the information of Mr. Ketland, to be iſſued from the circuit court, by which Le Caſſius was attached as a veſſel armed and equipped as a ſhip of war in the port of Philadelphia, with an intent to cruize, and commit hoſtilities againſt nations with whom the United States were at peace; in violation of the act of congreſs prohibiting ſuch armaments. Mr. Adet complained, that the process was taken out of the circuit court; becauſe, as he alleged, it had no juriſdiction, and that it would be attended with delay, that court ſitting but twice a year: whereas the diſtrict court, in which it was ſaid the proſecution, if at all permitted, ſhould have been commenced, was always open. I conſulted gentlemen of legal knowledge, on the point of juriſdiction in this caſe, and they were decided in their opinion, that the circuit court had juriſdiction, and excluſively of the diſtrict court. You will ſee alſo in Mr. Rawle's ſtatement of this caſe, that this opinion was adopted and ſupported by two gentlemen of eminence at the bar. You will further ſee in that ſtatement, that the government of the United States, had no part in originating that proſecution; and that the diſtrict attorney on behalf of the United States, took meaſures at each term of the circuit court, to prepare the cauſe for trial, and on a plea calculated to defeat the proſecution.

At length in October term 1796, the cauſe was brought to a hearing. In the courſe of the argument, the queſtion of juriſdiction preſented itſelf. The court adjourned until next

day to conſider of it; and on the following morning diſmiſſed the ſuit. As ſoon as I had received notice of this event (on the 19th of October laſt) I wrote to Mr. Adet, informing him, that Le Caſſius remained in the cuſtody of the marſhal, but ready to be delivered to his order. To this no anſwer was returned; but he mentions the matter in the notes ſubjoined to his note of the 15th of November, intimating that the United States were anſwerable in this caſe for a violation of treaties, and for the damages the Caſſius has ſuſtained. Here the affair reſts.

In his letter of the 3d of June 1796, which you will find among the papers reſpecting the Caſſius, Mr. Adet mentioned the affair of the Favourite at New York; and intimated an idea, that the executive might in like manner cauſe the proſecution againſt Le Caſſius to ceaſe. But the proceedings in the caſe of the Favourite were wholly in the hands of the executive officers, who were under the preſident's immediate control, and to whom, on evidence ſatisfactory to the executive, orders were given to diſcontinue the proceſs. In this affair of the Favourite, we are fortunate in finding one caſe in which Mr. Adet (contrary to his aſſertion in his note of Nov. 15,) acknowledges that juſtice was done by our government. You will obſerve in Mr. Fauchet's letter of the 23d of Sept. 1794, a very formidable complaint in this affair of the Favourite; that it was pretended, that a privateer fitted for a cruize, had depoſited arms on board her, and that this pretext was uſed for viſiting and pillaging her: that ſhe was a ſhip of war of the republic, then ſerving as a ſtore ſhip until ſhe could be repaired; that the ſovereignty of France was violated, and her flag inſulted. Yet by the letter of I. Lamb, eſq. collector of the port of New York, of the 22d of Nov. 1794, you will ſee, that at the time the ſeizure was made of the ſuſpected articles on board the Favourite, "She having been totally "diſmantled, her crew ſent on board "other ſhips of war, and her ſails, "rigging and other materials ſold "at public auction, ſhe was con-"ſidered as a hulk; otherwiſe the "event would not have taken place." The collector further declares, that the charge of pulling down the national flag and hoiſting another in its place, was groundleſs.

Theſe are all the caſes expreſsly mentioned by Mr. Adet, in which French privateers and their prizes have been brought under the cognizance of our courts of juſtice; and all, therefore, to which an anſwer can be directed. Had he cited the other caſes, which, he ſays, would fill a volume, we have no doubt there would be found in them, as in thoſe which have been mentioned, abundant reaſon to juſtify the government and the tribunals.

Mr. Adet's complaints are not confined to imputations of injuſtice experienced by French privateers and their prizes from our courts.

Firſt, "He proteſts againſt the "violation of the 17th article of the "treaty, in contempt of which the "American tribunals *have taken* "*cognizance* of the validity of prizes "made by French ſhips of war, or "privateers, under pretext of ori-"ginal armaments or augmentation "of armament in the United States;

"or

" or of capture within their line of " jurisdiction." But his predecessor Mr. Fauchet*, after saying that our admiralty courts interfered in prize cases, on the ground of " sei- " zure within the jurisdictional line " of the United States, or of arma- " ment, or augmentation of arma- " ment of the capturing vessels in " their ports," immediately adds, " on this subject, sir, you desire me " to specify to you a circumstance " in which a prize was arrested, " which did not come under that " denomination, and you take the " trouble to establish, that they have " a right to intervene in every case " that can be brought under those " heads. In the first place, sir, *I " never have, at least to my recollec- " tion, contested the right of your " courts, or of the government to in- " terfere in matters of the nature of " those you mention*; but I complain " of the *facility*, with which prizes " have been thrown into those two " classes, which do not belong to " them." He then says, that he could cite a great number of affairs to which he alludes, but contents himself with mentioning only two. The first is the case of Talbot, of which I have already given some details, and which, with the documents referred to, will shew this to have been an unfortunate instance to support his complaint. The other is that of the prizes of the *Citizen of Marseilles*, also already mentioned, and which will not justify a complaint; for although the final decision was in favour of the privateer, yet the sentence of the district court was not reversed in the circuit court, but upon the introduction of *new testimony*; and the supreme court allowed no damages, because the testimony was so ambiguous as to justify the appeal.

But quitting the contradictory declarations of the French ministers; and referring you to the letter dated August the 16th 1793, from the secretary of state to our minister at Paris (which has been published)† for the reasoning of our government on this subject, and the demonstration of their right and duty as a neutral power, to prohibit any of the belligerent powers arming their vessels in our ports, consequently to restore to their proper owners prizes taken and brought in by vessels so unlawfully armed, or when taken within our line of jurisdiction, I will only add here—That the principle of the rules on this subject, first adopted by the president, on the most mature deliberation, received afterwards the sanction of congress, by their act of the 5th of June 1794, and of the judges in all their judicial proceedings, in the prize causes in question. If then the 17th article of the French treaty has been violated, the executive, the legislature and the judges of the federal courts have all concurred in the violation. This no American citizen will be inclined to believe; and we might suppose that the consideration of such concurrence in one opinion would any where produce a pause, and some diffidence in pronouncing it erroneous. Neither the rules adopted by the president, nor the act of congress, have made a new law respecting such prizes; they have only directed the *modes of proceeding to fulfil our neutral duties, agreeably*

* Letter, June 8th, 1795.

† State Papers, p. 57. Voyez Correspondance de Genet, page 135, seq.

to the univerſal law of nations. The judges have applied this law; but not without due attention to the obligations of our treaties, which they regard as ſupreme laws of the land.

Second. Mr. Adet "proteſts "againſt the violation of the 17th "article of the treaty, in contempt "of which, Engliſh veſſels which "had made prize on Frenchmen, "had been admitted into the ports "of the United States." The conſtruction of this part of the 17th article, for which Mr. Adet, after his predeceſſor Mr. Fauchet, contends, is this—That if a national ſhip of war, of the enemies of France, has *at any time*, and in *any part of the globe*, made prize of a French veſſel, ſuch a ſhip of war is to be allowed no ſhelter or refuge in our ports—unleſs ſhe is driven in through ſtreſs of weather; and then ſhe is to be made to depart as ſoon as poſſible. On the contrary, the conſtruction adopted by the executive of the United States, and expreſſed in the rules before mentioned, which had been tranſmitted to the collectors in Auguſt 1793, was this, that *privateers* only of the enemies of France were abſolutely excluded from our ports, except as before, when compelled to enter through ſtreſs of weather, purſuant to the 22d article of the treaty; while the *national* ſhips of war of *any other nation* were entitled to an aſylum in our ports, excepting thoſe which ſhould have made prize of the people or property of France, *coming in with their prizes.*

On the 9th of Sept. 1793, the ſecretary of ſtate thus expreſſed to the Britiſh miniſter, the determination of the executive.—"*the public* "*ſhips of war of both nations*, "(French and Engliſh) enjoy a per-"fect equality in our ports; firſt, in "caſes of urgent neceſſity; ſecond, "in caſes of comfort and conve-"nience; and third, in the time "they chooſe to continue, and, "though the admiſſion of *prizes* and "*privateers* of *France* is *excluſive*, "yet it is the effect of treaty," &c *.

In ſupport of our conſtruction of the treaty, it has been obſerved†, that the firſt part of the 17th article, relates to French ſhips of war and privateers entering our ports *with their prizes*; the ſecond contraſts the ſituation of the enemies of France, by forbidding ſuch as ſhall have made prize of the French; intimating from this connection of the two clauſes, that thoſe forbidden, are thoſe which bring their prizes with them. To theſe obſervations I will add—That if the *literal* conſtruction contended for by the French miniſters were admitted, then although the *public* ſhips of war which *had* made prize of French people, or property, would be excluded from our ports, yet the prizes of ſuch *public* ſhips might be received, and they might be ſold too; for the prohibition in the 22d article of the treaty, applies only to *privateers* and their *prizes*; while the government of the United States judged that the 17th article was intended to exclude the *prizes* made on the French by *public* ſhips of war, as well as thoſe made by *privateers*; and gave directions accordingly to have them excluded.

* State Papers, p. 77. Voy. Correſp. de Genet. p. 173.
† Secretary of State, to Mr. Fauchet. Sept. 7th 1794.

Furher,

Further, if it had been intended to exclude from our ports the *public ſhips of war* of the enemies of France, coming *without any prize*, then they would doubtleſs have been comprehended in one proviſion with the *privateers* in the 22d article; for privateers are thereby excluded, whether they come with or without prizes. But *public ſhips of war* are not comprehended, or at all referred to in the 22d article; whence the concluſion is fair, that it was not intended to forbid them coming *alone*; and conſequently, that the *excluſion*, provided in the 17th article applies to them *only* when they would come into our ports *with their prizes*; this laſt clauſe of the ſame article being in its form oppoſed to the firſt clauſe, which *admits* the entrance of French ſhips *with their prizes*. Beſides, if a *public ſhip of war* of the enemies of France comes into our ports *without any prize*, how is it to be known, whether ſhe has or has not made prize of the people or property of the French? Who is to erect a tribunal to inveſtigate and pronounce on the fact? But if ſhe comes *with a prize*, the caſe preſents no difficulty; ſhe brings with her the evidence, which goes to the excluſion of her and her prize.

I muſt now advert to ſome others of Mr. Adet's charges againſt the government of the United States.

Firſt. "It (the government of the United States) puts in queſtion, "whether it ſhould execute the trea-"ties, or receive the agents of the "rebel and proſcribed princes." And is there any thing in this unjuſtifiable or extraordinary? Was it eaſy for a nation, diſtant as ours, to obtain promptly ſuch accurate information as would enable it duly to eſtimate the varying condition of France? In 1791, the conſtitution formed by the conſtituent aſſembly was accepted by Louis the XVI; it was notified to the United States in March 1792. Congreſs deſired the preſident to communicate to the king of the French, their congratulations on the occaſion. In Auguſt 1792, the king was ſuſpended. In September, royalty was aboliſhed; and in January 1793, Louis the XVI. tried and condemned by the convention, ſuffered death. Was it eaſy to keep pace with the rapid ſucceſſion of ſuch revolutionary events? and was it unlawful for our government, under ſuch circumſtances, even to deliberate? I do not find that information of the death of the king was received from our miniſter at Paris, until May the 1ſt 1793. The news, however, had previously arrived in ſuch a manner as to attract the attention of government; for in April, the preſident had determined to receive a miniſter from the French republic. And it is remarkable, that this was before he knew that a miniſter had arrived in the United States. This promptitude in deciding a leading queſtion, does not bear any ſtrong marks of heſitation. And was there no merit in this ready determination to acknowledge the French republic? had it been before acknowledged by any power on the globe? How long did *France heſitate* to acknowledge the republic of the United States? a year and an half: And under what circumſtances was the acknowledgment finally made? After the capture of a whole Britiſh army appeared to have eſtabliſhed our independence. But of this more hereafter.—In matters of importance (and what could be more important

than the decision of a neutral and allied nation on questions perhaps involving war or peace?) Is it the part of wisdom to reject all deliberation, even on points which do not obviously present difficulties? Will not prudence dictate to him who is to decide great national questions, rather to deliberate long, than risk the consequences of hasty decisions?

Second. "It made an insidious proclamation of neutrality."

I have already remarked, that proclamation received the pointed approbation of congress; and, I might truly add, of the great body of the citizens of the United States. And what was the general object of this proclamation? To preserve us in a state of *peace*. And have not the ministers of France declared, that their government did not desire us to enter into the war? And how was peace to be preserved? By an impartial neutrality. And was it not then the duty of the chief executive to proclaim this to our citizens, and to inform them what acts would be deemed departures from their neutral duties? This was done by the proclamation. It declared it to be the duty, interest, and disposition of the United States, to adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial toward the belligerent powers. It warned the citizens to avoid all acts which might contravene that disposition: it declared, that whosoever of the citizens should render himself liable to punishment or forfeiture under the law of nations, by committing or abetting hostilities against any of those powers, or by carrying to any of them articles deemed contraband of war, would not receive the protection of the United States against such punishment and forfeiture: and that the president had given instructions to the proper officers to prosecute all persons who should violate the law of nations with respect to the powers at war, or any of them. To what in all this can the epithet *insidious* be applied? On the contrary, is not the whole transaction stamped with *candour* and *good faith*?

Third. "By its *chicaneries* it "abandoned French privateers to its "courts of justice." *Abandoned them to its courts of justice!* Sir, you know many of the judges personally, and all of them by reputation, and that their characters need no vindication from such an insinuation. They are judges with whose administration of justice our own citizens are satisfied; and we believe they may challenge the world to furnish a proof that they have not administered justice with equal impartiality to foreigners. I will only add here one remark, that the correspondences with the French ministers formerly published, joined to those now furnished you, with the other documents accompanying them, will shew how loudly they can complain of the proceedings in our courts, and at the same time, with how little justice.

Fourth. "It eluded the amicable "mediation of the republic for "breaking the chains of its citizens "at Algiers." We did not entertain any doubt of the friendly disposition of the French republic, to aid us in this business. But what was really done we have never known. You will find herewith Mr. Fauchet's letter of June 4th 1794: and the answer of the secretary of state on the 6th, to which Mr. Adet refers. The information on the subject, which Mr. Fauchet expected "in a "little

" little time from Europe," probably never arrived; at leaſt it was never communicated to our government. There is ſurely in the ſecretary's anſwer, no evidence that our government was unwilling to accept the mediation of the republic. On the contrary, we have relied upon it to aid our negociations with the Barbary powers. Accordingly when col. Humphreys went from hence in 1795, cloathed with powers for negociating peace with thoſe ſtates, he was particularly inſtructed to ſolicit the mediation of the French republic; and for that purpoſe only he went from Liſbon to Paris, where, through our miniſter, the committee of public ſafety manifeſted their diſpoſition to contribute to the ſucceſs of his miſſion. But col. Humphreys was at the ſame time authorized to depute Joſeph Donaldſon, eſq. (who had been appointed conſul of the United States for Tunis and Tripoli, and who went with col. Humphreys from America) to negociate immediately a treaty with Algiers: for in a country where a negociation depended on ſo many contingencies, it was of the laſt importance to be ready to ſeize a favourable moment to effect a peace, whenever it ſhould offer. Such a moment preſented itſelf, on Mr. Donaldſon's arrival at Algiers. He had not been there forty-eight hours before the treaty was concluded. It is alſo a fact, that it was effected without the aid of the French conſul at that place. However, with reſpect to Mr. Donaldſon's negociation we are well informed, that " his not conferring " with the conſul of France was not " his fault; and if he had done it, " that it would have injured his " cauſe; neither the republic nor her " conſul enjoying any credit with " the Dey." But we are at the ſame time informed that the cauſe of this was tranſitory, and ought not to hinder us from endeavouring to engage her intereſts for other places, and in that place for future occaſions. Agreeably to this idea the agent for the United States applied to the French conſul, Herculais, at Algiers, the laſt ſpring, to recommend a ſuitable perſon to negociate a treaty with Tunis. The perſon recommended was employed, and we have been informed, had in part ſucceeded, and was expected to complete a treaty of peace. This information was communicated to our miniſter at Paris, in a letter, dated 30th of Auguſt laſt, from the French miniſter for foreign affairs, accompanied by an extract of a letter from the conſul Herculais.

In all theſe tranſactions far from diſcovering a trace of evidence to ſupport Mr. Adet's charge, the reverſe is manifeſtly proved.

Fifth. " Notwithſtanding treaty ſtipulations, it allowed to be arreſted veſſels of the ſtate."

While we admit the fact that French veſſels have been arreſted, we deny that the arreſts have infringed any treaty ſtipulations. The details in this letter, and the documents referred to, appear to us entirely to exculpate government, and if neither the executive, nor our tribunals, could in any caſe take cognizance of captures, which the French privateers called *prizes*, then they might take our own veſſels in our rivers and harbours, and our citizens be without redreſs.* But " it is an eſ- " ſential attribute of the juriſdiction

* Letter from the Secretary of State to Mr. Morris, Auguſt 16th, 1793. Voy. Correſp. de Genet. p. 135.

" of

"of every country to preſerve "peace, to puniſh acts in breach of "it, and to reſtore property taken "by force within its limits. Were "the armed veſſel of any nation to "cut away one of our own from the "wharves of Philadelphia, and to "chuſe to call it a prize, would this "exclude us from the right of re-"dreſſing the wrong? Were it the "veſſel of another nation, are we not "equally bound to protect it, while "within our limits? Were it ſeized "in any other waters, or on the "ſhores of the United States, the "right of redreſſing is ſtill the ſame; "and humble indeed would be our "condition, were we obliged to de-"pend for that on the will of a fo-"reign conſul, or on negociation "with diplomatic agents."

The ſame reaſoning will apply to captures made by illegal privateers; that is by ſuch as were armed and equipped in the ports of the United States; for it being by the law of nations the right of our government, and as a neutral power its duty, to prevent ſuch armaments, it muſt alſo be its right and duty, by all means in its power, to reſtrain the acts of ſuch armaments, done in violation of its rights and in defiance of its authority. And ſuch were the armaments made by the French people in the ports of the United States. And the moſt effectual means of defeating their unlawful practices was, the ſeizing of their prizes when brought within our juriſdiction. It is very poſſible, indeed, that in ſome caſes the irritated ſubjects or public agents of nations, whoſe property was taken by French privateers, might commence vexatious proſecutions: but this is no more than happens frequently among our own citizens; and in every nation in the world: and the only reſtraints on the vindictive paſſions of men, in ſuch caſes, which the policy of free governments has impoſed, are the damages, which the courts compel the malicious proſecutor to pay to the injured party. If, as Mr. Adet aſſerts, damages have in two caſes only been granted by the courts to French privateers, even when the deciſions have been in their favour, it has ariſen from their own conduct, or the omiſſions of their counſel, or from accidental circumſtances, which, in the opinion of the courts, furniſhed reaſonable preſumptions againſt them of having violated the laws, either by illegally arming in our ports, or making the captures within our juriſdiction. If, on the other hand, they have in the event of contrary deciſions, been always condemned to pay damages, we may venture to ſay, it was becauſe they were always in the wrong. For no one will find ſufficient ground to impeach the diſcernment, or integrity of our courts.

Sixth. "It ſuffered England, by "inſulting its neutrality, to inter-"rupt its commerce with France."

That our commerce has been interrupted by the armed veſſels of England, and ſometimes with circumſtances of inſult, we certainly ſhall not attempt to deny; the univerſal reſentment and indignation excited by theſe injuries were admiſſions of the fact: but that the government had *connived* at the practice, (for that Mr. Adet muſt have intended to inſinuate by the word "*ſuffered*") all its acts moſt forcibly contradict. It was becauſe of thoſe aggreſſions that preparations for war were commenced; and to demand ſatisfaction for them was the leading object of Mr. Jay's miſſion

miſſion to London. Satisfaction was demanded; and the arrangements agreed on for rendering it, are now in execution in London. But if by "*ſuffered*," Mr. Adet means that we did not arm, that is, make war on England, to obtain the indemnification, when humanity, reaſon, and the law of nations preſcribed the mode of previous peaceable demand: To theſe very principles we may appeal for our juſtification; and if it is neceſſary to go farther, we ſay, that as an independent nation, we muſt be left to determine in what manner we can moſt beneficially obviate an evil, and when it is moſt proper for us to repel an injury. To deny us this right of judgment, is to deny our independence. We have not been inſenſible either to our honour or to our intereſt. If we have manifeſted much long-ſuffering, we have not been ſingular. Neutral nations very commonly endure many temporary evils; becauſe they appear light when compared with the calamities of war: and they look forward as we have done, to a period, when returning juſtice may redreſs their wrongs. This period, we truſt, will arrive to thoſe we are now ſuffering from the French republic. If a nation not bound to us by treaty, and between whom and ourſelves actual circumſtances, and many recollections, tended to excite peculiar paſſions, engaged to render us juſtice, ſhall we expect leſs of an avowed friend?

We may here properly enquire what could have been the underſtanding of the parties on this point, when the treaty of 1778 was made between France and the United States. She knew, that notwithſtanding the extent of our country, and its rapid increaſe in population, many years muſt elapſe before we could form a powerful navy to protect our commerce. She knew the conduct of maritime powers in all their wars: particularly ſhe was acquainted with the maxims and meaſures of England towards the commerce of neutral nations, in all her wars with France. And if knowing theſe things, France then expected that in all ſubſequent wars, we ſhould *compel* the maritime powers in general, and Great Britain in particular, to admit our commerce to perfect freedom, then inſtead of a treaty of *commerce* containing regulations for conducting it, when France ſhould be at war, ſhe would have demanded from us a ſtipulation, that in every future war, in which ſhe ſhould be engaged with any other maritime power, we alſo ſhould engage in it as her aſſociate. But this is a condition which France was too juſt to demand, and to which the United States would never have agreed.

Seventh. "Notwithſtanding the "faith of treaties, it gave an aſylum "to theſe ſame Engliſh, who after "having inſulted her flag, pillaged "her citizens, came alſo to brave "the American people in their "ports, and to take a ſtation, "whence to cruize on a favourable "opportunity, againſt the French."

This like moſt others of Mr. Adet's charges, is but the renewal of the complaints of his predeceſſor, Mr. Fauchet: and the vindication of the government will appear in the anſwers and communications from the ſecretary of ſtate to the miniſter, in the years 1794 and 1795. The caſes particularly noticed were thoſe of the Britiſh frigate Terpſichore, and her prize La Montague; and of the Britiſh ſhip Argonaut and her

her prize L'Eſpérance. The Thetis and Huſſar Britiſh frigates, with their French prizes La Prévoyance and La Raiſon, are alſo mentioned, but without any facts or circumſtances, as ſubjects of enquiry, which of courſe is precluded. That of the Terpſichore and her prize appears to have been the firſt caſe of the kind, in which the executive of the United States and thoſe of the particular ſtates were called to interfere; and therefore it will not be thought extraordinary, if the executive of Virginia was unprepared with arrangements to give inſtant effect to the ſtipulation of the 17th article of the treaty of 1778, forbidding an aſylum to the armed veſſels of the enemies of France and their prizes. What delay took place ſeems to have been the reſult of accidents; certainly not of deſign. And by letters from this department, the executives were earneſtly preſſed to take the neceſſary order for prompt execution in future, of this part of the treaty. But why ſhould the French miniſters complain with ſo much energy, that a Britiſh ſhip of war, with her prize, remained in one of our ports, during perhaps twenty or twenty-five days; when againſt the earneſt requeſts and orders of the executive, the French privateers armed in our ports, in violation of the laws, long continued to keep on our coaſt and enter our harbours, thence on favorable opportunities to cruize againſt their enemies? The Columbia or Carmagnole continued ſuch her unlawful acts for more than a year.

After all the zealous remonſtrances of Mr. Fauchet, now renewed by Mr. Adet, about the captures of the French corvette L'Eſpérance, by the Britiſh ſhip Argonaut, who went with her prize into Lynn-Haven Bay. What were the facts? The governor of Virginia went perſonally to the French conſul at Norfolk for information concerning this declared violation of the treaty —but "he received none which appeared to juſtify the uneaſineſs occaſioned by that event, *he charging "no circumſtances as improper in the "captors*; but rather ſeemed to "conſider the introduction of the "priſoners made on that occaſion, "ſo ſoon into a place where the exchange would be effected, as an "alleviation of the misfortune of "loſing the veſſel." The captain of the French corvette himſelf was deſired to give evidence in the caſe, he promiſed, but failed to appear. He was called upon a ſecond time to give information, but diſcovered an unwillingneſs to do it; obſerving, that he had given to the conſul a circumſtantial account of the tranſaction on his arrival. The governor having heard, that a reſpectable pilot, by the name of Butler, was acquainted with the circumſtances of this affair, he directed his depoſition to be taken; it was taken, and imported that admiral Murray himſelf purchaſed the prize L'Eſpérance, and manned and fitted her in Lynn-Haven bay for a cruize. But Butler's depoſition was afterwards taken on the part of the Britiſh, in which he contradicted all the material facts recited in the former depoſition; for which he accounted by ſaying, that he could neither write nor read, and that there had been inſerted in his firſt depoſition what he had never ſaid. Under theſe circumſtances it was deſirable to obtain further information. This was furniſhed by the Britiſh miniſter, in the extract of a letter from admiral Murray, which

which bears every mark of candour and humanity, and of reſpect to the United States. It is as follows: "The French ſloop of war L'Eſpérance was brought into Lynn-Haven bay on the 11th of January (a few days after my arrival there) by capt. Ball, who had captured her fifteen leagues from the ſhore: the weather being very tempeſtuous, a lieutenant with a ſufficient number of men only to navigate her (not being half the complement the French had in her) were ſent on board from on board the Reſolution and Argonaut; and ſo ſoon as the weather permitted thoſe ſhips to ſupply her with water and proviſions, I ſent her to ſea, that I might give no umbrage to the American ſtates. An additional reaſon for bringing L'Eſpérance into Lynn-Haven bay, was out of humanity to the French priſoners, whom, having had a long voyage, I ſent to Norfolk as ſoon as prudence would permit; otherwiſe they muſt have been kept priſoners on board the whole winter, and ſent to Halifax in the ſpring: nor was ſhe equipped, or armed then, in any manner whatever; nor did the lieutenant receive any commiſſion for her whilſt in Lynn-Haven bay; and when at ſea only an acting order to command her, which is cuſtomary, and abſolutely neceſſary in all captures; otherwiſe, if retaken by the enemy, he might be conſidered as a pirate."

Eighth. "It might be ſaid, that it applauded their (the Engliſh) audacity; all ſubmiſſion to their will, it allowed the French colonies to be declared in a ſtate of blockade, and its citizens interdicted the right of trading to them."

If among the multitude of ſuch complaints, as Mr. Adet has exhibited, any one could excite ſurprize, this charge is calculated to produce it. Here a formal charge is made againſt the government of the United States, that it did not controul in another independent nation the right of judging in its own affairs—That it did not forbid, and effectually prevent, the officers of a foreign power, the Britiſh admirals and commanders in the Weſt-Indies, declaring certain French colonies to be in a ſtate of blockade! "But the official legiſlation of a proclamation had been poſted up under our eyes, prohibiting our commerce with the French colonies, and ſuſpending to us alone the law of nations!" The anſwer to M. Fauchet, from the ſecretary of ſtate, repreſents this matter differently. The Britiſh conſul-general at Philadelphia, by a publication on the 10th of April 1795, gave notice that he had received official communications that the iſlands of Guadaloupe, Mariagalante and Deſirade, were by proclamation iſſued by his Britannic majeſty's general and vice-admiral, commanding in the Weſt Indies, declared to be in an actual ſtate of blockade; and that *neutral* (not ſingly *American*) veſſels were thereby prohibited from attempting to enter any ports or places in thoſe iſlands with ſupplies of any kind, under the penalty of being "dealt with conformably to exiſting treaties, and as warranted by the eſtabliſhed laws of nations." And while exiſting treaties (our treaty with Great Britain had no operative exiſtence till ſix months after the

the conſul's advertiſement) and the laws of nations were avowed to be the rules by which the property of neutrals was in this caſe to be adjudged, had they reaſon to complain? If any neutral veſſels attempted to enter any of thoſe ports which were not in reality in a ſtate of blockade, and yet were captured, could they be condemned? Certainly not by the rules which the Britiſh preſcribed to themſelves, "Treaties "and the laws of nations." But if the Britiſh commanders proclaimed untruths, and iſſued arbitrary orders for capturing neutral veſſels; and their cruizers and courts of admiralty executed them arbitrarily, could the American government prevent them?—We could demand of the Britiſh government ſatisfaction for injuries to our own citizens conſequent on ſuch orders; and if any ſuch were ſuſtained, the arrangements for making reparation are now in execution. But admitting that any ports in the French colonies were in fact blockaded; who ſhould notify it to neutral nations, accuſtomed to trade with thoſe ports? Certainly the officers of that power whoſe fleets and armies formed the blockade: and in the United States no mode of giving univerſal notice could be ſo effectual as a publication in hand-bills and newſpapers.

Ninth. "It eluded all the ad-"vances made by the republic for "renewing the treaties of commerce, "upon a more favourable footing to "both nations; it excuſed itſelf on "the moſt frivolous pretexts, whilſt "it anticipated Great Britain, by "ſoliciting a treaty in which, proſ-"tituting its neutrality, it ſacrificed "France to her enemies; or rather "looking upon her as obliterated "from the map of the world; it "forgot the ſervices ſhe had ren-"dered it, and threw aſide the duty "of gratitude, as if ingratitude were "a governmental duty."

Of the advances referred to, the firſt were made by Mr. Genet. Theſe you will ſee in the printed correſpondence between him and Mr. Jefferſon. Mr. Genet's letter is dated the 23d of May 1793, in which he informed the government, that he was authorized to propoſe a treaty on "a liberal and fraternal baſis*."

Mr. Jefferſon's letter to Mr. Morris, our miniſter at Paris, dated the 23d of Auguſt 1793, aſſigns the reaſon for poſtponing the negociation†. "The ſenate (ſays he) being "then in receſs, and not to meet "again till the fall, I appriſed Mr. "Genet, that the participation in "matters of treaty given by the "conſtitution to that branch of our "government, would of courſe delay "any definitive anſwer to his "friendly propoſition. As he was "ſenſible of this circumſtance, the "matter has been underſtood to lie "over till the meeting of the ſe-"nate." Congress were not to meet until December; conſequently there was no neceſſity of precipitating the buſineſs. But with the beſt diſpoſitions to form new commercial arrangements, mutually more beneficial than thoſe of the treaty of 1778, the unwarrantable conduct of Mr. Genet, from the moment he landed at Charleſton, until the date

* Voy. Correſpondance de Genet. page 14 et 56.
† Voy. ibid. p. 156.

of

of his letter on the ſubject of the negociation, was ſufficient to excite caution in the American government. He had there violated the ſovereignty of the United States*, " by authorizing the fitting and arm- " ing of veſſels in that port, enliſt- " ing men, citizens and foreigners, " and giving them commiſſions to " cruize, and commit hoſtilities with " nations at peace with us," and with whom we had extenſive commercial connections. " Theſe priva- " teers were taking and bringing " prizes into our ports, and the con- " ſuls of France were aſſuming to " hold courts of admiralty on them, " to try, condemn, and authorize " their ſale as legal prize." Nevertheleſs, the government really deſirous of forming a new and more advantageous commercial treaty with France, inſtructed the miniſter of the United States at Paris, to manifeſt the ſame to the executive of France, and to ſuggeſt for this purpoſe, that the powers of Mr. Genet be renewed to his ſucceſſor. It is true, that in his letter dated 30th of September, Mr. Genet had renewed the propoſition of negociating a commercial treaty: but how was it poſſible for the government to undertake a negociation with that miniſter, after " the cor- " reſpondence which had taken " place between the executive and " him," (a correſpondence on his part replete with inſults,) " and the " acts which he had thought proper " to do, and to countenance in op- " poſition to the laws of the land?" After the government had inſtructed our miniſter at Paris, to deſire Mr. Genet's recal; and to declare to the government of France, " the ne- " ceſſity of their having a repreſen- " tative here, diſpoſed to reſpect the " laws and authority of the country, " and to do the beſt for their intereſt " which theſe would permit; and " when it was only an anxious re- " gard for thoſe intereſts, and a de- " ſire that they might not ſuffer, " which induced the executive in " the mean time to receive his com- " munications in writing, and to ad- " mit the continuance of his functions " ſo long as they ſhould be reſtrained " within the limits of the law, as " therefore announced to him, or " ſhould be of the tenor uſually ob- " ſerved towards independent na- " tions by the repreſentative of a " friendly power reſiding with them?" Under ſuch circumſtances what anſwer could the executive return to Mr. Genet, more proper, and more marked with attention to France, than " that his letter would be con- " ſidered with all the reſpect and in- " tereſt, which *its object* neceſſarily " required?"

It is probable that the powers to negociate a commercial treaty were not renewed to Mr. Genet's ſucceſſor; certainly they were not communicated to our government.

We now come to the freſh overtures of a commercial negociation made by Mr. Adet.

The firſt notices of them are found in Memoranda of facts, dated the 27th and 29th of June 1795, and ſubſcribed by the ſecretary of ſtate. By theſe it appears, that on the 13th of June Mr. Adet arrived at Philadelphia. On the 15th Mr. Fauchet introduced him to the ſecretary of ſtate; on the 16th Mr. Adet informed the ſecretary that he ſhould the next day ſend him ſome

* Mr. Jefferſon to Mr. Morris, Auguſt 16, 1793. Voy. Correſp. de Genet. p. 135.

act

act of the French government relative to commerce: but it was not ſent. On the 22d of June, Mr. Adet was reminded of the promiſed communication. He ſaid it was copying, and gave reaſon to ſuppoſe that he ſhould forward it on that day; but on that day nothing was received.

On the 29th of June 1795, Mr. Adet had an interview with the ſecretary of ſtate: he obſerved, that he brought with him the commercial decrees, which Mr. Genet had formerly propounded to our government, and was inſtructed to negociate a treaty of commerce upon their baſis. He was aſked, whether he had any documents to communicate. He replied, that he would ſend them that day. He ſaid he had to communicate ſome inquietudes reſpecting the late treaty between the United States and Great Britain. He obſerved, that it was underſtood, that the United States had diſabled themſelves from entering into a new commercial treaty, upon a liberal ſcale, with France. The ſecretary anſwered, that he had determined, before he came, to aſk the permiſſion of the preſident, to communicate to him a copy of the treaty; and then he might ſay in what part he ſuppoſed that any impropriety in reſpect to France exiſted. The preſident having afterwards aſſented, the ſecretary on the ſame day delivered to Mr. Adet, a printed copy of the treaty, on which he promiſed to communicate his remarks.

Theſe remarks, dated June the 30th, and the ſecretary's anſwer, dated July the 6th, refuting the objections they contained, I have already noticed. The ſubſequent proceedings will ſhow, either that thoſe objections did not make any ſtrong impreſſions on Mr. Adet's mind, or that the ſecretary's anſwer had removed them.

On the 30th of June 1795, Mr. Adet communicated a part of his inſtructions relative to "a new commercial treaty, and a new conſular convention, to be entered into between France and the United States." The inſtructions imported, that he was only to "prepare with the American government, the means and arrangement" of theſe treaties, and then to communicate them to the committee of public ſafety. The object of the new treaty was declared to be, "to found the commercial relations of the two republics upon ſtipulations more *reciprocally* advantageous, and more clearly worded, than that of 1778, and the object of the conſular convention, to ſecure the execution of the commercial treaty."

The ſecretary of ſtate anſwered on the firſt of July, expreſſing the readineſs of the government to open the propoſed negociation; and requeſted a communication of the dates of the decrees to which Mr. Adet's inſtruction referred.

On the 8th of July 1795, Mr. Adet replied to the ſecretary of ſtate, "that he neither knew nor poſſeſſed any other decree relative to the new negociation to be opened between France and the United States, than that of the *5th of February 1793, communicated to us by citizen Genet." This letter of the 8th was received the 12th, accompanied by a note of the latter

* Mr. Adet has ſince corrected this date, the decree intended being dated Feb. 19 1793. This is already publiſhed with the State Papers of that year. Voy. Correſp. de Genet. p. 15 et 56.

date,

date, apologizing for the delay, on account of ſickneſs. On the 12th the ſecretary of ſtate had written to him, *preſſing him* on the ſubject of the new negociation.

On the 16th of July 1795, the ſecretary of ſtate again wrote to Mr. Adet, and after informing him, that as he was not clothed with any very formal authority upon this ſubject, the preſident of the United States had thought proper to place *him* (the ſecretary of ſtate) upon the ſame and no other footing;—The ſecretary propoſed that the negociation ſhould be conducted in writing, unleſs when either thought it expedient to have an interview on any particular difficulty. And then aſſuring Mr. Adet, that no unneceſſary procraſtination ſhould be found in the ſecretary of ſtate, further propoſed, that Mr. Adet ſhould ſtate, 1ſt. The parts of the treaty which he wiſhed to be aboliſhed: 2d. Thoſe parts which he wiſhed to be corrected: and 3d. *Any additions* which ſeemed to him deſirable; but expreſſed the readineſs of the ſecretary to adopt any other better mode of conducting the negociation, if ſuch occurred to Mr. Adet.

On the 20th of July 1795, Mr. Adet, mentioning his ſickneſs, which for fifteen days had obliged him to abſtain from buſineſs, replied on the ſubject of the negociation, in theſe words; "In a few days I ſhall have "the honour of ſeeing you, and of "taking the neceſſary meaſures, in "order to commence the buſineſs "relative to the digeſting of the "new treaty, and new conſular "convention."

From this detail, it muſt, I conceive, be no eaſy taſk to find any facts by which Mr. Adet's charge can be ſupported. What he affects to call "frivolous pretexts," are ſubſtantial reaſons; and in reſpect to his own advances to treat, the conduct of our government manifeſts an eagerneſs to enter on the negociation: certainly you will diſcover in it no diſpoſition to elude or to procraſtinate.

You will be pleaſed to obſerve, ſir, that the letter from the ſecretary of ſtate to Mr. Adet, explaining the manner in which they ſhould proceed in the negociation, is dated the 16th of July; and that Mr. Adet's anſwer, agreeing ſhortly to meet the ſecretary, in order to take the neceſſary meaſures for commencing the buſineſs, is dated the 20th of July; yet in his note of November 15th, 1796, after having charged the government of the United States "with eluding all advances made "by the republic for renewing the "treaties of commerce, and excuſing "itſelf on the moſt frivolous pre-"texts;" after acknowledging that the preſident had authorized the ſecretary of ſtate to negociate, and that the latter had explained the manner of proceeding, he aſks, "but at what time? When the ra-"tification of the treaty concluded "between Lord Grenville and Mr. "Jay, no longer permitted the un-"derſigned to purſue that negocia-"tion." I am ſorry, ſir, in this place to call your attention to dates. The Britiſh treaty was not ratified until the 14th of Auguſt 1795, that is about a month after the plan of negociating with Mr. Adet had been propoſed to him by the ſecretary of ſtate, and twenty-five days after he had agreed to proceed in it. And if that ratification finally induced him to abandon the idea of negociating a new treaty between France and the United States, it did not inſtantly

produce this determination. He doubtleſs perceived that his own objections to the Britiſh treaty were obviated by the anſwer from the ſecretary of ſtate; and when he acknowledged the receipt of it, he had given up the right of judging of the treaty, whether it was good, or bad. "I ſhall, (ſays he in his letter of "July 20th, 1795) tranſmit it (the "ſecretary's anſwer) to the French "government, together with my ob- "ſervations, and the treaty. In ſuch "important circumſtances, it is ex- "cluſively the province of my go- "vernment to judge; and I cannot "permit myſelf to decide at all." And then immediately adds—"In "a few days I ſhall have the honour "of ſeeing you, and of taking the "neceſſary meaſures in order to "commence the buſineſs relative "to the digeſting the new treaty, "and new conſular convention." The Britiſh treaty then did not obſtruct the negociation; the principles of which might have been agreed on, and the articles drawn into form to be ſubmitted to the reſpective governments, for that was all the reſpective negociators were authorized to do. Will the miniſters of the French republic never ceaſe to reproach us with "ingratitude?" If indeed France *wrought* as well as "*guaranteed* the independence of "the United States," as Mr. Adet aſſerts, "at a time when ſhe might, "as the price of that very inde- "pendence, have granted them leſs "liberal conditions," our obligations are greater than we have hitherto imagined. But it is time that theſe claims to our gratitude were inveſtigated, and their extent aſcertained. We have citizens yet alive, who were actors and witneſſes of the declaration of our independence, and of the efforts to maintain it, with their effects, prior to our treaty with France. But laying no ſtreſs on our own recollections or conſciousneſs, we will reſort to the teſtimony of France herſelf.

France, by her miniſter the marquis de Noailles, having, in the declaration of the 13th of March 1778, which I have already quoted, announced to the court of London, the treaty of friendſhip and commerce ſhe had formed with the United States; and that to maintain the commerce of his ſubjects with them, which was the object of that treaty, his moſt chriſtian majeſty had "taken "eventual meaſures in concert with "the United States of North Ame- "rica;" that court publiſhed a juſtificative memorial, to vindicate to the world the war ſhe had determined to wage againſt France. In the obſervations of the court of France on this Britiſh memorial, we find the following declarations on the part of France *. "While the ambaſſador "of England put the king's patience "to the ſtrongeſt proofs, and while "the court of London was conſtantly "repeating denials of juſtice to his "majeſty's ſubjects, at the ſame time "that the Britiſh officers continued "to deſolate them on the ſea, an "event came to paſs in America, "which eſſentially changed the face "of things in that quarter of the "world. This event was the defeat "of the army under General Bur- "goyne. The news of this unex- "pected diſaſter, which arrived in "Europe in November 1777, aſto- "niſhed the Britiſh miniſters, and "muſt have the more ſenſibly affected

* Obſ. p. 60.

"them,

" them, *as it overthrew the plan they* " *had laid for the reduction of the* " *colonies.*" The obſervations then ſuggeſt, that this great event induced, in the Britiſh cabinet, the idea of conciliation with America, and of a coalition againſt the crown of France, in revenge for the ſuppoſed aid rendered by her to the United States; and to " gratify " their moſt dear and conſtant wiſh " —That of humbling France*." It was natural for the Britiſh miniſtry, *unable to ſubdue her colonies*, to ſeek to be reconciled to them, and to engage them to eſpouſe her reſentment. They might ſo much the more flatter themſelves that they ſhould ſucceed herein, as the proceedings of France, with regard to the American privateers, *and eſpecially the diſlike the king had at all times manifeſted to any engagement with the congreſs*, muſt have given diſguſt and diſſatisfaction to their deputies, and induce them, notwithſtanding their well known averſion, to ſeek even in England, the ſafety of their country, when they failed to find it in France.

" † The king, well informed of the " plan of the court of London, and " of the preparations, which were " the conſequence of it, perceived " that no more time was to be loſt, " if he would prevent the deſigns of " his enemies: his majeſty deter- " mined, therefore, to take into " conſideration, *at length*, the over- " tures of the congreſs!

" ‡ The commiſſioners (from the " United States) propoſed to the " king a treaty of amity and com- " merce, and an alliance offenſive " and defenſive, by which his ma- " jeſty ſhould engage, not only to " acknowledge ſimply and purely the " independence of the United States, " but alſo to guarantee and defend " it by force of arms. The king or- " dered an anſwer to be given, That " he could indeed look upon the in- " dependence of the United States " as exiſting; but that it did not " belong to him to acknowledge it, " becauſe he had not any right to " judge of it; neither could he gua- " rantee it, *as he did not intend to* " *enter into a war for its ſupport.* " His majeſty, in conſequence, re- " fuſed an offenſive alliance, and " confined himſelf to the *treaty of* " *amity and commerce.* But as it " was more than probable that the " court of London HAD *formed the* " *deſign of attacking France*, his ma- " jeſty thought he ought to enter " into an alliance with the United " States *eventual* and *purely defen-* " *ſive.* The ſtipulations contained in " this ſecond treaty are in ſubſtance, " that *if* France *ſhould be* attacked " by the court of London, before " the ceſſation of hoſtilities between " that court and its colonies, then " the king and the United States " ſhould mutually aſſiſt each other " againſt the common enemy: that " the king ſhould guarantee the in- " dependence and ſovereignty of the " United States; and that he " ſhould not lay down his arms till " it ſhould be acknowledged by " Great Britain."

Thus it is manifeſt that the United States were to be left ſtill to fight their own battles, *unleſs Great Britain ſhould chuſe to increaſe the number of her enemies, by attacking France*; in which caſe, it would be as truly the intereſt of France, as of the United States, to make it a common cauſe.

* Obſ. p. 64. † Obſ. p. 66. ‡ Obſ. 67.

" * This laſt treaty remained se- " cret, becauſe it was not in force " at the time of concluding it; but " that of commerce was notified at " the court of London, March 13th " 1778." The firſt words of the notification are theſe—" the United " States of North America, *who are* " *in full* poſſeſſion of independence," &c. The whole paragraph has been already quoted. The notification farther expreſſed, " that the king " being determined to protect effec- " tually the lawful commerce of his " ſubjects, and to maintain the dig- " nity of his flag; his majeſty has " in conſequence taken eventual " meaſures, in concert with the " United States of North America." The court of London choſe to conſider this notification as a declaration of war, of which they accuſe the king as being the author, and repreſent him, as the violator of laws divine and human, &c. &c.

" The act, however, which has " drawn upon the king ſuch odious " imputations, has, for its foundation, " *two incontestible truths*; the firſt, " *that at the period of the 6th Fe-* " *bruary* 1778, *the Americans had* " *the public poſſeſſion of their inde-* " *pendence*; the ſecond, that the " king had the right to look upon " this independence as exiſting with- " out being obliged to examine the " legality of it, and that no law for- " bade him to form connections with " the Americans."

The obſervations then reciting, that the fruitleſs attempts of the colonies to obtain redreſs from the mother country, in the mode of ſupplication, had induced them to league together to maintain their privileges ſword in hand; and ſoon after to publiſh the ſolemn act, whereby they declared themſelves independent, ſay,†—" This act, " which is of the 4th of July 1776, " induced the court of London to " give way to her reſentment; ſhe " diſplayed her power to chaſtiſe " the Americans, and to reduce " them by conqueſt. But what has " been the fruit of their efforts? " Have they not ſerved *to demon-* " *ſtrate* to America, to all Europe, " and to the court of London her- " ſelf, her impotence, and the *im-* " *poſſibility of her ever hereafter* " *bringing the Americans again un-* " *der her yoke!*"—That ſhe had given this demonſtration to America, is evident by the manner in which congreſs received the *conciliatory bills*, haſtily ſent from the court of London to America, and communicated by lord and general Howe. Congreſs were then informed of the treaties, which their commiſſioners had lately concluded at Paris. Yet confident in the ſtrength and ſpirit of their country, and of the inability of Britain to ſubdue it, they ‡ reſolved *unanimouſly* to reject theſe overtures for peace and conciliation, and to hold no conference or treaty with any commiſſioners on the part of Great Britain, unleſs, as a preliminary, they withdrew their fleets and armies, or in poſitive terms, acknowledged the independence of theſe ſtates. Again, ‖ " it " is ſufficient for the juſtification of " his majeſty, that the colonies " which form a nation conſiderable, " as well for the number of their " inhabitants, as for the extent of " their dominion, have *eſtabliſhed*

* Obſ. p. 69. † Obſ. p. 78.
§ Obſ. p. 77. ‡ Journals of Congreſs, 22 April 1778.

" *their*

" *their independence*, not only by a " ſolemn declaration, *but alſo in fact*; " and that they have ſupported it " againſt the efforts of their mother " country. Such was, in effect, the " ſituation of the United States, " *when the king began to negociate* " *with them.* His majeſty had full " liberty of conſidering them as in- " dependent, or as the ſubjects of " Britain. He choſe the firſt part, " becauſe HIS SAFETY, the INTER- " EST OF HIS PEOPLE, invariable " policy, and above all, the *ſecret* " *projects* of the court of London, " *imperiouſly laid him under the ne-* " *ceſſity.*"—The *ſecret projects*, here referred to, were thoſe of reconciliation, on terms which might ſatisfy the United States, and produce a reunion and coalition for the purpoſe of *falling upon France.* To avoid the riſk of this combined attack, to avoid greater danger in future, by preventing the poſſibility of uniting again the great portions of the Britiſh empire, *ſeparated in fact*, and thus eſſentially to diminiſh its power, were the avowed inducements with the court of France to conſider the United States as independent. Having ſtated theſe things, they* " aſk if there is a ſovereign, who, " in the ſame ſituation with his ma- " jeſty, would not have imitated his " example?"

Again †—" He (the king of " France) had the right to conſider " as independent the confederate in- " habitants of an immenſe conti- " nent, who preſented themſelves to " him with this character; eſpe- " cially after their ancient ſovereign " had *demonſtrated*, by efforts as " continual as painful, *the impoſſi-* " *bility of bringing them back to* " *obedience.*"

" ‡ To complete the juſtification " of his majeſty, nothing remains " but to examine, whether what " are called *reaſons of ſtate*, could " have determined his majeſty to " connect himſelf with the Ameri- " cans. To treat this queſtion with " all the clearneſs of which it is ſuſ- " ceptible, the political intereſt of " France muſt be viewed under two " different relations; the firſt re- " ſpects the other powers of Europe; " the ſecond reſpects Great Britain."

" In treating with the Americans, " *after they became independent*, the " king exerciſed the right inherent " in his ſovereignty, *with no other* " *view than to put an end to the pre-* " *dominant power, which England* " *abuſed in every quarter of the* " *globe.*" The obſervations then ſuggeſt, that by this conduct the king has eſſentially watched over the intereſt of all the ſovereigns of Europe ||, " by " contributing to reſtrain a power, " which has always carried to ex- " ceſs the abuſe of her reſources."

The court of London having charged the king of France with ambition, and the project of *demoliſhing* the power of England, by his engagements with the Americans, the obſervations declare, that § " Nothing more will be diſcovered " in them (his engagements with " the United States) on the moſt " accurate ſcrutiny, than a *diminu-* " *tion* of this power, a diminution " which England has herſelf pro- " voked, by a conduct the moſt unjuſt " and moſt irregular, and which the " tranquillity and happineſs of Europe " have for a long time required."

* Obs. p. 78. † Obs. p. 82. ‡ Obs. p. 88. || Obs. p. 89. § Obs. p. 90.

"* The moſt vigilant and conſummate prudence could not deviſe adequate precautions againſt the enterprizes of ſuch a power; ſo that the only means of being ſecured from it, was *to ſeize the opportunity of diminiſhing it.*"

"† It may then be truly ſaid, that on examination of the conduct of the king—it was not only *juſt* and *lawful*, but even *neceſſary*, as well for the *individual intereſt of France*, as for that of all Europe."

I will trouble you with but one more extract from the juſtificatory obſervations of the court of France.

"‡ To deceive the other nations with regard to the real motives, which have directed the conduct of the king, the Britiſh miniſtry maintain, that he entered into treaty with the Americans, not becauſe he feared the ſecret views of Great Britain, but becauſe he foreſaw that the Americans defeated, diſcouraged, without ſupport and without reſources, were about to return to their mother country; and that there was not a moment to be loſt in reanimating and confirming them in their oppoſition. It was without doubt, for the ſake of this aſſertion, that the Britiſh miniſtry have thought it beneath the dignity of their ſovereign to ſearch for the period at which France formed connections with the United States; it might with greater truth be ſaid, that this reſearch did not coincide with their plan of defence. The king is willing to ſpare the Britiſh miniſtry a taſk ſo diſagreeable and embarraſſing, by obſerving for them, that the converſations which led to the treaties of the 6th of February 1778, *were conſiderably poſterior* to the capitulation of general Burgoyne. Now it is notorious, that this event elevated the courage and hopes of the Americans as much as it dejected the Britiſh nation, and principally the court of London. If then the king has liſtened to the propoſitions of congreſs, *after this period*, ſo diſaſtrous to the Britiſh, *it has not been, and could not have been for any other reaſon, but becauſe he thought with the United States, that their independence was thenceforward irrevocable.*"

In theſe extracts from the obſervations of the court of France, we ſee an open avowal of her motives for entering into treaties with the United States during our revolution; but do ſuch motives afford any ſtrong claims to our gratitude? She rejoiced at the proſpect of a final ſeparation of the thirteen colonies from Great Britain: ſhe ſaw them erected, by their ſolemn declaration, into independent ſtates:—But during near three years of conteſt, ſhe continued waiting for ſome fortunate event, that ſhould enſure ſtability and ultimate ſucceſs to our enterprize. This event took place in the capture of a whole Britiſh army. "Then the king liſtened to the propoſitions of congreſs, becauſe he thought with the United States, that *their independence was irrevocable.*" He then treated with the Americans *with no other view*, than to put an end to the predominant power which England exer-

* Obs. p. 91. † Obs. p. 92. ‡ Obs. p. 95. 96.

ciſed

rifed in every quarter of the globe. "A diminution of this power (fays "the king) the tranquillity and hap-"pineſs of Europe have for a long "time required:" "The only means "of being ſecured from it, *was to* "*ſeize the opportunity of diminiſhing* "*it: and he did ſeize it*, becauſe *his* "*ſafety*, the *intereſt of his people*, "invariable policy, and above all, "*the ſecret projects* of the court of "London *imperiouſly laid him under* "*the neceſſity.*"

After theſe repeated declarations of the court of France, that her only view in contracting engagements with the United States, was to diminiſh the Britiſh power, and thereby promote the ſafety and intereſt of her own people, and the tranquillity of Europe; very unexpected indeed are the modern claims of boundleſs and perpetual gratitude. Nevertheleſs, animated as we always have been with ſincere deſires to maintain thoſe uſeful and friendly connections with France, which had their foundation in our revolution, we ſhould have remained ſilent on theſe claims, had not the frequency and manner in which they have been urged, compelled their diſcuſſion. We are not now diſpoſed to queſtion the importance of the aid we actually derived from France, in the war of our revolution; nor to retract the grateful acknowledgments that all America has from that time offered to that nation: we were in the habit of expreſſing our *gratitude* to her for the benefits which we received, although they reſulted from her exertions to advance *her own intereſt*, and to ſecure *her own ſafety*. But if thoſe benefits had been rendered from *pure benevolence*, from *diſintereſted good will to us*, and we had been remiſs in acknowledging them, is it the part of generoſity, of magnanimity, conſtantly to upbraid the receivers of their favours with ingratitude? Do not ſuch reproaches cancel the obligation? but if for favours apparently generous, *ſubſtantial returns* are demanded, the ſuppoſed liberal act degenerates, and becomes a mercenary bargain.

If ſuch only are the motives for our gratitude towards France, at the commencement of her political and commercial connections with us, in the midſt of our war with Great Britain, what more can we diſcover at the concluſion of that war? Let us examine.

In 1781, with the aſſiſtance of a French army by land, and a powerful fleet at ſea, a ſecond Britiſh army was captured.

This event made even the Britiſh government deſpair of bringing the United States again under her ſubjection. The miniſtry was changed: and the parliament paſſed an act to authorize the king to make peace. In the ſummer of 1782, an agent on the part of Great Britain repaired to Paris, to negociate with the commiſſioners of the United States. For ſome time Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Jay, were alone at Paris. The commiſſion to Mr. Oſwald, (the Britiſh negociator) authorized him to treat of and conclude a peace, or truce, with any commiſſioner or commiſſioners, named or to be named by the *colonies* or *plantations* of New Hampſhire, &c. (naming the thirteen) or with any of them ſeparately, with parts of them, or with any perſons whatſoever. Mr. Jay was not ſatisfied with this commiſſion to Mr. Oſwald. The independence of the United States was no where intimated. Agreeably

to their inſtructions from congreſs, to take advice of the court of France, the commiſſioners communicated Mr. Oſwald's commiſſion to the prime miniſter, the count de Vergennes. The count expreſſed his opinion that the commiſſion was ſufficient; that it was ſuch an one, as we might have expected it would be: "that an acknowledgment of "our independence, inſtead of *preceding*, muſt, in the natural courſe "of things, be the *effect* of the "treaty." This opinion the count continued from time to time to repeat. In ſhort, "It was evident "the count did not wiſh to ſee our "independence acknowledged by "Britain, until they had made all "their uſes of us." Mr. Jay ſtill continued unmoved. He conferred with Mr. Oſwald, and "urged in the "ſtrongeſt terms, the great impro-"priety, and conſequently the utter "impoſſibility of our ever treating "with Great Britain on any other "than an *equal footing*; and told "him plainly, that he (Mr. Jay) "would have no concern in any ne-"gociation, in which we were not "conſidered as an *independent* "*people*."

It was on this occaſion that Mr. Oſwald communicated to Mr. Jay, this article of his inſtructions:— "In caſe you find the American "commiſſioners are not at liberty "to treat on any terms ſhort of in-"dependence, you are to declare to "them, that you have our authority "to make that ceſſion; our ardent "wiſh for peace diſpoſing us to pur-"chaſe it at the price of acceding to "the complete independence of the "thirteen colonies."

The Britiſh miniſtry approved of this communication; but ſtill were for *treating* with us as *colonies*, and making an acknowledgment of our independence *only an article of the treaty*. Mr. Jay's diſcernment diſcovered the ſource of the backwardneſs at this time in the Britiſh court, to admit our independence *previous* to the negociating of the treaty; and mentioned it with his reaſons to Mr. Oſwald; who, far from contradicting Mr. Jay's inference, told him a fact which confirmed his opinion, that it originated in the court of France, and was communicated to that of London, by the Britiſh commiſſioner then in Paris, to treat of peace between France and Great Britain. Mr. Jay then explained to Mr. Oſwald what he ſuppoſed to be the natural policy of the French court, and ſhewed him, "that it "was the intereſt of Britain to ren-"der us as independent on France, "as we were reſolved to be on "Britain." Mr. Oſwald was convinced. Mr. Jay reminded him of the ſeveral reſolutions of congreſs, paſſed at different periods, not to treat with Britiſh commiſſioners on any other footing than that of abſolute independence; and propoſed to give him in writing what he had before expreſſed in converſation; *his determination not to treat but on the footing of equality*. Mr. Oſwald preferred having it in writing. Mr. Jay prepared the draught of a letter, to be ſigned by him and Dr. Franklin, expreſſing their determination not to treat but on terms of equality, as an independent nation; and exhibiting the reaſons of this determination. Doctor Franklin thought the letter "rather too poſi-"tive, and therefore rather impru-"dent; for that in caſe Britain "ſhould remain firm, and future cir-"cumſtances ſhould compel us to "ſubmit to their mode of treating,

"we

" we ſhould do it with an ill grace, " after ſuch a decided and peremp- " tory refuſal." Beſides the doctor ſeemed much perplexed and fettered by the inſtructions from congreſs, *to be guided by the advice of the French court.* Neither of theſe conſiderations affected Mr. Jay. For as to the firſt, he could not conceive of any event which would render it proper, and therefore poſſible for America to treat in any other character than as an independent nation. And as to the ſecond, he could not believe that congreſs intended they ſhould follow *any advice which might be repugnant to their dignity and intereſt.*

Doctor Franklin's doubts prevented this letter being ſigned. Mr. Oſwald was diſappointed, and deſired to ſee the draught. He ſaw it, and requeſted a copy of it. After taking time for conſideration, Mr. Jay complied with the requeſt. " For, though unſigned, it would " convey to the Britiſh miniſtry the " ſentiments and opinions he wiſhed " to impreſs; and if finally they " ſhould not be content to treat with " us as independent, they were not " yet ripe for peace, or treaty with " us. Beſides he could not be per- " ſuaded that Great Britain, after " what the houſe of commons had " declared, after various other acts " of that government manifeſting " the intention to acknowledge it, " would perſiſt in refuſing to admit " our independence, provided they " really believed that we had firmly " reſolved not to treat on more " humble terms."

With the copy of this draught Mr. Jay gave Mr. Oſwald copies of the various reſolutions of congreſs, which evinced their adherence to her independence. Theſe papers Mr. Oſwald ſent by expreſs to London, and warmly recommended the iſſuing a new commiſſion, to remove all further delay.

Mr. Jay having afterwards aſcertained that the count de Vergennes had ſent a confidential agent to London, but whoſe journey was intended to have been a ſecret, for purpoſes evidently hoſtile to the intereſts of the United States, determined immediately to counteract the project, by an agent on whom he could rely, to make to the court of London ſuch repreſentations as he thought the occaſion demanded. He ſucceeded; and in about two weeks, Mr. Oſwald received a new commiſſion, in the form for which Mr. Jay had contended.

Mr. Jay remarked, that agreeably to the declaration of independence, the *United States*, as free and independent, had full power to levy war, *conclude peace*, contract alliances, &c. That by the act of confederation, the ſtyle of the confederacy was declared to be, *the United States of America*, and by that act, congreſs were veſted with the ſole and *excluſive* right and power of determining on peace and war, and of entering into *treaties* and alliances; that being of right and in fact free and independent ſtates, their repreſentatives in congreſs granted a commiſſion to certain gentlemen, of whom doctor Franklin and he were two, *in their name*, to confer, treat, and conclude with ambaſſadors, or commiſſioners *veſted with equal powers*, relating to the eſtabliſhment of peace, &c. But the firſt commiſſion to Mr. Oſwald was not equivalent: the *United States* were not named in it; nor *their* commiſſioners, who conſequently were not the perſons with whom Mr. Oſwald was authorized

authorized to treat. And if the commiſſioners had conſented to treat with Mr. Oſwald under ſuch a commiſſion, what would have been the condition of the people of the United States, in the interval between the commencement of the negociation and the concluſion of peace; they would have been *not independent citizens*; but by our own acknowledgment, *Britiſh ſubjects!* Mr. Jay would not conſent to this degradation, after we had maintained our independence ſix years, after we had eſtabliſhed it in fact, and after congreſs had by firm and repeated reſolutions refuſed to treat with Great Britain, unleſs as a *preliminary*, ſhe withdrew her fleets and armies, or elſe *in poſitive and expreſs terms acknowledged the independence of the United States.* At the ſame time congreſs manifeſted their readineſs to attend to ſuch terms of peace, as might conſiſt with the *honour of independent nations*; but the honour of an *independent nation* forbade their treating in a *ſubordinate* capacity. Even the dignity of France, who four years before treated with us as an independent nation, required that we ſhould not degrade ourſelves when going to treat with her enemy. And why then ſhould her miniſters deſire us to do it? Eſpecially when the treaty of defenſive alliance declared "the "eſſential and direct end of it was "to maintain effectually the liberty, "ſovereignty, and *independence*, ab-"ſolute and unlimited, of the United "States, as well in matters of *go-"vernment* as of commerce." There were ſeveral reaſons. The two parties, France and the United States, engaged not to lay down their arms, until the independence of the United States ſhould be attained. The explicit acknowledgment of their independence by Great Britain would ſhew, that for the eſſential and direct object of the alliance there was no neceſſity of continuing the war. But ſince making this treaty of alliance with the United States, France had formed *other connections*, with whoſe views we had no concern, and for whoſe ſake we were not bound to poſtpone the offered peace. We have ſeen the explicit avowal of the king of France, That he entered into a treaty with the United States, with a view to promote the ſafety of his kingdom and ſubjects, by diminiſhing the power of England; but in doing this, and eventually facilitating our independence on Great Britain, it became apparent, that there would be no objection to our dependence on France, particularly in "leaving "the king maſter of the terms of "the treaty of peace." And to keep us thus far dependent was manifeſtly the object of certain meaſures of the French court, calculated to deprive the United States of an immenſe weſtern territory; of the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, and of the fiſheries, except on our own coaſt. A combination of facts and circumſtances leave no doubt of the intentions of the French court, as to the objects above mentioned. I cannot undertake the lengthy detail, and will only juſt mention in regard to *territory*, what was propoſed and urged by one, whoſe official ſtation rendered it impoſſible to believe, that he was expreſſing only his own ſentiments; or that he was not acting by the direction of the French court. He propoſed, what he called a conciliatory line between the United States and Spain. This was to begin at the diviſion of Eaſt from Weſt Florida,

Florida, and run thence to Fort Toulouſe, on the river Alabama; thence by different courſes to Cumberland river, and down the Cumland to the Ohio. It was inſiſted, that the United States could have no pretenſions weſtward of this line. That "as to the courſe and navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, they followed the property, and would belong therefore to the nation to which the two banks belonged: the United States could have no pretenſions, not being maſters of either border of the river:" and that "as to what reſpects the lands ſituated to the northward of the Ohio, there was reaſon to preſume that Spain could form no pretenſions thereto; their fate muſt be regulated with the court of London." It is certain that, originally, Spain made no pretenſions to any lands eaſtward of the Miſſiſſippi to the northward of the Floridas; and it is clear, that the idea of her finally making the claim was ſuggeſted by the court of France.

We are now prepared to underſtand the declarations made in the inſtructions to citizen Genet, miniſter plenipotentiary from the French republic to the United States. Theſe inſtructions are dated the 4th of January 1793, and were publiſhed in December of that year, in Philadelphia, by Mr. Genet, in vindication of his extraordinary meaſures, which had induced our government to deſire his recal. In theſe inſtructions we find the following paſſages. "The executive council has "called for the inſtructions given to "citizen Genet's predeceſſors in "America, and has ſeen in them "with indignation, that at the very "time the good people of America "expreſſed their gratitude to us in "the moſt feeling manner, and gave "us every proof of their friendſhip, Vergennes and Montmorin, "thought that it was right for "France, to hinder the United "States from taking that political "ſtability of which they were capable; becauſe they would ſoon "acquire a ſtrength, which, it was "probable they would be eager to "abuſe." "The ſame Machiavelian "principle influenced the operations "of the war for independence: *The "same duplicity reigned over the "negociations for peace.*"

We ſee then that in forming connections with us in 1778, the court of France, the actual organ of the nation, had no regard to the intereſt of the United States; but that their real object was, by ſeizing the occaſion of diſmembering the Britiſh empire, to diminiſh the power of a formidable rival; and that when, after we had carried on a diſtreſſing war for ſeven years, the great object for which we had contended, independence, was within our reach, that court endeavoured to poſtpone the acknowledgment of it by Great Britain, and eventually to deprive us of its faireſt fruits,—a juſt extent of territory, the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, and the fiſhery.

Such being the motives and conduct of France, what inſpired our truly grateful ſentiments towards that nation? The ardent affection, the ſincere friendſhip of Americans to Frenchmen? We were engaged in a common cauſe againſt Great Britain.—We received loans of money; we were aided by troops and ſhips, in attacking and conquering the common enemy in the boſom of our country; and this aſſociation in war produced acquaintances and perſonal friendſhips; and experiencing theſe

benefits we gave way to our feelings, without enquiring into the motives from which they were rendered.

But why are we ſo often reminded of the debt of gratitude? Is it really becauſe more than *gratitude*;—Becauſe *compenſation* is expected to cancel it? if compenſation is the object, the treaty of alliance has abſolved the claim.—"The con- "tracting parties declare that being "reſolved to fulfil each on its own "part, the clauſes and conditions "of the preſent treaty of alliance, "according to its own power and "circumſtances, *there ſhall be no* "*after claim of compenſation*, on "one ſide, or the other, whatever "may be the event of the war."

I am here naturally led to notice Mr. Adet's charge already mentioned; *that we have not offered to France the ſuccours which friendſhip might have given, without compromiſing the government.*

If Mr. Adet had ſpecified the kind of ſuccours which might thus have been offered, we could better judge of the correctneſs of his aſſertion.

But is it true that we have rendered no ſuccours to France? Read the following paſſages in the ſecretary of ſtate's letter of the 16th of Auguſt 1793, to Mr. Morris. "We "recollect with ſatisfaction that in "the courſe of two years, by un- "ceaſing exertions, we paid up "ſeven years arrearages and in- "ſtalments of our debt to France, "which the inefficacy of our firſt "form of government had ſuffered "to be accumulating; that preſſing "on ſtill to the entire fulfilment of "our engagements, we have faci- "litated to Mr. Genet, the effect "of the inſtalments of the preſent "year, to enable him to ſend relief "to his fellow-citizens in France, "threatened with famine; that in "the firſt moment of the inſurrec- "tion which threatened the colony "of St. Domingo, we ſtept forward "to their relief with arms and money, "taking freely on ourſelves the riſk "of an unauthorized aid, when "delay would have been denial;— "that we have given the excluſive "admiſſion to ſell here the prizes "made by France on her enemies "in the preſent war, though unſti- "pulated in our treaties, and un- "founded in her own practice, or in "that of other nations, as we be- "lieve."

To this detail I have to add, that of all the loans and ſupplies received from France in the American war, amounting nearly to fifty-three millions of livres, the United States under their late government had been enabled to pay not two millions and a half of livres; that the preſent government, after paying up the arrearages and inſtalments, mentioned by Mr. Jefferſon, has been continually anticipating the ſubſequent inſtalments, until in the year 1795, the whole of our debt was diſcharged, by anticipating the payments of eleven millions and a half of livres; no part of which would have become due until the 2d of September 1796, and then only one million and a half; the reſidue at ſubſequent periods; the laſt not until the year 1802.

There remain yet various paſſages in Mr. Adet's notes on which ſome obſervations are to be made.

In my letter of the 1ſt November laſt, in anſwer to Mr. Adet's note of Oct. 27th, in which he communicated the decree of the executive directory of the 2d of July laſt, declaring that the flag of the republic of France

ſhould treat the flag of neutrals in the ſame manner, as theſe ſhall ſuffer it to be treated by the Engliſh, I aſked an explanation of the decree, mentioning the circumſtances, which excited doubts. There ſeemed to be ſufficient cauſe for enquiry. Had the decree referred to the *paſt* captures by the Engliſh, our knowledge of *them* would have been ſome guide in forming our opinion of the threatened captures by the French: but the operation of the decree was to depend on the *future* conduct of the Engliſh: the French were to treat the flag of neutrals as theſe *ſhall* ſuffer it to be treated by the Engliſh. As this could not be aſcertained beforehand, we wiſhed to know, whether the reſtraints then exerciſed by the Britiſh government, were conſidered as of a nature to juſtify a denial of thoſe rights which were pledged to us by our treaty with France? Whether the orders had actually been given to capture the veſſels of the United States? And if given, what were the preciſe terms of thoſe orders? Mr. Adet, in his reply, ſays, that I appear not to have underſtood either the decree of the directory, or his note which accompanied it. The meaning of the decree is certainly not very obvious. The manner of executing it was declared to depend on a contingency,—The future conduct of the Engliſh. How were French cruizers in the four quarters of the world to determine, what was the conduct of the Engliſh at any given time? If he could have furniſhed a copy of the orders actually given to French armed veſſels under the decree, we might have ſeen clearly what were the intentions of the directory. If we are to take the practice of the French armed veſſels, and of ſome of the French tribunals, as the true illuſtration of the decree, Mr. Adet's own explanation will be very defective. He has ſpecified only two caſes. The taking of Engliſh (or any other enemy's) property on board American veſſels, and the ſeizure of all the goods claſſed as contraband in our treaty with Great Britain. In the caſe of contraband goods, the ſeizure of them is lawful only when they are deſtined to the ports of their enemies; and the *contraband goods only* are liable to confiſcation. But the ſpecial agents of the directory in the Weſt Indies, order the ſeizure of all veſſels having on board contraband goods, no matter whether deſtined to an enemy's or to a neutral, or even to a French port; and when ſeized, they confiſcate not merely the contraband articles, but all other goods, and the veſſel herſelf in which they are laden. They alſo aſſign in their decrees of confiſcation another cauſe of capture and condemnation,—That the American veſſel has ſailed to or from a port in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. We are not informed, that the Engliſh take any neutral veſſels for this cauſe. We have heard of ſeveral American veſſels being captured and confiſcated by the French, merely becauſe they had not a ſea-letter, when no doubt could have been entertained of the property being American. Yet it is conceived, that the want of a ſea-letter was never intended to exclude other proofs of property.

Further, ought we to have imagined that the executive directory intended to leave it to the diſcretion of every privateer, and of every inferior tribunal, to judge what at any time *ſubſequent* to their decree was the *actual* treatment received by American

American veſſels from the Britiſh? Ought we to have imagined that the decree was formed in ſuch indefinite terms on purpoſe to give ſcope to arbitrary conſtructions, and conſequently for unlimited oppreſſion? Ought we to have imagined what Mr. Adet has himſelf declared to be the meaning of the decree, that the French armed veſſels were not to content themſelves with capturing American veſſels, having Engliſh property or contraband goods on board, and getting ſuch property and goods condemned by their tribunals; but if any Engliſh commanders were to practice "*vexations*" towards Americans, that Frenchmen were to do the ſame? Ought we to have imagined, that the directory intended the citizens of France ſhould be encouraged to take revenge on their friends for the outrages of their enemies? And what is to limit theſe vexations? If one Engliſh commander in a hundred, perverſely and wantonly abuſes his power, is every French officer to become his rival in diſhonour? Or if we are to ſuffer only meaſure for meaſure, (and ſurely the decree goes not beyond this) who is to deſignate the every hundredth French officer who is to be the inſtrument of ſimilar oppreſſion?

But French armed veſſels are to make all theſe captures, in violation of the treaty, and we are to ſuffer all theſe vexations, in violation of reaſon and humanity, while we indure them from the Engliſh "without an efficacious oppoſition;" and what oppoſition will be deemed *efficacious*? For all captures made by the Britiſh, contrary to the law of nations, we have agreeably to that law demanded ſatisfaction. The Britiſh have engaged to make us ſatisfaction; and commiſſioners are now ſitting to liquidate thoſe demands. What oppoſition could have been more efficacious? What further oppoſition can be lawful?

Inſtead of further comments on this ſubject, let me preſent to you ſome paſſages in Mr. Adet's letter of the 14th of July 1795. In this letter he communicated to the ſecretary of ſtate the decree of the committee of public ſafety of the 3d of January 1795 *, repeating the 5th article of the decree of the 15th November 1794 †. The latter violated our treaty, by ſubjecting the property of the enemies of France on board American veſſels to capture, and by adding to the liſt of articles contraband: It was therefore repealed by the former. Mr. Adet ſeized this occaſion to make the following declaration. "You will ſee, ſir, (ſaid "he) in both [the decrees] the un"diſguiſed diſpoſition and ſincere de"ſire of the French government "religiously to obſerve the engage"ments it has contracted with its "allies, and its readineſs to redreſs "infractions, which have never taken "place but from the impulſe of cir"cumſtances." "It is amidſt her "triumphs that the republic loves "to gives this ſtriking mark of its "fidelity. Victorious France knows "no other concern that that of juſ"tice,—no other diplomatic lan"guage than that of truth."—To this truth, to this juſtice, to this fidelity, we now make our appeal.

From the ſtyle of Mr. Adet's complaint of the Britiſh being *ſuffered* to arm in our ports, it might be imagined the inſtances were numerous.

* 14 Nivôſe, 3d year.

† 25 Brumaire, 3d year.

numerous. None were *permitted*: the *actual* armaments were few: and are as old as the year 1793, and were repreſented by Mr. Genet to the ſecretary of ſtate. "What "anſwer (aſks Mr. Adet) did the "government give to the repreſen- "tations of the miniſter of the "French republic in this reſpect? "It ſaid that theſe veſſels ſailed too "ſuddenly; that it was not able to "cauſe them to be ſtopped." The anſwer was given by the ſecretary of ſtate in different words*. "Theſe "from Charleſton and Philadelphia "have gone off *before it was known* "to the government, and the for- "mer indeed in the firſt moments "of the war, and before preventive "meaſures could be taken in ſo dif- "tant a port." In the caſe of the Truſty, capt. Hale, at Baltimore, the governor of Maryland having been informed, that ſhe had been *buying guns*, had given orders to examine the fact; "but ſhe got off "before the officer could get on "board, having cleared out three or "four days before."—I have not obſerved that Mr. Genet ever renewed his complaint with regard to any of theſe veſſels; whence I ſuppoſe he was ſatisfied with the anſwer; as indeed he ought to have been. The two Engliſh veſſels that ſailed from Philadelphia, eſcaped even the vigilance of the French conſul †.—Both had departed many days, before he had been informed of them. This is ſtated by the conſul himſelf, in his report of the 21ſt of June 1793, to Mr. Genet. And yet the government is now charged by Mr. Adet, with violating the treaty, becauſe it did not ſtop them! Although the officers of the United States had been required to be watchful, and to report all illegal armaments in our ports, yet it was natural for the government to expect to derive information from the French conſuls, who doubtleſs were charged by their own government to be particularly vigilant in regard to all attempts at ſuch armaments by the enemies of the republic.—Mr. Adet remarks "that ſome in- "habitants of the United States "had aided in theſe illegal arma- "ments" of the enemies of France; and aſks "what meaſures were taken "againſt them? Was any ſearch made "to diſcover them?—to proſecute them?—Never." Yet the very letter from Mr. Genet to the ſecretary of ſtate, in which, and its incloſures, Mr. Adet has found this ſubject of complaint, ſuggeſts a different concluſion ‡: "—"I learn with pleaſure (ſays Mr. "Genet) by your letter of the 23d "of this month (June 1793) that the "government of Georgia have "cauſed to be ſtopped, a veſſel "armed in that ſtate, for the pur- "poſe of cruizing againſt the French, "*and that the perſons intereſted in* "*this veſſel will be proſecuted.*"

I ſhall ſay but a few words on the ſubject of the letters of which Mr. Adet complained that they remained unanſwered. The firſt (of September 29th, 1795) contained thoſe reproachful inſinuations, which were recited in my letter of the 1ſt of November laſt. Why were theſe introduced by him, if they were not to be applied? An anſwer was draughted on the ſubject of his letter, with animadverſions on thoſe inſinuations; but deſiring to avoid

* Voy. Correſp. de Genet, June 30, 1793, p. 106. † Voy. ibid. p. 105.
‡ Voy. ibid. p. 104.

irritations,

irritations; the anſwer was not ſent. It was deemed of the leſs conſequence, ſeeing in my letter to Mr. Monroe of the 12th of September 1795, the ſentiments and reaſonings of the government, on that and other ſubjects relating to France, had been fully expreſſed, to enable him to make immediate communications to the French government itſelf; and it was hoped that the information given in that letter, and in others written to him the preceding ſummer, would have furniſhed materials (and that theſe materials would have been timely uſed) for ſuch repreſentations as would have ſatisfied the French government that the United States, in forming the treaty with Great Britain, had only an indiſputable right; and neither by that treaty or by any other act had infringed a ſingle article of our treaties with France.

On the ſubject of the impreſſes of our ſeamen, mentioned in Mr. Adet's letters of March and April 1796, I ſhall only add, that nothing was more notorious, than that thoſe impreſſes had excited univerſal reſentment in the United States, and been the ſubject of repeated remonſtrances from our government to the Britiſh court. Thus in Mr. Pinckney's note to lord Grenville in Auguſt 1793, which was publiſhed here that year in the ſame collection of ſtate papers, with Mr. Jefferſon's letter of September 7th*, which Mr. Adet has quoted, and on the 5th page next ſucceeding it, we find the following: "Under this head it may be obſerved, that for want of arrangements being made for the ſecurity of American ſeamen in the ports of this country (England) they are ſubject to the various hardſhips Mr. Pinckney has *ſo frequently detailed* to lord Grenville." And in the next page, in his letter to Mr. Jefferſon, Mr. Pinckney ſays: "The protection afforded our ſeamen remains on the ſame footing; they (the Britiſh government;) profeſs a willingneſs to ſecure to us all real American ſeamen, when proved to be ſuch; but the proof they will not diſpenſe with." To remove as far as poſſible the embarraſſments ariſing from this cauſe, and more effectually to protect our ſeamen, was the object of a bill pending in congreſs, and the ſubject of public debate, at the time I received Mr. Adet's letters. This bill was paſſed into a law.

All theſe acts demonſtrated that the government did not aſſent, but on the contrary, that they reſiſted the impreſſment of American ſeamen; and this reſiſtance has been continued: conſequently we cannot be charged on this ground with a violation of our neutrality.

Among the former ſubjects of complaint, not now renewed by Mr. Adet, is that againſt the government for permitting the purchaſe and exportation of horſes, by Britiſh agents, in the courſe of the laſt winter and ſpring. The correſpondence on this ſubject is lengthy; and yet the queſtion lies within a very narrow compaſs.

Perhaps no rule is now better eſtabliſhed, than that neutral nations have a right to trade freely with nations at war, either by carrying and ſelling to them all kinds of merchandiſe, or permitting them to come and purchaſe the ſame commodities in the neutral territory;

* Mr. Adet by miſtake, dates it September 13th.

in

in the latter caſe not refuſing to one power at war what it permits another to purchaſe; with this exception in reſpect to articles contraband, that if the cruizers of one of the belligerent powers meet at ſea with neutral veſſels laden with ſuch articles deſtined to the ports of their enemies, the neutral veſſels may be captured, and the contraband goods will be lawful prize to the captors: but the reſidue of their cargo, and the veſſels themſelves, are to be diſcharged.

But if there were any doubt on this point under the law of nations, there can be none in relation to France and the United States; becauſe this matter is ſpecially regulated by their treaty of commerce. This treaty, ſo far from *reſtraining* the trade of either party remaining neutral, while the other is engaged in war, *provides regulations agreeably to which it ſhould be conducted.*

The 12th and 13th articles authorize either party that is at war, to ſtop the neutral merchant veſſels of the other deſtined to the ports of the enemy, upon juſt grounds of ſuſpicion, concerning the voyage or the lading. If, on examining the ſhip's papers, it appears there are any contraband goods on board "conſigned "for a port under the obedience of "his enemies," ſhe may be carried into port, and the contraband articles may by regular proceedings, in the admiralty, be confiſcated: "ſaving always as well the ſhip "itſelf as any other goods found "therein, which by this treaty are "to be eſteemed free; neither may "they be detained on pretence of "their being as it were infected by "the prohibited goods, much leſs "ſhall they be confiſcated as lawful "prize."—It further provides, that if the maſter of the neutral ſhip ſhall be willing to deliver the contraband goods to the captor, and the latter receives them; then is the neutral ſhip to be forthwith diſcharged and allowed freely to proſecute her voyage. The 23d article goes further.—If the neutral ſhip ſhall have on board the *enemies* of the other, "they are not to be taken "out, unleſs they are *ſoldiers in* "*actual ſervice.*"

Theſe articles are ſo explicit, it may ſeem ſtrange that a doubt ſhould ariſe concerning them. I preſume no doubt did ariſe; for Mr. Adet, overlooking theſe proviſions of the treaty, demanded that the government ſhould ſtop the exportation of horſes by the Britiſh, upon the principle, that it was a neutral duty required by the law of nations. An anſwer was given to his demands, in which the regulations of our treaty with France were particularly brought into view, as well as the rules of the law of nations. Mr. Adet, however, after ſome time renewed his claims; but again kept the treaty out of ſight. An anſwer was given to theſe renewed claims; and we heard no more on the ſubject, until the French privateers in the Weſt Indies began to capture American veſſels, which had *horſes* on board: you will find among the documents on this ſubject the copy of a decree of the citizens Victor Hugues and Lebas, the ſpecial agents of the executive directory in the windward iſlands, condemning *an American veſſel*, and *her entire cargo*, for having a ſmall number of *horſes* on board; not bound to their *enemy's* but to a *neutral* port. And theſe ſpecial agents ground their decree *on the advice they received from Mr. Adet*, under the date of 14th

Meſſidor, being July 2d, 1796. This veſſel and cargo were thus condemned, without the ſight of a ſingle paper belonging to her: the maſter had them in his pocket, and would have brought them home, but for the recollection of the interpreter, ſome hours after the ſentence of condemnation had been paſſed. Theſe citizens exerciſe indeed a very brief authority. The proceſs in the caſe of a ſecond American veſſel, which, to complete her lading, had taken on board nineteen horſes, but which was alſo bound to a neutral port, was in this form. The captain having come before one of the agents, he, without any previous examination, or hearing, addreſſing himſelf to the captain, pronounced ſentence, in theſe words: "I have "confiſcated your veſſel and cargo" —cloſing the ſentence with opprobrious language.

Mr. Adet, on the 18th of May laſt, revived his predeceſſor's claim of *right* by treaty to ſell their prizes in our ports. This occaſioned the correſpondence on this ſubject, which you will find among the documents collected on this occaſion. He contents himſelf, however, with conſidering it as a right granted, not poſitively, but by *implication*. That is, becauſe the treaty forbids the *enemies of France* to ſell *their* prizes in our ports; therefore it *grants* to *her* a right of ſelling *her* prizes. As if my friend's *denial* of a favour to my *enemy*, was in fact a *grant* of the ſame favour to *me*. The ſimple ſtatement of the ground of the claim would ſeem ſufficient to ſhew, that the treaty will not ſupport it. That ſales of French prizes have been at all permitted, has been owing to the *indulgence* of the government. This indulgence was continued until it interfered with a new poſitive obligation; an obligation preciſely the ſame, that France herſelf contracted eight years *ſubſequent* to her treaty with us, *and with the ſame power*. This obligation is founded in the 24th article of our treaty, and the 16th of the French treaty, with *Great Britain*. Thus France and the United States alike engaged to permit no enemy of Great Britain to arm privateers in their ports, *or to ſell their prizes there*, or in any manner to exchange them. Conſequently had France remained at peace, and we engaged in a war with Great Britain, our privateers would not be permitted to ſell their prizes in French ports.

And by the maritime law of France*, prizes, except they are taken from her enemies, can ſtay in her ports no more than 24 hours, unleſs compelled by tempeſt to remain longer; and the ſales of ſuch prizes are forbidden under ſevere penalties. But notwithſtanding the certainty of our right to forbid the *ſales* of prizes in our ports, and notwithſtanding the expreſs legal command of the chief juſtice of the United States holding a circuit court in South Carolina in May laſt, prohibiting the ſale of a particular prize (the Britiſh ſhip, Amity) at Charleſton; the French agents ſold the prize *veſſel*, and the ſale received the formal ſanction of the *French conſul*. Yet even this affair has been made a ſubject of complaint by Mr. Adet, becauſe the collector of that port refuſed a clearance to the prize veſſel, thus ſold in defiance of the authority of the United States;

* Valin, Vol. 2. p. 272.

and

and becauſe he alſo delayed, until, in a new caſe, he ſhould get advice to permit the exportation of the cargo of the prize ſhip, which on a ſurvey had been reported to be irreparable.

Indeed the French miniſter has diſcovered an aptitude to complain. I may cite as inſtances his letters of the 9th of January, and the 3d of March 1796; the former, becauſe the colours of France, which he had preſented to the United States, were not permanently fixed and diſplayed before congreſs; the latter, becauſe ſome printers of almanacs or other periodical publications in the United States, in arranging the names of the foreign miniſters and agents reſident among us, had placed thoſe of Great Britain before thoſe of France and Spain. Mr. Adet deſired my declaration in writing, that the government of the United States had no concern in printing the works of which the agents of the French republic were regiſtered after thoſe of Great Britain, and that the works themſelves might be ſuppreſſed. I gave him an anſwer in writing, with my conſent to his publiſhing it in the newſpapers, agreeably to his requeſt. The anſwer ſtates, that in matters of this kind the government did not and could not interfere. With regard to the colours I muſt obſerve, that in what concerns our foreign relations, the preſident being the ſole repreſentative of the people of the United States, they were properly preſented to him. He received them with all poſſible reſpect, and directed them to be depoſited with our national archives, that both might be preſerved with equal care.

It remains to notice a ſummary of complaints exhibited by M. de la Croix, the French miniſter for foreign affairs, to Mr. Monroe, our miniſter at Paris, under the date of March 9th 1796, to which the latter returned an anſwer under the date of March 15th. Theſe were enclоſed in Mr. Monroe's letter of the 2d of May, and received at the department of ſtate on the 19th of July. Copies of both papers, and an extract of ſo much of his letter as relates to this ſubject, are among the documents now collected.

Firſt complaint. The inexecution of treaties. 1ſt. The courts of juſtice have taken and ſtill take cognizance of prizes brought by French privateers into the ports of the United States.

2d. Engliſh ſhips of war have been admitted into thoſe ports, even in caſes prohibited by the 17th article of the treaty; that is, when they have made prizes on the French republic and its citizens; and have alſo conducted thither their prizes.

3d. The conſular convention has in two points become illuſory. 1ſt. For want of giving to the conſuls the means of having their deciſions executed in all diſputes between Frenchmen, of which the conſuls have the excluſive cognizance. 2d. Becauſe the judges charged with iſſuing warrants for apprehending French mariners who deſert, require the original roll of the crew to be firſt produced.

4th. The arreſt of the corvette Le Caſſius and her captain.

Second complaint. The impunity of the outrage committed on the republic, in the perſon of its miniſter the citizen Fauchet, by the Engliſh ſhip Africa, in concert with the vice-conſul of that nation, within the waters of the United States.

Third complaint. "The treaty

" concluded in November 1794, be-
" tween the United States and Great
" Britain."

Excepting the ſecond complaint, relative to the attempt of the Engliſh ſhip Africa, to ſeize Mr. Fauchet and his papers; and the third article under the firſt complaint, relative to the conſular convention, all the charges in this ſummary, have been already examined and, we think, proved to be unfounded.

As to the conſular convention, many inconveniencies would attend the giving to the conſuls a juriſdiction to the extent contended for on the part of the French republic, to be exerciſed by French conſuls in the United States, and conſequently by American conſuls in France. The inconveniencies are manifeſtly ſo great, as to require very explicit language in the convention of the two nations on this ſubject, to authorize the concluſion, that ſuch enlarged juriſdiction was intended. It would be to erect in foreign countries complete courts of juſtice, with effectual proceſs to compel the appearance of parties and witneſſes, and to execute their deciſions. And as the tranſactions in commerce and navigation could not, in the nature of things, be confined to the foreigners alone, the citizens of the country muſt often be neceſſary witneſſes to thoſe tranſactions, and of courſe rendered amenable to this foreign juriſdiction in their own country; whereas the juriſdiction demanded is only of French conſuls over French citizens in the United States, and reciprocally of American conſuls over the citizens of the United States in France. From theſe conſiderations a preſumption would ariſe, that the juriſdiction contemplated in the conſular convention, was to be merely *voluntary*, but at the ſame time *excluſive of the courts of the country*. An examination of the convention we believe will ſupport this and no other conſtruction. The 12th article provides, that all differences and ſuits between Frenchmen in the United States, and between citizens of the United States in France; and particularly all diſputes between ſeamen and their captains, and between captains of different veſſels of their nation, ſhall be determined by the reſpective conſuls, either by *reference to arbitrators*, or by a ſummary judgment, and *without coſts*. " No officer of the country, civil or " military, ſhall interfere therein, or " take any part whatever in the " matter." This laſt clauſe alone would ſeem ſufficient to repel the claim we are conſidering. Sheriffs, marſhals and their deputies cannot aid in the execution of conſular deciſions, becauſe they are, " officers " of the country," expreſsly forbidden to " take any part in the mat-" ter." But was it meant that the laws ſhould give conſuls the power to appoint ſuch executive officers of their own nation? We find no ſuch thing in the convention. On the contrary, in the caſe of deſerters from veſſels, mentioned in the 9th article, whom the conſuls are authorized to cauſe to be arreſted, they are expreſsly directed to apply in writing to the " courts, judges and " officers competent," to make the arreſts; meaning the courts, judges and officers of the country, where the conſuls reſide. Beſides, if power could be given to conſuls to appoint officers to execute their deciſions, theſe officers muſt of courſe have their fees of compenſation to be paid by one or other of the parties; but the

the 12th article declares, that the consular judgments shall be "without costs."—To these observations I subjoin the deliberate opinions of two respectable lawyers, Mr. Harrison of New York, and Mr. Bradford, the late attorney general of the United States.

"I have considered the 12th "article of the convention between "his late most christian majesty, "and the United States of America, "and also the act of congress concerning consuls and vice-consuls, "as far as it prescribes the duty of "marshals of the United States, "and it is my opinion that the "marshals are not bound by law to "execute any sentence of a French "consul, arising under the said "article.

"RICHARD HARRISON, attorney,
"U S. for the New York district.
"New York,
"6th of March 1794."

"I have considered the convention and act above referred to, "and I perfectly coincide with the "opinion given by the attorney of "the United States for the district "of New York.

"WILLIAM BRADFORD.
"Philadelphia, 14th March 1794."

The other complaint under this head is, that the judges who are charged (by an act of congress) to issue warrants of arrests against deserters from French vessels, have required the *original* ship's roll to prove that the men alleged to have deserted were a part of the crew; in contempt of the 5th article, which admits in the tribunals of both countries copies certified by the consul. If we look at the 9th article of the consular treaty, we shall see that the consuls, who demand the arrests of deserters from vessels of their nation, must prove "by an "exhibition of the registers of the "vessel, or ship's roll, that those "men were a part of the crew." It is apparent, that the original roll, and not a copy, is here referred to; nor indeed is the contrary pretended: but it is said that the 5th article admits certified consular copies as evidence in the courts of both nations. But the 5th article appears to have no relation to the subject of the 9th. It stipulates, that the "consuls respectively shall have the "exclusive right of receiving in "their chancery, or on board of ves-"sels, the declarations and all other "acts, which the captains, masters, "crews, passengers and merchants "of their nation may choose to "make there, even their testaments "and other disposals by last will: "and the copies of *the said acts* duly "authenticated by the said consuls, "under the seal of their consulate, "shall receive faith in law, equally "as their originals would." The ship's roll (or shipping paper) of a vessel's crew is not an act to be done before the consul, but the evidence of a private agreement between the captain of a vessel and his crew; and when he alleges that any of them have deserted, the 9th article requires the original evidence of the fact to be produced to the judge, as the ground on which he shall issue his warrant to arrest them. And this is the construction put on this article by the judges; and for aught I know, without any diversity of opinion. The difference alleged by Mr. Fauchet, in one of his letters to the secretary of state, I have enquired into; and find he was under a mistake. And the mistake arose probably from this circumstance,

that when, from the information of the conſul, there was danger that the deſerter would wholly eſcape, unleſs inſtantly apprehended, the judge has iſſued his warrant to arreſt and bring before him the alleged deſerter; but when brought, that judge has not committed the man, or delivered him to the conſul, unleſs the original roll was produced to prove him one of the ſhip's crew.

As to the outrage againſt Mr. Fauchet, by the Africa man of war, in attempting to ſeize him and his papers within the juriſdiction of the United States, and captain Home's inſult on their authority, I do not know what meaſures more efficacious could have been taken by the executive, than thoſe which were adopted, to obtain ſatisfaction. After waiting a reaſonable time for explanations on the part of captain Home, and of Mr. Moore, the Engliſh vice-conſul, and receiving none, the preſident revoked the exequatur of the vice-conſul, and deſired the governor of Rhode Iſland, where the Africa had been lying, to communicate to captain Home the demand of the preſident—"that he ſhould "immediately remove from a ſtation, "within the juriſdiction of the "United States, where he had vio- "lated their rights; and further to "make known to him, that in "forty-eight hours after the requi- "ſition ſhould be communicated to "him, all intercourſe between the "citizens of the United States and "his ſhip would be forbidden."

It is very true that the exequatur of the Britiſh vice-conſul was withdrawn expreſsly, for his knowingly tranſmitting to the governor of Rhode Iſland a moſt inſulting letter from captain Home; becauſe although he was on board the Africa, when the attempt was made againſt Mr. Fauchet, the preſident had no evidence of his co-operation. The miniſter of the United States in London was directed to repreſent to that court the conduct of captain Home, and to demand his exemplary puniſhment. It was not to be expected that he would be judged unheard, and conſequently much delay muſt have enſued. From her ſtation on the coaſt of North America, the Africa went to the West Indies. Seeing ſome time ſince by an article in the newſpapers, that the Africa was returned to England, our miniſter in London was reminded of this affair, that the demand of ſatisfaction might be renewed.

Although the ſubject of M. de la Croix's third and laſt complaint (the Britiſh treaty,) has been already diſcuſſed, allow me here to make a few remarks. He ſays, "it will be "eaſy to prove that the United "States in this treaty, have know- "ingly and evidently ſacrificed their "connections with the republic, and "the moſt eſſential and leaſt conteſted "prerogatives of neutrality;" the *reverſe* of what the miniſter conſiders ſo *eaſy to prove*, we think has been *demonſtrated*. Our legally binding connections with France, we always conſidered as being formed by our treaties: and we ſay with confidence, that we have not "knowingly" violated theſe in a ſingle article. If individuals have at any time infringed them, the government has been ſincere and diligent in its endeavors to redreſs the wrong. If the ties of affection, of warm enthuſiaſtic friendſhip, have been weakened, the cauſe is to be ſought for, not in the acts of the American government, which have been conſtantly

conſtantly directed to the preſervation of our peace with all nations. Theſe ties did not depend on treaties. It was our friendſhip to France, contracted during *our* revolution, and our partiality for the cauſe of liberty and ſelf-government, for which ſhe engaged in *her own*, that made us endure numerous injuries, almoſt without complaining. We were not willing to aſcribe to the republic the outrages of her miniſters againſt the laws, the ſovereignty, and the dignity of the United States, or the exceptionable ſtyle of their communications. Even when for ſuch flagrant aggreſſions, often repeated, we deſired the recal of one of her miniſters, it was done in the moſt ſoothing language; and in the mean time, leſt the intereſt of the republic ſhould ſuffer, he was permitted to exerciſe his functions in all caſes in which thoſe intereſts could be affected. When his ſucceſſor arrived, he officially requeſted, that the offending miniſter might be apprehended, that he might be ſent to France. But the government, ſatisfied by his removal, declined the meaſure: ſome irritations were experienced from that ſucceſſor.—What ſenſations have been produced by Mr. Adet's notes, your own feelings on the peruſal, will enable you to judge. If he intended to excite the general indignation of our citizens, he is not diſappointed, but it is preſumed, this was not the object. After an exhibition of complaints in a ſtyle ſo exceptionable, he could add but one more improper act, that of publiſhing his notes in the newspapers: he had ſcarcely tranſmitted them to the executive, before he forwarded them to the printer for publication.

From the foregoing ſtatement, we truſt it will appear, that there has been no attempt in the government of the United States to violate our treaty, or weaken our engagements with France; that whatever reſiſtance it has oppoſed to the meaſures of her agents, the maintenance of the laws, and the ſovereignty of the United States, and their neutral obligations, have rendered indiſpenſable. That it has never acquieſced in any acts violating our rights, or interfering with the advantages ſtipulated to France; but on the contrary has oppoſed them, by all the means in its power: that it has withheld no ſuccours from France, that were compatible with the duties of neutrality to grant; that as well by their independent political rights, as by the expreſs proviſions of the commercial treaty with France, the United States were at full liberty to enter into commercial treaties with any other nation, and conſequently with Great Britain; that no facts manifeſting a partiality to that country, have been, and I add, that none ſuch can be produced.

Of the propriety and juſtneſs of theſe concluſions you will endeavour to ſatisfy the French government; and conſcious of the rectitude of our own proceedings, during the whole courſe of the preſent war, we cannot but entertain the moſt ſanguine expectations that they will be ſatisfied. We even hope, that this has been already accompliſhed; and that you will be ſaved from the pain of renewing a diſcuſſion, which the government has entered upon with regret. Your miſſion and inſtructions prove its ſolicitude to have prevented this neceſſity, and the ſincerity of its preſent hopes, that your endeavours, agreeably to thoſe

inſtructions, "to remove jealouſies "and obviate complaints, by ſhewing "that they are groundleſs; to re- "ſtore confidence ſo unfortunately "and injuriouſly impaired; to ex- "plain the relative intereſts of both "countries, and the real ſentiments "of your own," have been attended with ſucceſs. And as a conſequence thereof, we rely on the repeal of the decrees and orders, which expoſe our commerce to indefinite injuries, which militate with the obligations of treaties, and our rights as a neutral nation.

I have the honour to be,
with great reſpect, ſir,
your moſt obedient ſervant,
TIMOTHY PICKERING.

Speech of the Preſident of the United States of America *to Congreſs, on opening the Seſſion, May 16th,* 1797.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,

THE perſonal inconveniences to the members of the ſenate and of the houſe of repreſentatives, in leaving their families and private affairs at this ſeaſon of the year, are ſo obvious, that I the more regret the extraordinary occaſion which has rendered the convention of congreſs indiſpenſable.

It would have afforded me the higheſt ſatisfaction to have been able to congratulate you on a reſtoration of peace to the nations of Europe, whoſe animoſities have endangered our tranquillity; but we have ſtill abundant cauſe of gratitude to the Supreme Diſpenſer of national bleſſings, for general health and promiſing ſeaſons; for domeſtic and ſocial happineſs; for the rapid progreſs and ample acquiſitions of induſtry, through extenſive territories; for civil, political, and religious liberty. While other ſtates are deſolated with foreign war, or convulſed with inteſtine diviſions, the United States preſent the pleaſing proſpect of a nation governed by mild and equal laws; generally ſatisfied with the poſſeſſion of their rights; neither envying the advantages, nor fearing the power of other nations; ſolicitous only for the maintenance of order and juſtice, and the preſervation of liberty; increaſing daily in the attachment to a ſyſtem of government, in proportion to their experience of its utility; yielding a ready and general obedience to laws flowing from reaſon, and reſting on the only ſolid foundation, the affection of the people.

It is with extreme regret that I ſhall be obliged to turn your thoughts to other circumſtances, which admoniſh us that ſome of theſe felicities may not be laſting; but if the tide of our proſperity is full, and a reflux commencing, a vigilant circumſpection becomes us, that we may meet our reverſes with fortitude, and extricate ourſelves from their conſequences, with all the ſkill we poſſeſs, and all the efforts in our power.

In giving to congreſs information of the ſtate of the union, and recommending to their conſideration ſuch meaſures as appear to me to be expedient or neceſſary, according to my conſtitutional duty, the cauſes and the objects of the preſent extraordinary ſeſſion will be explained.

After the preſident of the United States received information that the French government had expreſſed ſerious diſcontents at ſome proceed-

ings of the government of these States, said to affect the interests of France, he thought it expedient to send to that country a new minister, fully instructed to enter on such amicable discussions, and to give such candid explanations as might happily remove the discontents and suspicions of the French government, and vindicate the conduct of the United States. For this purpose he selected from among his fellow-citizens a character, whose integrity, talents, experience, and services, had placed him in the rank of the most esteemed and respected in the nation. The direct object of his mission was expressed in his letter of credence to the French republic, being "to maintain that "good understanding which, from "the commencement of the alli-"ance, had subsisted between the two "nations; and to efface unfavour-"able impressions, banish suspicions, "and restore that cordiality which "was at once the evidence and "pledge of a friendly union." And his instructions were to the same effect, "faithfully to represent the "disposition of the government and "people of the United States, their "disposition being one, to remove "jealousies and obviate complaints, "by showing that they were ground-"less; to restore that mutual con-"fidence which had been so unfor-"tunately and injuriously impaired; "and to explain the relative inte-"rests of both countries, and the "real sentiments of his own."

A minister thus specially commissioned, it was expected would have proved the instrument of restoring mutual confidence between the two republics: the first step of the French government corresponded with that expectation; a few days before his arrival at Paris, the French minister of foreign relations informed the American minister, then resident at Paris, of the formalities to be observed by himself in taking leave, and by his successor, preparatory to his reception. These formalities they observed; and on the ninth of December presented officially to the minister of foreign relations, the one a copy of his letter of recal; the other a copy of his letters of credence. These were laid before the executive directory. Two days afterwards, the minister of foreign relations informed the recalled American minister, that the executive directory had determined not to receive another minister plenipotentiary from the United States, until after the redress of grievances demanded of the American government, and which the French republic had a right to expect from it. The American minister immediately endeavoured to ascertain whether, by refusing to receive him, it was intended that he should retire from the territories of the French republic; and verbal answers were given, that such was the intention of the directory. For his own justification he desired a written answer; but obtained none until towards the last of January; when, receiving notice in writing to quit the territories of the republic, he proceeded to Amsterdam, where he proposed to wait for instructions from this government. During his residence at Paris, cards of hospitality were refused him; and he was threatened with being subjected to the jurisdiction of the minister of police; but with becoming firmness he insisted on the protection of the law of nations, due to him as the known minister of a foreign power. You will

will derive further information from his diſpatches, which will be laid before you.

As it is often neceſſary that nations ſhould treat for the mutual advantage of their affairs, and eſpecially to accommodate and terminate differences, and as they can treat only by miniſters, the right of embaſſy is well known, and eſtabliſhed by the law and uſage of nations. The refuſal on the part of France to receive and hear our miniſter, is then the denial of a right; but the refuſal to receive him until we have acceded to their demands without diſcuſſion, and without inveſtigation, is to treat us neither as allies, nor as friends, nor as a ſovereign ſtate.

With this conduct of the French government, it will be proper to take into view the public audience given to the late miniſter of the United States, on his taking leave of the executive directory. The ſpeech of the preſident diſcloſes ſentiments more alarming than the refuſal of a miniſter, becauſe more dangerous to our independence and union; and at the ſame time ſtudiouſly marked with indignities towards the government of the United States. It evinces a diſpoſition to ſeparate the people of the United States from the government; to perſuade them that they have different affections, principles, and intereſts, from thoſe of their fellow-citizens, whom they themſelves have choſen to manage their common concerns, and thus to produce diviſions fatal to our peace. Such attempts ought to be repelled, with a deciſion which ſhall convince France and the world that we are not a degraded people, humiliated under a colonial ſpirit of fear, and ſenſe of inferiority, fitted to be the miſerable inſtruments of foreign influence, and regardleſs of national honour, character, and intereſt.

I ſhould have been happy to have thrown a veil over theſe tranſactions, if it had been poſſible to conceal them; but they have paſſed on the great theatre of the world, in the face of all Europe and America, and with ſuch circumſtances of publicity and ſolemnity, that they cannot be diſguiſed, and will not ſoon be forgotten; they have inflicted a wound in the American breaſt. It is my ſincere deſire, however, that it may be healed: it is my ſincere deſire, and in this I preſume I concur with you, and with our conſtituents, to preſerve peace and friendſhip with all nations: and believing that neither the honour nor the intereſt of the United States abſolutely forbid the repetition of advances for ſecuring theſe deſirable objects with France, I ſhall inſtitute a freſh attempt at negociation; and ſhall not fail to promote and accelerate an accommodation, on terms compatible with the rights, duties, intereſts, and honour of the nation. If we have committed errors, and theſe can be demonſtrated, we ſhall be willing to correct them; if we have done injuries, we ſhall be willing on conviction to redreſs them; and equal meaſures of juſtice we have a right to expect from France, and every other nation. The diplomatic intercourſe between the United States and France being at preſent ſuſpended, the government has no means of obtaining official information from that country; nevertheleſs there is reaſon to believe that the executive directory paſſed a decree on the 2d of March laſt, contravening in part the treaty of amity and commerce of 1778,

injurious to our lawful commerce, and endangering the lives of our citizens. A copy of this decree will be laid before you.

While we are endeavouring to adjuſt all our differences with France by amicable negociation, the progreſs of the war in Europe, the depredations on our commerce, the perſonal injuries to our citizens, and the general complection of affairs, render it my indiſpenſable duty to recommend to your conſideration effectual meaſures of defence.

The commerce of the United States has become an intereſting object of attention, whether we conſider it in relation to the wealth and finances, or the ſtrength and reſources of the nation. With a ſea-coaſt of near two thouſand miles in extent, opening a wide field for fiſheries, navigation, and commerce, a great portion of our citizens naturally apply their induſtry and enterprize to theſe objects. Any ſerious and permanent injury to commerce would not fail to produce the moſt embarraſſing diſorders: to prevent it from being undermined and deſtroyed, it is eſſential that it receive an adequate protection,

The naval eſtabliſhment muſt occur to every man who conſiders the injuries committed on our commerce, the inſults offered to our citizens, and the deſcription of the veſſels by which theſe abuſes have been practiſed. As the ſufferings of our mercantile and ſea-faring citizens cannot be aſcribed to the omiſſion of duties demandable, conſidering the neutral ſituation of our country, they are to be attributed to the hope of impunity, ariſing from a ſuppoſed inability on our part to afford protection. To reſiſt the conſequences of ſuch impreſſions on the minds of foreign nations, and to guard againſt the degradation and ſervility which they muſt finally ſtamp on the American character, is an important duty of government.

A naval power, next to the militia, is the natural defence of the United States. The experience of the laſt war would be ſufficient to ſhow, that a moderate naval force, ſuch as would be eaſily within the preſent abilities of the union, would have been ſufficient to have baffled many formidable tranſportations of troops from one ſtate to another, which were then practiſed. Our ſea coaſts, from their great extent, are more eaſily annoyed, and more eaſily defended by a naval force than any other: with all the materials our country abounds; in ſkill our naval architects and navigators are equal to any; and commanders and ſeamen will not be wanting.

But although the eſtabliſhment of a permanent ſyſtem of naval defence appears to be requiſite, I am ſenſible it cannot be formed ſo ſpeedily and extenſively as the preſent criſis demands. Hitherto I have thought proper to prevent the ſailing of armed veſſels, except on voyages to the Eaſt Indies, where general uſage, and the danger from pirates, appeared to render the permiſſion proper; yet the reſtriction has originated ſolely from a wiſh to prevent colluſions with the powers at war, contravening the act of congreſs of June, 1794, and not from any doubt entertained by me of the policy and propriety of permitting our veſſels to employ means of defence while engaged in a lawful foreign commerce. It remains for congreſs to preſcribe ſuch regulations as will enable our ſea-faring citizens

citizens to defend themſelves againſt violations of the law of nations, and at the ſame time reſtrain them from committing acts of hoſtility againſt the powers at war. In addition to theſe voluntary proviſions for defence by individual citizens, it appears to me neceſſary to equip the frigates, and provide other veſſels of inferior force, to take under convoy ſuch merchant veſſels as ſhall remain unarmed.

The greater part of the cruiſers, whoſe depredations have been moſt injurious, have been built, and ſome of them partially equipped, in the United States. Although an effectual remedy may be attended with difficulty, yet I have thought it my duty to preſent the ſubject generally to your conſideration. If a mode can be deviſed by the wiſdom of congreſs, to prevent the reſources of the United States from being converted into the means of annoying our trade, a great evil will be prevented. With the ſame view I think it proper to mention that ſome of our citizens reſident abroad, have fitted out privateers, and others have voluntarily taken the command, or entered on board of them, and committed ſpoliations on the commerce of the United States. Such unnatural and iniquitous practices can be reſtrained only by ſevere puniſhments.

But beſides a protection of our commerce on the ſeas, I think it highly neceſſary to protect it at home, where it is collected in our moſt important ports. The diſtance of the United States from Europe, and the well known promptitude, ardour, and courage of the people in defence of their country, happily diminiſh the probability of invaſion: nevertheleſs, to guard againſt ſudden and predatory incurſions, the ſituation of ſome of our principal ſea-ports demands your conſideration; and as our country is vulnerable in other intereſts beſides thoſe of its commerce, you will ſeriouſly deliberate, whether the means of general defence ought not to be increaſed, by an addition to the regular artillery and cavalry, and by arrangements for forming a proviſional army.

With the ſame view, and as a meaſure which, even in time of univerſal peace, ought not to be neglected, I recommend to your conſideration a reviſion of the laws for organizing, arming, and diſciplining the militia, to render that natural and ſafe defence of the country efficacious. Although it is very true that we ought not to involve ourſelves in the political ſyſtem of Europe, but to keep ourſelves always diſtinct and ſeparate from it if we can; yet to effect this ſeparation, early, punctual, and continual information of the current chain of events, and of the political projects in contemplation, is no leſs neceſſary than if we were directly concerned in them. It is neceſſary, in order to the diſcovery of the efforts made to draw us into the vortex, in ſeaſon to make preparation againſt them. However we may conſider ourſelves, the maritime and commercial powers of the world will conſider the United States of America as forming a weight in that balance of power in Europe, which never can be forgotten or neglected. It would not only be againſt our intereſt, but it would be doing wrong to one half of Europe at leaſt, if we ſhould voluntarily throw ourſelves into either ſcale. It is a natural policy for a nation

that

that ſtudies to be neutral, to conſult with other nations engaged in the ſame ſtudies and purſuits: at the ſame time that meaſures might be purſued with this view, our treaties with Pruſſia and Sweden, one of which is expired, might be renewed.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,

It is particularly your province to conſider the ſtate of our public finances, and to adopt ſuch meaſures reſpecting them, as exigencies ſhall be found to require; the preſervation of public credit, the regular extinguiſhment of the public debt, and a proviſion of funds to defray any extraordinary expences, will, of courſe call for your ſerious attention. Although the impoſition of new burdens cannot be in itſelf agreeable, yet there is no ground to doubt that the American people will expect from you ſuch meaſures as their actual engagements, their preſent ſecurity, and future intereſt demand.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,

The preſent ſituation of our country impoſes an obligation on all the departments of government, to adopt an explicit and decided conduct. In my ſituation an expoſition of the principles by which my adminiſtration will be governed, ought not to be omitted.

It is impoſſible to conceal from ourſelves or the world, what has been before obſerved, that endeavours have been employed to foſter and eſtabliſh a diviſion between the government and people of the United States. To inveſtigate the cauſes which have encouraged this attempt is not neceſſary; but to repel by decided and united councils, inſinuations ſo derogatory to honour, and aggreſſions ſo dangerous to the conſtitution, union, and even independence of the nation, is an indiſpenſable duty.

It muſt not be permitted to be doubted, whether the people of the United States will ſupport the government eſtabliſhed by their voluntary conſent, and appointed by their free choice; or whether, by ſurrendering themſelves to the direction of foreign and domeſtic factions, in oppoſition to their own government, they will forfeit the honourable ſtation they have hitherto maintained.

For myſelf, having never been indifferent to what concerned the intereſts of my country, devoted the beſt part of my life to obtain and ſupport its independence, and conſtantly witneſſed the patriotiſm, fidelity, and perſeverance of my fellow-citizens on the moſt trying occaſions, it is not for me to heſitate, or abandon a cauſe in which my heart has been ſo long engaged.

Convinced that the conduct of the government has been juſt and impartial to foreign nations; that thoſe internal regulations, which have been eſtabliſhed by law for the preſervation of peace, are in their nature proper, and that they have been fairly executed, nothing will ever be done by me to impair the national engagements, to innovate upon principles which have been ſo deliberately and uprightly eſtabliſhed, or to ſurrender in any manner the rights of the government. To enable me to maintain this declaration, I rely, under God, with entire confidence on the firm and

and enlightened support of the national legislature, and upon the virtue and patriotism of my fellow citizens.

JOHN ADAMS.

To the Address of this House to the President, in answer to his Speech, which was little more than an echo of it, the following answer was returned.

I RECEIVE with great satisfaction your candid approbation of the convention of congress, and thank you for your assurance that the interesting subjects recommended to your consideration shall receive every attention which their importance demands; and that your co-operation may be expected in those measures which may appear necessary for our security or peace.

The declaration of the representatives of this nation of their satisfaction at my promotion to the first office in the government, and of their confidence in my sincere endeavours to discharge the various duties of it with advantage to our common country, have excited my most grateful sensibility.

I pray you, gentlemen, to believe, and to communicate such assurances to our constituents, that no event which we can foresee to be attainable by any exertions in the discharge of my duties, can afford me so much cordial satisfaction as to conduct a negociation with the French republic, to a removal of prejudice, a correction of errors, a dissipation of outrages, an accommodation of all differences, and a restoration of harmony and affection, to the mutual satisfaction of both nations. And whenever the legitimate organs of intercourse shall be restored, and the real sentiments of the two governments can be candidly communicated to each other, although strongly impressed with the necessity of collecting ourselves into a manly posture of defence, I nevertheless entertain an encouraging confidence that a mutual spirit of conciliation, a disposition to compensate injuries, and accommodate each other in all our relations and connections, will produce an agreement to a treaty consistent with the rights, duties, and honour of both nations.

(Signed) JOHN ADAMS.

United States, June 3, 1797.

Message received by the House of Representatives from the President, on the 12*th of June*, 1797.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and
Gentlemen of the House of
Representatives,

I HAVE received information from the commissioners appointed on the part of the United States, pursuant to the third article of our treaty with Spain, that the running and marking of the boundary line between the colonies of East and West Florida, and the territory of the United States, have been delayed by the officers of his catholic majesty, and that they have declared their intention to maintain his jurisdiction, and to suspend the withdrawing of his troops from military posts they occupy within the territory of the United States, until the two governments shall by negociation have settled the meaning of the second article respecting the withdrawing of the troops, garrisons, or settlements of either party, in the territory of the other; that is, whether

whether when the Spaniſh garriſons withdraw, they are to leave the works ſtanding, or to demoliſh them; and, until by an additional article to the treaty, the real property of the inhabitants ſhall be ſecured, and likewiſe until the Spaniſh officers are ſure the Indians will be pacific. The two firſt queſtions, if to be determined by negociation, might be made ſubjects of diſcuſſion for years; and as no limitation of time can be preſcribed to the other (a certainty in the opinion of the Spaniſh officers that the Indians will be pacific) it will be impoſſible to ſuffer it to remain an obſtacle to the fulfilment of the treaty on the part of Spain.

To remove the firſt difficulty, I have determined to leave it to the diſcretion of the officers of his catholic majeſty, when they withdraw his troops from the forts within the territory of the United States, either to leave the works ſtanding, or to demoliſh them; and to remove the ſecond, I ſhall cauſe an aſſurance to be publiſhed, and to be particularly communicated to the miniſter of his catholic majeſty, and to the governor of Louiſiana, that the ſettlers or occupants of the lands in queſtion, ſhall not be diſturbed in their poſſeſſions by the troops of the United States, but, on the contrary, that they ſhall be protected in all their lawful claims: and to prevent or remove every doubt on this point, it merits the conſideration of congreſs, whether it will not be expedient immediately to paſs a law, giving poſitive aſſurance to thoſe inhabitants, who by fair and regular grants, or by occupancy, have obtained legal titles, or equitable claims to lands in that country, prior to the final ratification of the treaty between the United States and Spain on the 25th of April 1796.

This country is rendered peculiarly valuable by its inhabitants, who are repreſented to amount to nearly four thouſand, generally well affected, and much attached to the United States, and zealous for the eſtabliſhment of a government under their authority.

I therefore recommend to your conſideration, the expediency of creating a government in the diſtrict of the Natches, ſimilar to that eſtabliſhed for the territory northweſt of the river Ohio; but with certain modifications, relative to titles in claims of land, whether of individuals or companies, or to claims of juriſdiction of any individual ſtate.

JOHN ADAMS.

United States, June 12, 1797.

Meſſage from the Preſident of the United States to Congreſs.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,

THE whole of the intelligence which has for ſome time been received from abroad, the correſpondence between this government and the miniſters of the belligerent powers reſiding here, and the advices from the officers of the United States, civil and military, upon the frontiers, all conſpire to ſhew, in a very ſtrong light, the critical ſituation of our country. That congreſs might be enabled to form a more perfect judgment of it, and of the meaſures neceſſary to be taken, I have directed the proper officers to prepare ſuch collections of extracts from the public correſpondence, as might

might afford the cleareſt information. The reports made to me from the ſecretary of ſtate, and the ſecretary at war, with a collection of documents from each of them, are now communicated to both houſes of congreſs. I have deſired that the meſſage, reports, and documents, may be conſidered as confidential, merely that the members of both houſes of congreſs may be appriſed of their contents before they ſhould be made public. As ſoon as the houſes ſhall have heard them, I ſhall ſubmit to their diſcretion the publication of the whole, or any ſuch parts of them as they ſhall judge neceſſary or expedient for the public good.

JOHN ADAMS.

United States, July 3, 1797.

Report of the Committee of the Senate (to the Senate, on the 6th of July, 1797*) to whom was referred a Letter * from* W. Blount, *Eſq. one of the Senators from the State of* Teneſſee.

THAT Mr. Blount having declined an acknowledgment or denial of the letter imputed to him, and having failed to appear to give any ſatisfactory explanation reſpecting it, your committee ſent for the original letter, which accompanies this report.

Two ſenators, now preſent in the ſenate, have declared to the committee, that they are well acquainted with the hand-writing of Mr. Blount, and have no doubt that this letter was written by him. Your committee have examined many letters from Mr. Blount to the ſecretary of war, a number of which are herewith ſubmitted, as well as the letter addreſſed by Mr. Blount to Mr. Cocke, his colleague in the ſenate, and to this committee, reſpecting the buſineſs now under conſideration; and find them all to be of the ſame hand-writing with the letter in queſtion. Mr. Blount has never denied this letter, but, on the other hand, when the copy tranſmitted to the ſenate was read in his preſence on the 3d inſtant, he acknowledged, in his place, that he had written a letter to Carey, of which he had preſerved a copy; but could not then decide whether the copy read was a true one. Your committee are, therefore, fully perſuaded that the original letter, now produced, was written and ſent to Carey by Mr.

* *The following is a Copy of the Letter.*

Dear Carey, *Col. King's Iron Works, April* 21.

I wiſhed to have ſeen you before I returned to Philadelphia; but I am obliged to return to the ſeſſion of congreſs, which commences on the 15th of May.

Among other things that I wiſhed to have ſeen you about, was the buſineſs of captain Chiſholm, mentioned to the Britiſh miniſter, laſt winter, at Philadelphia.

I believe, but I am not quite ſure, that the plan then talked of will be attempted this fall; and if it is attempted, it will be in a much larger way than then talked of: and if the Indians act their part, I have no doubt but it will ſucceed. A man of conſequence has gone to England about the buſineſs; and if he makes arrangements as he expects, I ſhall myſelf have a hand in the buſineſs, and probably ſhall be at the head of the buſineſs on the part of the Britiſh.

You are, however, to underſtand, that it is not yet quite certain, that the plan will be attempted; yet you will do well to keep things in a train for action in caſe it ſhould be attempted; and to do ſo will require all your management. I ſay, will require

Mr. Blount. They alſo find that this man, Carey, to whom it was addreſſed, is, to the knowledge of Mr. Blount, in the pay and employment of the United States, as their interpreter to the Cherokee nation of Indians, and an aſſiſtant in the public factory at Tellico Blockhouſe: that Hawkins, who is ſo often mentioned in this letter as a perſon who muſt be brought into ſuſpicion among the Creeks, and if poſſible driven from his ſtation, is the ſuperintendent of Indian affairs for the United States among the ſouthern Indians; Dinſmore is agent for the United States in the Cherokee nation; and Byers one of the

require all your management, becauſe you muſt take care, in whatever you ſay to Rogers, or any body elſe, not to let the plan be diſcovered by Hawkins, Dinſmoor, Dyers, or any other perſon in the intereſt of the United States or Spain.

If I attempt this plan, I ſhall endeavour to have you and all my Indian country and Indian friends with me; but you are now in good buſineſs I hope, and you are not to riſk the loſs of it by ſaying any thing that will hurt you, until you again hear from me. Where Captain Chiſholm is I do not know; I left him in Philadelphia in March, and he frequently viſited the miniſter, and ſpoke upon the ſubject; but I believe he will go into the Creek nation, by way of South Carolina or Georgia. He gave out that he was going to England, but I did not believe him. Among other things that you may ſafely do, will be to keep up my conſequence with Watts, and the Creeks and Cherokees generally; and you muſt by no means ſay any thing in favour of Hawkins; but, as often as you can with ſafety to yourſelf, you may teach the Creeks to believe that he is no better than he ſhould be. Any power or conſequence he gets will be againſt our plan.

Perhaps, Rogers, who has no office to loſe, is the beſt man to give out talks againſt Hawkins. Read the letter to Rogers, and if you think it beſt to ſend it to him, put a wafer in it, and forward it to him by a ſafe hand; or, perhaps, you had better ſend for him to come to you, and ſpeak to him yourſelf reſpecting the ſtate and proſpect of things.

I have adviſed you, in whatever you do, to take care of yourſelf. I have now to tell you to take care of me; for a diſcovery of the plan would prevent the ſucceſs, and much injure all the parties concerned. It may be that the commiſſioners may not run the line as the Indians expect or wiſh; and in that caſe, it is probable that the Indians may be taught to blame me for making the treaty.

To ſuch complaints againſt me, if ſuch there are, it may be ſaid by my friends, at proper times and places, that Doublehead confirmed the treaty with the Preſident at Philadelphia, and received as much as 5000 dollars a year, to be paid to the nation, over and above the firſt price. Indeed it may with truth be ſaid, that though I made the treaty, I made it by the inſtructions of the Preſident; and in fact, it may with truth be ſaid, that I was by the Preſident inſtructed to purchaſe much more land than the Indians would agree to ſell.

This ſort of talk will be throwing all the blame off me upon the late Preſident; and as he is now out of office, it will be of no conſequence how much the Indians blame him. And among other things that may be ſaid for me is, that I was not at the running of the line, and that if I had been, it would have been run more to their ſatisfaction. In ſhort, you underſtand the ſubject, and muſt take care to give out the proper talks to keep up my conſequence with the Creeks and Cherokees. Can't Rogers contrive to get the Creeks to deſire the Preſident to take Hawkins out of the nation? For if he ſtays in the Creek nation, and gets the good-will of the nation, he can and will do great injury to our plan.

When you have read this letter over three times, then burn it. I ſhall be at Knoxville in July or Auguſt, when I will ſend for Watts, and give him the whiſkey I promiſed.

I am, &c.

WILLIAM BLOUNT.

agents in the public factory at Tellico Block-houſe.

The plan hinted at in this extraordinary letter, to be executed under the auſpices of the Britiſh, is ſo capable of different conſtructions and conjectures, that your committee at preſent forbear giving any decided opinion reſpecting it; except that to Mr. Blount's own mind it appeared to be inconſiſtent with the intereſts of the United States and of Spain; and he was therefore anxious to conceal it from both. But when they conſidered his attempt to ſeduce Carey from his duty as a faithful interpreter, and to employ him as an engine to alienate the affection and confidence of the Indians from the public officers of the United States reſiding among them; the meaſures he has propoſed to excite a temper which muſt produce the recall or expulſion of our ſuperintendent from the Creek nation; his inſidious advice, tending to the advancement of his own popularity and conſequence, at the expence and hazard of the good opinion which the Indians entertain of this government, and of the treaties ſubſiſting between us and them,—your committee have no doubt that Mr. Blount's conduct has been inconſiſtent with his public duty, renders him unworthy of a further continuance of his preſent public truſt in this body, and amounts to a high miſdemeanor.—They therefore unanimouſly recommend to the ſenate, an adoption of the following reſolution:

Reſolved, That William Blount, eſq. one of the ſenators of the United States, hath been guilty of a high miſdemeanor, entirely inconſiſtent with his public truſt and duty, as a ſenator of the United States.

On Friday, July 7, the following Meſſage was received by the Senate, from the Houſe of Repreſentatives.

Mr. Preſident,

I AM commanded by the Houſe of Repreſentatives, in their name, and in the name of the people of the United States, at the bar of your houſe, to impeach William Blount, a member of the ſenate, and to inform you, that they will exhibit, in due time, articles of impeachment againſt him, and make good the ſame. I am alſo commanded to demand that the ſaid William Blount be ſequeſtered from his ſeat in the ſenate, and that orders be taken for his appearance, to anſwer the charges which they ſhall bring againſt him.

On Saturday July 8, a motion was put and carried, for the expulſion of Mr. Blount.

Authentic Documents, laid before Congreſs by the Preſident of the United States.

Note from the British Miniſter.

R. LISTON preſents his reſpects to Colonel Pickering, ſecretary of ſtate.

When you firſt mentioned to me the ſuſpicions expreſſed by the Spaniſh miniſter, reſpecting an expedition ſuppoſed to be preparing on the Lakes, with a view to attack the Spaniſh poſts in Louiſiana, I took the liberty of obſerving to you, that I had no knowledge of any ſuch preparations, and did not believe they exiſted.

I have ſince requeſted information on the ſubject from the governor-general of Canada, and his majeſty's ſecretary of ſtate; and I have authority to aſſure you, that no expedition of the nature of that alluded

to,

to, has been or is intended by the Britiſh government. Indeed, the impropriety of violating the neutral territory of the United States, is an objection of ſufficient magnitude to induce the king's miniſters to reject any ſuch plan, were it ſuggeſted to them.

Philadelphia, June 19, 1797.

Note from the Secretary of State to Mr. Liſton.

Department of State, Philadelphia,
Sir, *July* 1, 1797.

YOUR note of the 19th of the laſt month, alluding to the ſuſpicions expreſſed by the Spaniſh miniſter, reſpecting an expedition ſuggeſted to be preparing at the Lakes againſt the Spaniſh poſts in Louiſiana, I laid before the Preſident of the United States, who received great ſatisfaction from your aſſurance, that no ſuch expedition has been or is intended by the Britiſh government.

Will you permit me to inquire whether you can give any information concerning any other project of an expedition againſt any part of the dominions of Spain, adjacent to the territory of the United States, where or from whence any co-operation was contemplated? I am aware of the delicacy of this inquiry; but the frankneſs of your verbal anſwer, formerly, relating to the alleged expedition from Canada, and the aſſurances of your note above mentioned, lead me to hope that you will not deem the preſent inquiry improper; and the proofs you have uniformly given of reſpect to the rights and intereſts of the United States, authorize the further hope, that you will feel yourſelf at liberty to communicate any information you poſſeſs, which on this occaſion may concern their tranquillity and welfare; and I beg you to be aſſured, that it is on this ground only that I would make the inquiry. I will add, however, that it is not the reſult of ſuſpicion, but of information (in which your name is introduced) that ſome project of the kind has been contemplated, and that the means propoſed for carrying it into execution could not but be highly detrimental to the United States.

I have the honour to be,
with great reſpect, Sir,
Your moſt obedient ſervant,
TIMOTHY PICKERING.

Robert Liſton, Eſq. Envoy Extraordinary and Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty to the United States.

Reply of Mr. Liſton.

R. LISTON preſents his reſpects to Colonel Pickering, ſecretary of ſtate.

I have had the honour of receiving your letter of yeſterday.

In the courſe of laſt winter, ſome perſons did actually propoſe to me a plan for an attack on the Floridas, and the other poſſeſſions of his catholic majeſty, adjoining to the territories of the United States.

The general outline of the project was, that the expedition ſhould be undertaken by a Britiſh force ſent by ſea, and ſeconded by a number of men reſident within the limits of the United States, who, I was aſſured, would be willing to join the king's ſtandard, if it were erected on the Spaniſh territory.

I informed the projectors that I could not give any encouragement to a plan of this nature; and I particularly ſtated two objections to it; the impropriety of any meaſure that tended to a violation of the neutrality of the United States,—and the inhumanity of calling in the aid of the Indians; a circumſtance hinted at in the converſation that had taken place on the ſubject.

I conceived it to be my duty, however, to mention the buſineſs in my correſpondence with my ſuperiors; and I lately received an anſwer, acquainting me that his majeſty's miniſters did not think proper to give any countenance to the project. The two objections above alluded to (which I had of courſe inſiſted on in my report) are ſtated as ſufficient reaſons for its rejection.

You muſt allow me, Sir, to decline entering into any further particulars: on the one hand, becauſe, although I have all along ſuſpected, that the perſons who propoſed the plan to me, might not improbably be employed by the enemies of Great Britain, to endeavour with ſiniſter views to inſinuate themſelves into my confidence; yet as theſe my ſurmiſes may be falſe, I ſhould not be juſtified in betraying the ſecrets of men who may have meant me well; and, on the other hand, becauſe however looſe the principles of theſe ſpeculators may have been on the ſubject of the law of nations (as it regards the duties of neutrality) none of them in their intercourſe with me, ever expreſſed ſentiments that were in any degree hoſtile to the intereſts of the United States.

Philadelphia, July 2.

Addreſs of the Preſident of the United States of America to Congreſs, on opening the Seſſion, November 23.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,

I WAS for ſome time apprehenſive that it would be neceſſary, on account of the contagious ſickneſs which affected the city of Philadelphia, to convene the national legiſlature at ſome other place. This meaſure it was deſirable to avoid, becauſe it would occaſion much public inconvenience, and a conſiderable public expence, and add to the calamities of the inhabitants of this city, whoſe ſufferings muſt have excited the ſympathy of all their fellow-citizens. Therefore, after taking meaſures to aſcertain the ſtate and decline of the ſickneſs, I poſtponed my determination, having hopes, now happily realiſed, that, without hazard to the lives or health of the members, Congreſs might aſſemble at this place, where it was next by law to meet. I ſubmit, however, to your conſideration, whether a power to poſtpone the meeting of Congreſs, without paſſing the time fixed by the conſtitution upon ſuch occaſions, would be a uſeful amendment to the law of one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-four. Although I cannot yet congratulate you on the re-eſtabliſhment of peace in Europe, and the reſtoration of ſecurity to the perſons and properties of our citizens from injuſtice and violence at ſea, we have, nevertheleſs, abundant cauſe of gratitude to the ſource of benevolence and influence, for interior tranquillity and perſonal ſecurity, for propitious ſeaſons,

ſeaſons, proſperous agriculture, productive fiſheries, and general improvements; and, above all, for a national ſpirit of civil and religious liberty, and a calm but ſteady determination to ſupport our ſovereignty, as well as our moral and religious principles, againſt all open and ſecret attacks.

Our Envoys Extraordinary to the French Republic embarked, one in July, the other in Auguſt, to join their colleagues in Holland. I have received intelligence of the arrival of both of them in Holland, from whence they all proceeded on their journey to Paris, within a few days of the 19th of September. Whatever may be the reſult of this miſſion, I truſt that nothing will have been omitted on my part to conduct the negotiation to a ſucceſsful concluſion, on ſuch equitable terms as may be compatible with the ſafety, honour, and intereſts of the United States. Nothing in the mean time will contribute ſo much to the preſervation of peace, and the attainment of juſtice, as a manifeſtation of the energy and unanimity, of which, on many former occaſions, the people of the United States have given ſuch memorable proofs, and the exertions of thoſe reſources, for national defence, which a benevolent Providence has kindly placed within their power.

It may be confidently aſſerted, that nothing has occurred ſince the adjournment of Congreſs, which renders inexpedient thoſe precautionary meaſures recommended by me to the conſideration of the two Houſes, at the opening of your late extraordinary ſeſſion. If that ſyſtem was then prudent, it is more ſo now, as increaſing depredations ſtrenghten the reaſons for its adoption.

Indeed, whatever may be the iſſue of the negotiation with France, and whether the war in Europe is or is not to continue, I hold it moſt certain, that permanent tranquillity and order will not ſoon be obtained. The ſtate of ſociety has ſo long been diſturbed, the ſenſe of moral and religious obligations ſo much weakened, public faith and national honour have been ſo impaired, reſpect to treaties has been ſo diminiſhed, and the law of nations has loſt ſo much of its force, while pride, ambition, avarice, and violence, have been ſo much unreſtrained, that there remains no reaſonable ground on which to raiſe an expectation, that a commerce, without protection or defence, will not be plundered.

The commerce of the United States is eſſential, if not to their exiſtence, at leaſt to their comfort, their growth, proſperity, and happineſs; the genius, character, and habits of the people are highly commercial; their cities have been formed and exiſt upon commerce: our agriculture, fiſheries, arts, and manufactures, are connected with and dependent upon it. In ſhort, commerce has made this country what it is, and it cannot be deſtroyed or neglected, without involving the people in poverty and diſtreſs. Great numbers are directly and ſolely ſupported by navigation. The faith of ſociety is pledged for the preſervation of the rights of commercial and ſeafaring, no leſs than for thoſe of the other citizens. Under this view of our affairs, I ſhould hold myſelf guilty of a neglect of duty, if I forbore to recommend, that we ſhould make every exertion to protect our commerce, and to place our country in a ſuitable poſture of defence, as the only ſure means of preſerving both.

I have

I have entertained an expectation, that it would have been in my power, at the opening of this ſeſſion, to have communicated to you the agreeable information of the due execution of our treaty with his catholic majeſty, reſpecting the withdrawing of his troops from our territory, and the demarcation of the line of limits; but, by the lateſt authentic intelligence, Spaniſh garriſons were ſtill continued within our country, and the running of the boundary line had not been commenced. Theſe circumſtances are the more to be regretted, as they cannot fail to affect the Indians in a manner injurious to the United States. Still, however, indulging the hope that the anſwers which have been given will remove the objections offered by the Spaniſh officers, to the immediate execution of the treaty, I have judged it proper, that we ſhould continue in readineſs to receive the poſts, and to run the line of limits.

Further information on this ſubject will be communicated in the courſe of the ſeſſion.

In connection with the unpleaſant ſtate of things on our weſtern frontier, it is proper for me to mention the attempts of foreign agents to alienate the affections of the Indian nations, and to excite them to actual hoſtilities againſt the United States. Great activity has been exerted by thoſe perſons who have inſinuated themſelves among the Indian tribes reſiding within the territories of the United States, to influence them to transfer their affections and force to a foreign nation, to form them into a confederacy, and to prepare them for war againſt the United States.

Although meaſures have been taken to counteract theſe infractions of our rights, to prevent Indian hoſtilities, and to preſerve entire their attachment to the United States, it is my duty to obſerve, that to give a better effect to theſe meaſures, and to obviate the conſequence of a repetition of ſuch practices, a law, providing adequate puniſhment for ſuch offences, may be neceſſary.

The Commiſſioners appointed under the fifth article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between the United States and Great Britain, to aſcertain the river which was truly intended under the name of the river St. Croix, mentioned in the treaty of peace, met at Paſſamaquody Bay, in October 1796, and viewed the mouths of the rivers in queſtion, and the adjacent ſhores and iſlands, and being of opinion that actual ſurveys of both rivers to their ſources were neceſſary, gave to the agents of the two nations inſtructions for that purpoſe, and adjourned to meet at Boſton in Auguſt. They met, but the ſurveys requiring more time than had been ſuppoſed, and not being then completed, the Commiſſioners again adjourned, to meet at Providence, in the ſtate of Rhode Iſland, in June next, when we may expect a final examination and deciſion.

The Commiſſioners appointed in purſuance of the ſixth article of the treaty, met at Philadelphia in May laſt, to examine the claims of Britiſh ſubjects for debts contracted before the peace, and ſtill remaining due to them from citizens or inhabitants of the United States. Various cauſes have hitherto prevented any determination; but the buſineſs is now reſumed, and doubtleſs will be proſecuted without interruption.

Several

Several deciſions on the claims of citizens of the United States, for loſſes and damages ſuſtained by reaſon of irregular and illegal captures, or condemnations of their veſſels or other property, have been made by the Commiſſioners in London, conformably to the ſeventh article of the treaty. The ſums awarded by the Commiſſioners have been paid by the Britiſh government. A conſiderable number of other claims, where coſts and damages, and not captured property, were the only objects in queſtion, have been decided by arbitration; and the ſums awarded to the citizens of the United States have alſo been paid.

The Commiſſioners appointed agreeably to the 21ſt article of our treaty with Spain, met at Philadelphia in the ſummer paſt, to examine and decide on the claims of our citizens for loſſes they have ſuſtained, in conſequence of their veſſels and cargoes having been taken by the ſubjects of his catholic majeſty, during the late war between Spain and France. Their ſittings have been interrupted, but now are reſumed.

The United States being obligated to make compenſation for the loſſes and damages ſuſtained by Britiſh ſubjects, upon the award of the Commiſſioners acting under the ſixth article of the treaty with Great Britain; and for the loſſes and damages ſuſtained by Britiſh ſubjects, by reaſon of the capture of their veſſels and merchandize, taken within the limits and juriſdiction of the United States, and brought into their ports, or taken by veſſels originally armed in ports of the United States, upon the awards of the Commiſſioners acting under the ſeventh article of the ſame treaty; it is neceſſary that proviſion be made for fulfilling theſe obligations.

The numerous captures of American veſſels by the cruizers of the French Republic, and of ſome by thoſe of Spain, have occaſioned conſiderable expences in making and ſupporting the claim of our citizens before their tribunals; and the ſums required for the purpoſe have, in divers inſtances, been diſburſed by the Conſuls of the United States. By means of the ſame captures, great numbers of our ſeamen have been thrown aſhore in foreign countries, deſtitute of all means of ſubſiſtence; and the ſick, in particular, have been expoſed to grievous ſufferings. The conſuls have in theſe caſes alſo advanced money for their relief; for theſe advances they reaſonably expect reimburſements from the United States.

The Conſular Act, relative to ſeamen, requires reviſion and amendment; the proviſions for their ſupport in foreign countries, and for their return are found to be inadequate and ineffectual. Another proviſion ſeems neceſſary to be added to the Conſular Act: ſome foreign veſſels have been diſcovered ſailing under the flag of the United States, and with foreign papers. It ſeldom happens that the Conſuls can detect this deception, becauſe they have no authority to demand an inſpection of the regiſter and ſea-letters.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,

It is my duty to recommend to your ſerious conſideration thoſe objects which, by the conſtitution, are placed particularly within your ſphere, the national debt and taxes.

Since the decay of the feudal ſyſtem, by which the public defence was

was provided for, chiefly at the expence of individuals, the ſyſtem of loans has been introduced; and as no nation can raiſe within the year, by taxes, ſufficient ſums for its defence and military operations in time of war, the ſum loaned, and debts contracted, have neceſſarily become the ſubject of what have been called the funding ſyſtems.

The conſequences ariſing from the continual accumulation of public debts in other countries, ought to admoniſh us to be careful to prevent their growth in our own. The national defence muſt be provided for, as well as the ſupport of government, but both ſhould be accompliſhed as much as poſſible by immediate taxes, and as little as poſſible by loans.

The eſtimate for the ſervice of the enſuing year will, by my direction, be laid before you.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,

We are met together at a moſt intereſting period. The ſituation of the principal powers of Europe is ſingular and portentous. Connected with ſome by treaties, and with all by commerce, no important event there can be indifferent to us. Such circumſtances call, with a particular importunity, not leſs for a diſpoſition to unite in all thoſe meaſures on which the honour, ſafety, and proſperity of our country depend, than for all the exertions of vigour and firmneſs.

In all ſuch meaſures you may rely on my zealous and hearty concurrence.

JOHN ADAMS

To the Addreſs, which was almoſt an echo of the Speech, the following Reply was made by the Preſident.

Gentlemen of the Senate,

I thank you for this addreſs. When, after the moſt laborious inveſtigation, and ſerious reflection, without partial conſiderations, or perſonal motives, meaſures have been adopted or recommended, I can receive no higher teſtimony of their rectitude than the approbation of an aſſembly ſo independent, patriotic, and enlightened, as the ſenate of the United States.

Nothing has afforded me more entire ſatisfaction than the coincidence of your judgment with mine, in the opinion of the eſſential importance of our commerce, and the abſolute neceſſity of a maritime defence. What is it that has drawn to Europe the ſuperfluous riches of the three other quarters of the globe but a marine? What is it that has drained the wealth of Europe itſelf into the coffers of two or three of its principal commercial powers but a marine? The world has furniſhed no example of a flouriſhing commerce without a maritime protection. And a moderate knowledge of man and his hiſtory, will convince any one that no ſuch prodigy ever can ariſe. A mercantile marine and a military marine muſt grow up together—one cannot long exiſt without the other.

Original

Original State Papers.

[*The Remainder will be inſerted in the Volume for* 1798.]

No. 1.

Secret Inſtructions Given by LEWIS XVIII. *to his Agents in France.*

THE King, not having at his command, a force ſufficient to overcome his enemies, nor the power of directing the movements of the great armies which are acting on the frontiers, ought, it appears, chiefly to confine himſelf to obtaining an influence over public opinion in the interior of the kingdom, and to giving to the means which are uſed there by the other powers a direction uſeful to his views.

This great object requires much care, prudence, and addreſs on the part of thoſe who are commiſſioned to guide and to execute it.

The agents of the king in the interior ſhould, in the firſt place, occupy themſelves in deſtroying the calumnies of all kinds which it is endeavoured to fix on him, and particularly with reſpect to the plan, which is perfidiouſly attributed to him, of conſenting to diſmember a part of France, in order to ſecure his authority over the remainder of it. They ſhould combat, or cauſe to be combated, by means of the journals, and by multiplied writings, every ſyſtem which deviates from that which it is his majeſty's intereſt and intention to re-eſtabliſh. They ſhould ſpread, much more widely than has hitherto been done, the Declaration which he publiſhed; ſhould make more and more known his principles of moderation and clemency; announce his invariable determination to correct the abuſes of our ancient monarchy, by oppoſing invincible obſtacles to their return; and ſhould prepare to become the ſecret organs of all the ſentiments which his majeſty may deem it proper to manifeſt.

They ſhould endeavour to gain over ſome perſons who are of importance, whether by perſonal influence or by their connections; they ſhould connect them with the party of the king by the hope of future reward, and ſhould extend, as far as poſſible, theſe intereſting conqueſts.

They ſhould ſtrive to become well acquainted with, and to give the king full information reſpecting, the following various factions, their leaders, and the end which they have in view.—The faction of the true republicans, that of the federaliſts, that of the terroriſts, that of the moderates, that of the conſtitutionaliſts, who would not be averſe from concurring to reſtore the king, provided he would conform to their ſyſtem, that of the conſtitutionaliſts who wiſh for another dynaſty, that of the conſtitutionaliſts who are for the duke of Orleans, that with which Spain is in correſpondence, that which is put in motion by the houſe of Auſtria, that which is connected with the court of Berlin, and *that which is excited and maintained by England.*

Among theſe factions the agents of the king ſhould diſcriminate thoſe with which they ought to ſeek to come to some ſort of underſtanding, and thoſe of which they can make no other uſe than, by entruſting them

them with real or feigned ſecrets, to ſet them ſo at variance that they may mutually combat and deſtroy each other.

The moſt dangerous of all is that which ſeeks to raiſe the duke of Orleans to the throne. It is to attack, to purſue, and to beat to the ground this faction that all means which circumſtances may offer, ſhould be employed, without delay and without interruption.

The faction which Spain ſeeks to direct, and *that which England favours*, ſeem to be thoſe alone of which it is poſſible to ſecond the operations. Whatever was the motive which induced Spain to diſcontinue hoſtilities againſt France, whatever may be the motive which leads it to form ulterior connections with the actual government, whether it has been, and is, influenced in this reſpect by feelings of fear, either juſt or exaggerated, by the knowledge of the exhauſted ſtate of its finances, or by the interior movements and intrigues of the court, ſtill it cannot be doubted that it preſerves the ſincereſt deſire to ſee the French monarchy re-eſtabliſhed, and the trueſt diſpoſition to give ſecretly that direction to its intercourſe with the members of the French government, obſerving at the ſame time that circumſpection which its preſent circumſtances render neceſſary.

As a guarantee of this, we have not only the perſonal feelings of their Catholic majeſties towards the king, and the common intereſt of the greatness and glory of their auguſt houſe, but alſo the eſſential and invariable intereſt of their crown and their empire.

None of the continental powers of Europe, except France, offer political relations eſſentially intereſting to Spain; England preſents to her only alarming ones; France alone can give her a ſolid and indiſpenſable ſupport; but it can never be given by republican France, it can only be by France as a monarchy, and *an abſolute monarchy*.

It is in conſidering the Spaniſh cabinet under a point of view ſo evidently correct, that the political ſyſtem which it ſeems to have adopted ought to be maturely weighed in the council of the king.

If the Spaniſh miniſtry, after having vainly endeavoured to move the coalition to adopt meaſures conformable to the great intereſts of the houſe of Bourbon, became convinced that ſuch of the coaleſced powers as acted on the leaſt unfavourable ſyſtem conſidered the reeſtabliſhment of the French monarchy but as a ſecondary object, that all were deſirous to ſee it weakened, that ſome of them ſeemed eager to diſmember ſome of its provinces, and were even ſo much led aſtray as to deſire its entire diſſolution, if ſo, ought that miniſtry, while it was exhauſting at the ſame time its own reſources, ought it to continue to concur in the carrying on of ſuch a diſaſtrous ſcheme? Might it not think, ought it not to think, that by employing in the interior of the kingdom a ſmall part of the ſum which a new campaign would coſt, it would be able to bring about a movement really eſſential to the common cauſe of France and Spain, and to ſucceed in raiſing up the throne, by ſecretly, adroitly, and conſtantly following the ſyſtem known to be the moſt proper to enſure the ſucceſs of this great deſign; and, in reality, what hopes ſhould we not form if we had ſimilar means at our command; but ſince the true intentions of Spain

ſeem ſo natural to ſuppoſe, is it not our greateſt intereſt to neglect nothing to give her means that direction which we would give to them ourſelves?

We have ſerious obſtacles to vanquiſh before we can accompliſh this, and it is to triumph over thoſe obſtacles that we ought to bend all our political efforts with regard to Spain.

We ſhould deceive ourſelves were we to think that we can effect this by direct means. I believe I may affirm that they would almoſt all fail. There is but one of them which it appears abſolutely poſſible to try; it is that his majeſty ſhould make known to the Spaniſh miniſtry that, in conſequence of a new ſtatement of its ſyſtem, which has been preſented to his council, he is fully convinced of the utility which may reſult from it to the common cauſe, and that his majeſty tranſmits to the miniſtry as conſequences even of that ſyſtem the enlightened advice, by which he believes that the beſt direction may be given to the operations of Spain in the interior of the kingdom: but, in the abſence of direct means, we have indirect ones, of which we ought to haſten to avail ourſelves.

The double part which M. d'Entraigues plays, with frankneſs and ſucceſs, with the king and the Spaniſh cabinet, offers us in this affair an important reſource.

It appears to be eſſential that M. d'Entraigues ſhould immediately occupy himſelf on this great object, and that he ſhould employ all the means furniſhed by his talent and his knowledge of the Spaniſh court; directing them by the channel of his perſonal correſpondence, or making uſe of them through that of M. de Campos, and above all of M. de las Caſas. It is not leſs ſo, that the ſecretary of the embaſſy, which the king deſtines to M. d'Havré, ſhould be announced by him as a man on whom he perſonally reckons, and whom he has pointed out to fill the office, and that he ſhould receive inſtructions, which, concerted with M. d'Entraigues, and ſubmitted to the council of the king, may enable him to accompliſh theſe great views, by profiting of all the circumſtances which may reſult from a knowledge of the exiſting miniſtry, of the preſent ſituation of the court of Madrid, and of that even which may and muſt eventually develope itſelf.

The faction which England favours in the interior is not leſs important to direct than that which Spain ſeeks to put in motion. The agents of the king ought in the firſt place to ſtrive to find out if thoſe who are at the head of this Engliſh faction are in uniſon with thoſe who are of the faction of the houſe of Auſtria, and to enlighten his majeſty on this capital point.

The ſaid agents will aſcertain whether this faction acts dependently or independently of any other influence. If it be dependent on the Auſtrian faction, they will neglect nothing which can detach it from that faction, by enlightening it with reſpect to the true intereſts of England, which are not in harmony with thoſe which may be ſuppoſed to be looked to by the cabinet of Vienna; and it is only after being well aſſured of its converſion on this point that it will be poſſible, and with much addreſs, to come to ſome overtures, which, according to circumſtances, may lead to others more confidential.

If the Engliſh faction be independent, the agents of the king will endeavour to find out perfectly its particular views, and will try to enlighten it, in directing it with good faith

faith towards our purpoſe, or to lead it aſtray while equally directing it to that purpoſe, by perſuading it, or cauſing it to be perſuaded, that they act on its behalf, and above all by diſſimulating our hopes of a true regeneration and a ſolid reſtoration.

The more the Engliſh faction in the interior ſhall be adroitly perſuaded on this ſcore, the more facility ſhall we find to induce the Britiſh cabinet to furniſh all the ſuccours which we aſk for the provinces of the weſt and ſouth weſt of France.

The great obſtacle which we ſhall always have to fear with England is, that *even ſuppoſing it to be ſincere in its intention of obtaining ſome ſort of re-eſtabliſhment of the king, it renders the activity of its meaſures ſubordinate to the intereſt which it believes to have, never to take ſteps deciſive enough to raiſe ſolidly its only and ancient rival, whoſe inexhauſtible reſources it knows too well not to dread it ſtill, even in the midſt of its ruins.*

Our agents in the interior, after having made themſelves thoroughly maſters of all the extent of this vaſt plan, will take care to keep up, extend, and ſecure their communications and concert with Vendee and Britanny; they will alſo eſtabliſh another channel of correſpondence with thoſe who being nearer at hand to Mr. Drake and above all to Mr. Wickham, ſtrive to direct the ſucceſſive employment of their means in the different provinces, which will each have a principal chief, to whom will be left the latitude of excluſively chuſing his own agents.

Signed,

The duke de la VAUGUYON,
The baron de FLACHELANDEN,
The marquis de JAUCOURT.

Nota. His majeſty, deeming it uſeful to procure ſome particular ideas on the internal ſituation of France, charges his agents to procure and tranſmit them to him.

What are the different kinds of taxes eſtabliſhed in France, and what is their produce?

What is particularly that of the tax upon landed and moveable property? This tax ought, in its principle, to be proportional; has any degree of exactneſs been attained in this proportion, and on what calculation?

What is the produce and what is the form of the duty on regiſtration, and of the ſtamp duty?

What is the tariff of the duties of the frontier cuſtom houſes?

What is the amount of the valuation made by the conſtituent and other aſſemblies of the church property, not compriſing the tythes?

Is this valuation correct, or at leaſt does it come near to correctneſs? Has it been equalled or ſurpaſſed by the price of ſales? Has all the church property been ſold?

Has the property of the royal domains been comprehended in the ſtatement of national property? What has been the valuation and the ſale of that property? Have the domains aſſigned or leaſed been comprehended, and what indemnity have the poſſeſſors received? Have all theſe domains been ſold?

In what ſtate are the great foreſts of the royal domains, and thoſe on the church property? Have they been included in the ſales?

Of the debt which exiſted in the month of May 1789 what reduction has been effected, either by the death of creditors, or the deſtruction of religious houſes, or repayments?

What remains to be repaid of the loan of 100 millions made in 1782 by

by M. de Fleury, and of that of 125 millions in 1784, and of 80 millions in 1785, by M. de Calonne?

What ſum is there ſtill to be repaid of the charges of the judicature, finances, and king's houſehold?

What is the amount of the different emiſſions of aſſignats, diſtinguiſhing the kind and value of the ſaid aſſignats? What ſum remains in circulation?

What real value have they furniſhed to the government, at each epoch of their emiſſion, according to the rate at which they paſſed?

No. 2.

Second Secret Inſtructions of LEWIS *the* XVIII*th to his Agents.*

THE agents of his majeſty will conſider it as the firſt of their duties, and the moſt important of their means, to make the French people thoroughly acquainted with all the ſentiments which animate the heart of his majeſty. For this purpoſe they will ſedulouſly labour to deſtroy the calumnies of all kinds which infamous men have ſtriven to fix on his character, and particularly with reſpect to the project, perfidiouſly attributed to him, of conſenting to diſmember a part of France, in order to ſecure his authority over the remainder. They will bear witneſs to the ardent deſire which his majeſty feels to place himſelf at the head of his faithful ſervants, and his eagerneſs to join them, as ſoon as the imperious circumſtances which have hitherto prevented him ſhall allow of his doing ſo. They will particularly endeavour to inſpire the moſt entire confidence in the moderation of the king. They will give aſſurances that all his miſled ſubjects who renounce their errors will be treated by him as his children; that he will abandon to the utmoſt ſeverity of the puniſhment which they merit all thoſe, without a ſingle exception, who, when he has pardoned, ſhall indulge their feelings of revenge; and that his juſtice excepts from his clemency only the aſſaſſins of the king his brother, of the queen, and of madam Elizabeth. Should any of theſe even ſeek to atone for their guilt by important ſervices, this unforgivable crime would ſtill excite in him ſo much horror that, even in this caſe, he would give them up to all the rigour of the law, if they dared to continue to ſully their country by their preſence. This is the interpretation which, on this head, the agents will give to the Declaration publiſhed by the king.* They will ſpread it every where as much as poſſible, and they will take peculiar care to combat, or cauſe to be combated, by the journals, or by multiplied publications, all thoſe ſyſtems which deviate from that which his majesty intends to re-eſtabliſh. They will make known that his majeſty is fully convinced:

1ſt. That all forms of conſtitution which ſhall be founded on new baſes, and of which time has not proved the ſolidity, are inevitably expoſed to an unſteadineſs which produces incoherence and confuſion; above all if they have been conceived during ſtormy periods, when the ſpirit of faction was prevalent.

2d. That the moſt ſolemn promiſe of correcting the abuſes of the

* For the Declaration ſee A. R. 1795 ſtate papers, p. 265, col. 2.

monarchy

monarchy would not inſpire confidence for a longer time than the duration of his reign, and that that of making regulations to prevent the return of abuſes would not ſuffice to tranquillize the public mind, which attaches not leſs importance to the re-eſtabliſhment of a permanent conſtitution.

3d. That the vague aſſurance of the re-eſtabliſhment of a limited monarchical government would be open to the various interpretations of that expreſſion "a limited monarchy," which, with views of individual ambition, is called for by the different factions, and which may even be deſired by faithful but little enlightened ſubjects.

The agents of his majeſty will take eſpecial care to remove the fears of eſcaping from republican anarchy only to fall back into what is denominated the ancient regimen. It is not the intention of the king, nor ever will be, to make his people return under that ancient regimen. It is their ancient conſtitution which he wiſhes to reſtore to them, becauſe it is the only one which can enſure their felicity, the ſole object of his paternal views. It is for that object that he wiſhes to re-eſtabliſh it, in all its purity, and all its vigour; it is for that that he wiſhes to render it beloved, by making it better known than it has been. It is not to the name of a great legiſlator that he principally aſpires; but to that of a great obſerver of the conſtitutional laws of his country.

"To that ancient and wiſe conſti-
"tution, whoſe fall has proved your ruin," has he ſaid in his Declaration, "we wiſh to reſtore all its purity, "which time had corrupted, all "its vigour, which time had im-"paired."

It is from this ſentence, which bears the unalterable character of his majeſty's views, that his agents ought, as from a focus of light, to draw all the elucidations which may ſhed the moſt conſoling rays on that "holy ark," as the king calls it in his Declaration, while he acknowledges his fortunate inability to alter it.

The agents of his majeſty may alſo draw from the text of the different paſſages of that declaration, which are about to be quoted, and from the notes which explain them, illuſtrations which will aſſiſt them to enlighten and fix the public opinion; but, without giving them a premature publicity, they will confine themſelves to making uſe of them in their particular intercourſe with the royaliſts, and with all thoſe to whom they may deem it uſeful to communicate them.

In his Declaration the king ſays that the conſtitution "places the "fundamental laws under the pro-"tection of the king and of the three "orders, for the purpoſe of prevent-"ing revolutions, which are the "greateſt calamities that the people "can ſuſtain."

That conſtitution, which regulates the organization of the ſocial body and the form of government, reſts on fundamental laws, which, re-eſtabliſhed in all their ſtrength and all their conſequences, cannot fail to be held for ever ſacred by the ſovereign and the ſubjects, after the cruel proof which they have had of the fatal delirium of factions.

Thoſe fundamental laws, to which the ſovereign ought to conform in the exerciſe of his authority, and the breach of which renders null every act contrary to them, make the Apoſtolic Roman Catholic religion

gion

gion the religion of the ſtate; but they do not extend their empire over ſuch opinions as are not injurious to public order; and they ſecure the protection of juſtice to all perſons, without diſtinction, who do nothing to diſturb the general tranquillity, and the meaſures by which it is maintained.

The fundamental laws ordain the tranſmiſſion of the crown from the eldeſt male to the eldeſt male of the elder branch of the reigning houſe, in preference to the younger, and to the excluſion of daughters, and even of their male deſcendants. As a conſequence of this, the regency devolves, in full right, in caſe of the minority, captivity, or inſanity of the ſovereign, to the preſumptive heir to the crown; and, if he be not capable of exerciſing it, to the next in the order of ſucceſſion.

The king adds in his Declaration, that, "in compoſing the body of the "French people of three diſtinct or- "ders, the conſtitution traced with "preciſion that ſcale of ſubordination "without which ſociety cannot "exiſt; that it gives to neither of "thoſe orders any political right "which is not common to all; that "it leaves all employments open to "Frenchmen of every claſs; that it "affords equal protection to all per- "ſons and to all property; and that "thus, in the eye of the law, and in "the temple of juſtice, it makes diſ- "appear all thoſe inequalities which "civil order neceſſarily introduces in "the ranks and fortunes of the in- "habitants of the ſame empire."

Thoſe fundamental laws divide the ſocial body into three diſtinct orders, namely, that of the clergy, of the nobility, and that of the third eſtate or commons.

This diſtinction of orders, ſo neceſſary to maintain harmony and ſubordination, by eſtabliſhing that ſalutary hierarchy which connects the monarch with the loweſt of his ſubjects, keeps up the moſt uſeful emulation between all the claſſes, and all the individuals, and oppoſes an equal barrier againſt deſpotiſm and anarchy. It is only in theſe two ſtates of degradation of the ſocial order that all ranks are confounded; their being kept diſtinct cannot but be uſeful, ſo long as it does no injury to political or civil equality.

The fundamental laws ſecure to each of the three French orders, the ſame civil and political rights. No function, no employment, is deſtined to the nobility, to the excluſion of the third eſtate or commons.

The fundamental laws give to the monarch the right of convoking and diſſolving the ſtates general. They thus ſhield the public tranquillity from the danger which it would run in periodical aſſemblies, by the inevitable ſhock of parties always active, and always ſpringing up. But, when the circumſtances which, in certain caſes, render neceſſary the convocation of the ſtates general, are well underſtood by the ſovereign, thoſe ſtates become ſo indiſpenſable to the exerciſe of his power that he cannot but feel the impoſſibility of allowing them to fall into diſuſe.

The fundamental laws compoſe the ſtates general of the deputies of the three orders, which are thus repreſented—The clergy by biſhops, abbots, priors, and deputies of chapters and others holding benefices; the nobility by the nobles holding fiefs; the third eſtate or commons by commoners poſſeſſing landed or other property capable of being held by them. The deputies of each order meet

meet and vote in ſeparate chambers, unleſs the three orders conſent to unite in one aſſembly, and vote individually. One of the orders is not bound by the act of the two others; their unanimity is requiſite to make any act the act of the ſtates. But the renunciation of all privileges, and pecuniary exemptions, which has been ſo ſolemnly decreed in France, and from which reſults the univerſal aſſent to a proportionate aſſeſſment of the public burthens, has dried up the moſt dangerous ſource of diſpute between theſe three orders, by leaving them only one common intereſt with reſpect to the moſt important ſubject which they can have to diſcuſs.

The king alſo adds in his Declaration that the conſtitution "ſubjects "the laws to certain ſpecific forms "preſcribed by itſelf; and the ſove- "reign himſelf is equally bound to "the obſervance of the laws, in "order to guard the wiſdom of the "legiſlature againſt the ſnares of "ſeduction, and to defend the liberty "of the ſubject againſt the abuſe of "authority; that it preſcribes con- "ditions to the eſtabliſhment of "impoſts, in order to ſatisfy the "people that the tributes which "they pay are neceſſary to the "ſafety of the ſtate; and that it has "adopted a multiplicity of precau- "tions, to ſecure the enjoyment of "the advantages of a monarchical "government, and at the ſame time "avert the dangers of it."

The fundamental laws give to the monarch an abſolute power to maintain the public tranquillity in the interior of the kingdom, and the ſafety of the ſtate againſt foreign enemies; the unalterable right of pardoning and of mitigating the puniſhment of condemned criminals; that of determining on every thing which is connected with the fleet and army, as well as the excluſive and undivided adminiſtration, and the collecting and employment of the public revenue. They unite in his perſon the executive and legiſlative power!! The ſeparation of thoſe powers would be a never-ceaſing ſource of rivalſhip, diſſention, perplexity, and corruption; but thoſe ſame laws provide againſt the dangers of arbitrary power, by fixing the limits of that of the monarch.

They do not permit him to divide the ſovereignty, and they refuſe to him the power of alienating the domains of the crown, without the conſent of the ſtates general.

The king cannot eſtabliſh any new contribution, nor increaſe the old, without the conſent of the nation freely and legally repreſented.

The king, ſubject himſelf to the laws, muſt conform to them in all the acts of the executive power. The officers of juſtice ought to be freely appointed by him, but he cannot arbitrarily remove them, and their offices can only be made vacant by death, voluntary reſignation, or forfeiture previouſly adjudged. Juſtice ought to be done between all perſons, and on all ſubjects, even in ſuits concerning the crown domains, by the tribunals which the laws have eſtabliſhed, according to the forms which they preſcribe, and conformably to the deciſions which they have given. No French ſubject can be deprived of his liberty, but according to the legal forms; no French ſubject can be proſecuted and puniſhed for any action which is not forbidden by the laws. All ſealed or patent letters, iſſued by the king, or in his name, contrary to the tenor of the laws, are null and

of

of no effect. The judges and other public officers are forbidden to put them in execution. All letters ſuſpending the proceſs in criminal matters, and alſo all thoſe in civil matters, at leaſt unleſs required by the majority of the creditors, all arbitrary removals of a cauſe into another court, commiſſions of juſtice, &c. &c. are equally null and of no effect.

The parliaments are the eſſential guardians and depoſitories of the laws, and ſpecially charged to watch over their execution.

The laws which the king makes of his own will he muſt addreſs to them to be authenticated, before they are publiſhed, and to be regiſtered, if they are according to the legal forms, and contain nothing contrary to the fundamental laws, and the privileges and cuſtoms of their juriſdiction. In caſe they ſhould be found to be contrary, the parliaments are to enlighten the king by their remonſtrances, and, ſhould the king perſiſt, they have the right to declare that they can neither publiſh them, nor order them to be regiſtered.

The ſtates general, when they are aſſembled, lay before the king their wiſh with reſpect to thoſe laws which appear to them likely to be uſeful, and from this expreſſion of that wiſh the king forms a judgment as to what laws he thinks proper to make.

The laws which eſtabliſh new taxes, or encreaſe the old, after having been aſſented to by the ſtates general, and all thoſe which have been aſſented to by them, muſt be addreſſed to the parliaments, merely to aſcertain whether they are according to the legal form, previouſly to their being publiſhed and regiſtered.

The laws are not binding within the juriſdiction of the parliaments, unleſs they have publiſhed and regiſtered them, but, in no caſe, can they modify them, either by adding, in the decree of enregiſtration, clauſes which alter the tenor of them, or by paſſing decrees of regulation which derogate from or add to them.

It is thus that this ancient French conſtitution, which the king has bound himſelf to re-eſtabliſh in all its purity and vigour, while it leaves to the ſovereign all the extent of power neceſſary to the government of a vaſt empire, efficaciouſly guarantees political and civil liberty, ſocial equality, individual ſafety, and all the rights of property. It is thus that it founds the power of the monarch on the liberty even of the nation.

The agents of his majeſty will not confine themſelves to endeavouring to fix the public opinion on the advantages of the ancient conſtitution which he wiſhes to reſtore. They will make known, that not only has he deliberately weighed in his wiſdom this ſolemn determination, but that he is occupied in his retreat only on the means of rendering happy his miſled ſubjects, and that he has meditated on the plan of an adminiſtration beſt calculated to bring back the public proſperity; that it is eſſentially founded on the poſitive renunciation which the clergy and nobility have made of all pecuniary privileges, and on the invariable principle of equal taxation; that he has drawn all the baſes of it from the inſtructions given to the repreſentatives, and which expreſs the free wiſh of the different provinces of France; and that he will unfold this ſalutary plan in proportion as his ſubjects

renounce their fatal errors and reunite themſelves with him.

Such are the great means which his majeſty places in the hands of his agents, and of which they are to make uſe to enlighten, bring round, and fix public opinion. He deſigns to introduce them into a new declaration, which he will publiſh at the time that may ſeem to him to be moſt ſeaſonable.

The agents of his majeſty will be ſufficiently guided on the principal points, from which they muſt never deviate, by the explanation which has been given them, and by the expoſition of the great plan, in which each of them, while he ſees his own place, will perceive the duties that it impoſes on him to concur in the execution of the general ſyſtem.

No. 3.

Letter from Mr. Windham to Count Joſeph de Puiſaye.

(Tranſlation.)

London,

Sir, *March* 2, 1796.

NOTWITHSTANDING the long oblivion in which you ſeem to have been left, you will not, I hope, disbelieve that I have attended to your affairs, and that I ſtill preſerve the ſame intereſt both for the welfare of the cauſe, and for yourſelf perſonally. You have received the aſſurance of this by a few lines, which I wrote to you more than ſix weeks ago.

After many delays, difficulties, and vexations, I have at laſt ſucceeded in having ſomething certain to announce to you; and though it is far leſs than I wiſh, and perhaps than your circumſtances require, it will, I hope, be ſufficient to begin with, and, a beginning once made, affairs may take ſuch a turn as may gain over thoſe minds which are leaſt favourably diſpoſed to this part of the war.

It is ſettled to furniſh thirty thouſand pounds ſterling per month, for the uſe of all the armies together, during three ſucceſſive months, reſerving the right, at the end of that time, of either continuing or diſcontinuing this aſſiſtance, according to circumſtances, and the degree of utility which may have been found to reſult from it.

And if, unfortunately, as I for my part believe will be the caſe, peace ſhould be made with the regicides, we will endeavour to comprehend you in it, or to put you in a ſituation, as far as money can do it, to make conditions for yourſelves.

Believe that, if you ſhould be abandoned, without ſufficient precautions being taken to ſecure your ſafety, I ſhall take good care not to have any concern in a meaſure ſo unjuſt, and ſo diſhonourable to my country.

As it is poſſible that the ſum of £. 30,000. intended to be ſent, in the firſt month, to Jerſey, may not arrive in time, it has been deemed proper to ſend, in addition, a tolerably large ſum, by a ſquadron, which is to ſail in three days for the Morbihan; and in which is likewiſe embarked all that we can forward of powder, arms, clothing, &c.

Of this ſum, and of all others which may be ſent, one half is to be put into the hands of the general council of Britanny, and the other half to be divided into three equal portions, for the armies of Scepeaux, Stofflet and Charette.

The ſame will be done, as far as circum-

circumſtances will permit, with reſpect to the powder and arms which I have mentioned, and to this the gentlemen who embark with them, particularly M. M. Boisberthelot, D'Allegre, and Verteuil, are deſired to attend.

I am concerned that the quantity of ammunition embarked on this occaſion is ſo ſmall: but it is all that the ſhips could find ſtowage for, and tranſport veſſels could not be added. I will do every thing in my power to ſend off another ſupply as ſpeedily as poſſible.

But an important thing, as far as regards pecuniary ſupplies, is, the deſign which we have, of ſending an Engliſh commiſſary, who ſhall be authorized, in extraordinary caſes, to draw on the government, according to a method which is now arranging.

I have already engaged a young man, who is perfectly fitted for the purpoſe, by his zeal, his underſtanding, and the confidence which I can place in him.

I ſhall now turn to the political part, that is to ſay, to that which relates to the intereſt of your cauſe, connected with your perſonal ſituation.

I am fully informed, or at leaſt ſufficiently, of all that happened reſpecting yourſelf, while our forces occupied the iſle d'Yeu, and of the horrible plots that led to the criminal attempt, which was ſo near depriving you of your life, and of throwing into the moſt frightful confuſion, and perhaps of utterly ruining, the royaliſt party.

It has, therefore, not been without having received the moſt poſitive promiſes, and the moſt ſolemn proteſtations, that I have conſented to give to any perſon, not ſent by myſelf, a letter of recommendation to you, by which I might ſeem to render myſelf reſponſible for the ſentiments of the bearer with reſpect to yourſelf.

The Count de Serent, who is the bearer of this letter, is, as you know, in the particular confidence of Monſieur (the count d'Artois). Not only he, but the baron de Rolle, whom you know by repute, have given me their words of honour that Monſieur has diſcarded thoſe unfavourable impreſſions which he had received with regard to you, and that while you continue to ſerve the cauſe as you have hitherto done, you need not entertain a doubt that his good will and ſupport will be given to you in the fulleſt manner.

If this ſhould not prove to be the caſe, I ſhall have a right to reproach theſe gentlemen with having been guilty of a breach of their words. This I do not think they will ever give any body reaſon to do.

M. de Serent, in particular, has expreſsly promiſed me, that, ſhould he ever change his opinion of you, convinced as he now is of your merit and uſefulneſs, or ſhould he learn that ſuch a change has taken place in the mind of Monſieur, he will not fail to apprize me of it immediately.

Under theſe circumſtances, and in conformity with the advice of thoſe who are moſt attached to you, among whom I do not heſitate to reckon M. d'Allegre, I recommend to you to conſent willingly that the ſtep taken by M. M. Georges and La Vendee, (Mercier) atrocious as it was, ſhould be forgiven them, and that this unfortunate diſpute ſhould be amicably ſettled.

In this there will, I believe, be more dignity on your part, and more

ſecurity for the general good. You have right on your ſide, and can therefore well make the firſt ſtep towards an accommodation: and as to thoſe gentlemen, I believe that they have been deceived, but that they will not fall into the ſnare a ſecond time. I intend, if I have a moment to do it, to write to them in this ſpirit; and, in my letter, I ſhall explain to them that though, to avoid the delay of communicating with the general council, we mean to put into their hands the ſum of two thouſand pounds, they muſt give an account of its expenditure to the council, and muſt conſider themſelves only as a part of the entire army of Britanny, and beholden in all things to the council.

I do not remember that I have any thing more to ſay to you, except to aſſure you that your conduct only merits more and more the confidence which I have always felt in your character and the rectitude of your principles; and that while this laſts, as I am convinced that it always will, you need not fear but I will ſupport you with firmneſs, and be with feelings of ſincere eſteem and attachment,

Yours, &c. &c. &c.

W. WINDHAM.

Letter from the ſame to the ſame.

(Tranſlation.)

London,

Sir, *September* 2. 1796.

I SHOULD never have given up your affairs, if I had believed that I could be uſeful; but ſeeing that I could not be ſo, it was abſolutely neceſſary for me to relinquiſh them, rather than remain reſponſible for meaſures of which my ſituation itſelf, in the miniſtry, did not permit me to have the direction.

I cannot, therefore, inform you of the reaſons which retarded the departure of the abbe G——, nor why he ſet off with ſo little money. Perhaps at the moment no larger ſum could be ſpared for that purpoſe.

It only remains, then, for me to acknowledge the correctneſs of your demands, according to the ſums which have been remitted to you, and thoſe which I was authorized to promiſe to you, in the beginning of laſt March.

By this time, I hope that you know through various channels, and, among others, by that of your officer, M. de la C, how earneſtly I wiſh you out of France, ſeeing the little probability there is that any thing can at this period be done, and the enormous loſs which the party would ſuffer, if you were to be taken.

If there was any room to hope that within a ſhort time the war would take its proper turn, and that the royaliſt party would be efficaciouſly ſupported, then I ſhould ſee much utility in your remaining in the country: but, by the diſpatch which you will probably receive along with my letter, you will judge if this is at all likely: and, if it is not, I do not ſee any advantage which can counterbalance the dangers to which you muſt be expoſed by your perſiſting to remain. It is ſtill poſſible that the attempts which the republicans are about to make on our coaſts may in the end relight up the war in the interior of your country, and cauſe the importance of the royaliſt party to be better underſtood than it has hitherto been. This is the ſole hope that I have

have of ſeeing the war terminated otherwiſe than by the ruin of all moral ſociety. But theſe hopes are very uncertain ones, and can by no means juſtify you in longer ſtaying expoſed to purſuit from your enemies, ſhould you find a ſure opportunity to eſcape from it. This is my firm opinion, grounded not only on the intereſt which I take in your perſonal ſafety, but on what I believe to be the moſt uſeful to the intereſt of the cauſe and the party; and I believe that Monſieur, in the letter ſent with this, ſpeaks the ſame ſentiments.

With reſpect to ſuccours, I will not ceaſe to preſs your demands; but I ſhall take eſpecial care not to give you any aſſurances, of which the execution does not depend on myſelf, nor to teach you to imagine that thoſe demands will appear as juſt to other perſons as they do to me.

All that I can aſſure you of is, that I remain in the firm perſuaſion that the royaliſt party is that which might have ſaved Europe, and that I am ever, with the moſt perfect eſteem,

Your's, &c. &c.
W. WINDHAM.

Letter from Mr. Dundas to the ſame.

(Original.)

Parliament Street,
Sir, *September* 2, 1796.

M. DE LA JAILLE arrived here on the 8th ultimo, and delivered to me your letter of the 25th of July.

The purpoſes of my preſent diſpatch do not require that I ſhould enter into any obſervations on the general ſituation of affairs, conſidered either with reſpect to the misfortunes experienced by his majeſty's allies on the continent, or to thoſe which have determined the royaliſts in Britanny and Poitou to acknowledge the authority of the preſent government in France, and to enter into ſuch arrangements with it as appear, at leaſt for the preſent, to have led to a relinquiſhment of the arduous conflict in which they were ſo long engaged. It will afford real ſatisfaction to the king, and in ſome degree alleviate the concern with which he cannot but view the general ſtate of the war, ſhould the reſult of theſe arrangements confirm the hopes he now entertains, that, by their firm and vigorous behaviour, the royaliſts have procured ſuch conditions as will effectually ſecure ſafety and tranquillity for themſelves and their poſſeſſions.

Whatever ſentiments his majeſty's confidential ſervants may entertain with reſpect to the cauſe in which you are engaged, it is impoſſible for them, under the exiſting circumſtances, to encourage the continuance of any unavailing attempts, which could not fail to expoſe to danger the perſons concerned in them, and perhaps lead to an uſeleſs effuſion of blood. With the ſtrongeſt diſpoſition, therefore, to applaud that zeal and public ſpirit which urge you to freſh exertions, his majeſty's ſervants feel it a duty at this moment to recommend to you to provide for your own perſonal ſafety. Having laid before you the conſiderations on which this ſuggeſtion is founded, I wiſh you to receive it as leaving to you a full liberty to regulate your conduct, hereafter, in whatever man-

ner you may think proper, without any reference either to the commiſſion, or any former inſtruction you may have received from this country. Whatever obligations you may have conceived them to have impoſed on you, have henceforth entirely ceaſed, and ſhould not, conſequently, be allowed by you to interfere in any of your future arrangements; which I again intreat of you to make in whatever manner may beſt accord with your opinions and feelings on the occaſion, unreſtrained by any conſideration drawn from the events which have ariſen from your connection with his majeſty's miniſters. You may reſt aſſured that, whether you ſhall reſolve to remain in France, to return to England, or retire to any other part of the world, they will equally do juſtice to the motives by which your deciſion will be governed, and, as far as circumſtances will admit, afford you every protection in their power.

Every exertion that has been made to procure Louis d'ors, or other French coins, have not enabled me to provide for you hitherto a ſum exceeding £. 1,800, which will be conveyed to you by the preſent opportunity. This forms a part of £. 3,000 ſterling, which I have his majeſty's authority to remit to you without delay, to enable you to proceed in the execution of ſuch arrangements as you may think proper to make on receiving this diſpatch. The remainder will be forthwith ſent, (and in French currency if poſſible) by ſuch means of conveyance as may be provided by captain D'Auvergne, prince of Bouillon.

I have the honour to be,
&c. &c.
H. DUNDAS.

Letter from the Count de Puiſaye to Mr. Dundas, in anſwer to the preceding.

(Tranſlation.)

Chateaubourg,
Sir, *September* 25, 1796.

I HAVE received the diſpatches which you did me the honour of addreſſing to me, dated the ſecond of this month.

I begin by offering you my warm and ſincere thanks for the kindneſſes and flattering teſtimonies of eſteem which the government deigns to continue to me, and I requeſt you to have the goodneſs to preſent thoſe thanks to the generous miniſters who, notwithſtanding the calumnies and intrigues which have purſued me, and notwithſtanding diſtance and the duty which I have impoſed on myſelf of leaving my perſonal cauſe for a while in oblivion, that I might give myſelf up entirely to that of my king, and the intereſts of my country, have rendered juſtice to my motives, and deigned to appreciate my conduct and my feeble ſervices.

Filled with the deepeſt gratitude for the protection and generoſity of the king, of which you are pleaſed to aſſure me, I conjure you, ſir, to lay my homage for them at the feet of his majeſty. Highly honoured by having obtained the countenance of the magnanimous prince who has beſtowed ſo many benefits on my unfortunate compatriots, I ſhould, under any other circumſtances, be proud to accept thoſe which he has authorized you to beſtow on me. I entreat you, ſir, to ſolicit his majeſty to condeſcend to add another favour to thoſe which I have received: it is that he will approve the manner in which I wiſh to diſpoſe of the four thouſand eight hundred

dred pounds, which are perſonally deſigned for me.

The immenſe wants of the faithful companions of my labours, the engagements contracted during the courſe of this long war, the care of the ſick, of the infirm, and of thoſe whom honourable wounds have incapacitated from being henceforth the ſupports of their indigent families, and from providing for their own ſubſiſtence, are ſacred debts, a part of which I can diſcharge with this ſum, while waiting for the remainder of that which the government allows me to expect; and the unfortunate victims of ſo much devotedneſs and ſo much zeal, while they bleſs the beneficent hand of his majeſty, and of his virtuous miniſters, will not have to reproach me with having provided for my fortune, any more than my ſafety, as long as I could procure them either conſolation or ſuccour.

Sufficiently payed by the honour of a powerful protection, of which I ſhall always be worthy, I am rich in having merited and obtained it. The aſſurance which you give me, that it will be extended to me, whether I ſhall remain in France, or ſhall retire to that protecting land which I ſhall never ceaſe to honour and to cheriſh, or to any other part of the world, has fixed my determination and my choice: I will remain in France, as long as my efforts to render triumphant the cauſe of the king ſhall not be hopeleſs, and I am very far from ſeeing things under that point of view.

In my laſt diſpatches, I had the honour of giving to the government an account of the cauſes which brought about that partial laying down of arms, which ought by no means to be conſidered in the light of an acknowledgment of the republic and of the actual government. The intereſt of thoſe who have not followed the orders and example which I gave them, and have returned to England; the ignorance of the greateſt number; the bad will of many; the conſternation of ill-informed perſons; the miſtaken zeal of ſome timid friends; and, above all, the verſatility of circumſtances, in a revolution of which the irregular and rapid motions have no direction but that which is given them by the chance of events; may abroad have diſtorted and covered with a thick veil the circumſtances under which has been, and now is, the royaliſt party in France. I can aſſure you, ſir, with that adherence to truth of which I have given proofs, that this party is ſtronger than ever; that, far from having loſt any thing during the late criſis, the criſis has only ſerved to purify and extend it; that during the time recently gone by, which I have unintermittedly employed in rallying opinion, gaining new partiſans to our cauſe, and conſoling and reuniting the different faithful maſſes abandoned by their chiefs, I have myſelf been ſurprized by its ſtrength, of which I was not aware; that, after having ſtudied the cauſes of the ſucceſſive and multiplied reverſes which this powerful coalition has experienced, I have found them in the want of connection in its parts, and in the manœuvres of individual ambition, and of intrigue, ſuggeſted at firſt by the exterior enemies, (I mean by this denomination the intriguers who have ſheltered themſelves principally in England) and ſo well maintained and turned to profit by the enemies in the interior. I imagine that theſe men no leſs ardent to do miſchief, when there is the

leaſt appearance of ſucceſs, than they are cowardly under the leaſt misfortune, will not ſo ſoon run the riſk of introducing themſelves amongſt us, and this event will perhaps be a leſſon for thoſe who have miſuſed the protection of the government to ſend them to us. Freed, at leaſt for a time, from theſe miſchievous beings; aſſured of the fidelity, zeal, and courage of thoſe who have adhered to me; having conſiderably augmented my connections in the towns, and moſt intereſting places; fomented the general diſcontent which breaks out every day among the republican officers and ſoldiers; brought round the opinions of a very numerous mixt party, the ſhades of which inſenſibly blend together as they approximate to us, and of which the leaders have recently given me unequivocal teſtimonies of confidence; having likewiſe opened a correſpondence with the capital, and with the provinces of the ſouth, and given to the party of the king a conſiſtence which it never before poſſeſſed; and, finally, knowing the aſtoniſhing effect which has been produced on the public mind by the news of the defeat of the army of Jourdan, by an univerſal diſcouragement, by the deſertion of the troops, the depreciation of the mandats, the murmurs of the payers of taxes, the barrenneſs of reſources, &c. &c. I am convinced that France is almoſt entirely royaliſt; and that if the arms of his majeſty's allies ſhould obtain a ſecond and a third ſucceſs, there is not a doubt that the movements in the interior will be ſuch as to make a deciſive diverſion. Circumſtances vary with events, and a ſingle day may ſuffice to produce a complete change in the face of affairs. I, therefore, believe it to be my duty to get every thing in readineſs to act with vigour and promptitude ſhould that happy day arrive; and I can aſſure you, ſir, that I will be ready; and ſince, in caſe of my determining to remain in France, the government deigns to aſſure me of the continuance of its protection, I entreat it to give orders, to the prince of Bouillon, to forward to me ſupplies of powder and arms, of which I ſhall make uſe whenever an occaſion preſents itſelf. I muſt at the ſame time call on it to ſend the remainder of the forty-five thouſand pounds which were granted to me, and the delay of which cannot but be of infinite prejudice.

On this head, I muſt obſerve to you, ſir, that the correſpondence by the way of Jerſey is beſet by very prejudicial abuſes and inconveniences. The men who are employed in it, jealous of each other, think of nothing but ruining each other. There are two, M. M. Bertin and Loiſel, who have contrived to get into the confidence of the prince of Bouillon, and who miſuſe it in a manner deſerving of puniſhment; they have ſucceeded in giving him a diſlike of M. Prigent, who has ſerved with continued zeal for four years. All that is ſent through other channels than his I do not receive. Prigent alone, and thoſe who act with him, have faithfully ſerved me. I requeſt you, ſir, to order that, henceforth, only M. Prigent ſhall be charged with commiſſions of importance. It is the ſole means of obtaining the ſafe conveyance of the remittances intended for me. You will be aſtoniſhed when you come to compare the amount of the ſums forwarded to me with the ſums ſpecified in my receipts, which will be produced to you; and you will be more aſtoniſhed

at

at the monſtrous expence which this correſpondence coſts.

Theſe men, who are beſides hawkers of intrigues and calumnies, have, during the laſt fifteen months, done great miſchief to the party. The only means of preventing further miſchief is, to forbid them to go to Jerſey, and to drive them back to England.

I ought to forewarn you, ſir, that you will receive, againſt M. Prigent, written charges, which are the work of hatred and calumny, and I entreat that you will order him to London, to juſtify himſelf.

To this diſpatch I add a copy of the official ſtatements of artillery, arms and ammunition ſent to Breſt, at which place 70,000 republican troops are now aſſembling. You will conjecture the real purpoſe of this aſſemblage; though it is maſked under the project of an expedition to Portugal, I have no doubt that it threatens the coaſts of Ireland and England. The immenſe maritime means of the government render me eaſy as to the reſult of this enterprize. The republicans reckon much on the Spaniſh fleet. Their marine is ſtill in a pitiful ſtate, but they every day wreſt from me ſome ſailors, and it is neceſſary that I ſhould immediately receive pecuniary aid, to provide for the ſubſiſtence of thoſe whom I retain, and who have no other reſource for their daily ſupport.

I repeat here the information which I have given to Mr. Windham. The ſecret introduction of arms is nightly continued at Jerſey. I have recently obtained another proof of it, from a man who was to embark in one of the ſmall veſſels uſed for this purpoſe, and whom reflection induced to deſert.

I am, Sir, &c. &c.

Count JOSEPH DE PUISAYE.

Letter from Mr. Windham to the Count de Puiſaye.

(Tranſlation.)

London, October 14, 1796.

I SHOULD write oftener to you, ſir, and with much pleaſure, if I had any thing conſoling to tell you. What is it that I have now to announce to you? That to-morrow an ambaſſador will ſet out from hence, to open negotiations with the regicides at Paris. Do not, however, believe that this muſt neceſſarily bring about an immediate peace. Many obſtacles may yet be thrown in the way by the republicans, whoſe haughtineſs and inſolence, notwithſtanding the ſucceſſive defeats which they have ſuffered on the Rhine, and the perhaps total deſtruction of their armies, are very capable of dictating conditions, to which we are not yet prepared to accede.

In the mean time, I am labouring aſſiduouſly for you, and aſſuredly with the ſame zeal; though, unfortunately, with the ſame ſucceſs as ever. I am as much convinced as before that with means, and by *means* underſtanding merely money, much may be done. It is for this reaſon that I am leſs anxious than I was when I wrote my laſt letter, that you ſhould look only to your perſonal ſafety; though I do not wiſh that to be neglected. Take all poſſible care of it, but remain ſtill, if you ſee that, even without more aſſiſtance than you have a right to expect from us, there is ſtill ſome ſucceſs to be hoped for.

Your letter to Mr. Dundas has been much approved of; and I hope that, either by the uſual channel, or by that which you have eſtabliſhed through Ceſar, I ſhall ſoon make you ſome remittances. I dare not, however,

however, promiſe you that I ſhall be able, at leaſt for the preſent, to remit all that is due to you. Ceſar is to ſet off immediately, and will endeavour, or not, to reach you, according as circumſtances may dictate: but I doubt if I ſhall have any money ready againſt his departure.

Your ſuſpicions, with reſpect to the diſhoneſty of ſome of your agents, who, you think, have not remitted that which was entruſted to them, ought, I fear, rather to fall on thoſe who have not always kept their promiſes. The ſix thouſand pounds, of which you ſpeak, were not ſent, except as parts of the ſums which you received. As to Prigent and Gouin I have taken meaſures to have them employed, in preference, in every thing which perſonally concerns you. Do not, however, believe, that the others are wanting in fidelity to the cauſe in general. At leaſt, M. de Botherel does not believe it.

Adieu, ſir; I would not neglect to write, though it will probably be ſome time before my letter can be diſpatched. I will alſo conform to the wiſh, which you have expreſſed, that I would write frequently: but do not think, however ſlow or ſhort my letters may be, that I have loſt any of the reſpect and attachment which make me your moſt obedient and faithful ſervant,

W. WINDHAM.

I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 25th of September, and alſo of another of a prior date.

Letter from Mr. Windham to the Count de Puiſaye.

(Tranſlation.)

London,

Sir, *January* 26, 1797.

I WROTE to you, on the thirteenth of this month, in reply to your letters of the twentieth and twenty-third of laſt month. That letter was to be conveyed to you through the hands of a perſon who was going to Paris. In it I ſtated to you the communications which I had had with the agents of the king, and my reaſons for being ſatisfied with their diſpoſitions towards you. The preſent letter will be delivered to you by three of your friends, who are to go by the way of Jerſey, and who will not fail to labour with you in the taſk of giving an unity of action to your operations, and of rendering fruitleſs thoſe intrigues which have not yet ceaſed, though, as I hope, they continually loſe ſomething of their ſtrength.

They will inform you that I am authorized to anſwer your drafts, to the amount of a ſmall ſum, and to promiſe you, that, as far as that ſum will go, there will be no delay in the payment. I hope alſo to be enabled ſhortly to remit you a ſimilar ſum, and, as ſoon as this takes place, I will arrange matters ſo that the money ſhall be ſent you by ſome ſure conveyance, or that you ſhall be informed of it, that you may iſſue other notes. The ſums which I have in view are neither of ſufficient magnitude nor certainty to make it worth while to profit by the means of conveyance which you pointed out in your laſt.

There is not, either in the councils, or meaſures, here, any thing new, which it would intereſt you to know. The attempts of the enemy on our coaſts will perhaps at length teach us that it is better to make war on the enemy's territory than to have it carried into our own. If this ſhould cauſe the revival of the royaliſt party, and the drawing cloſer of our connection with it, I ſhall be obliged to Hoche, for having, for a while,

while, thrown us into alarm, with reſpect to our own ſafety.

You ſee, ſir, that I am no wiſe changed in my public ſentiments, and the gentlemen who will join you, and deliver this letter, can aſſure you that I am as little changed in the ſentiments of attachment and reſpect, with which I have the honour to be your moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

W. WINDHAM.

Letter from Mr. Windham to the Count de Puiſay.

(Tranſlation.)

London,

Sir, *February* 1, 1797.

I HAVE this inſtant received your letter of the tenth of January, with the encloſures, which I will not fail to forward to their addreſs. You will, I hope, ſoon know that four of the gentlemen, to whom you write, have already left London, and only wait for a favourable wind to take them to you. I will endeavour to have them overtaken, that I may inform you, through them, of the receipt of your packets.

That which you have addreſſed to the duke of H—— is of a nature to excite uneaſineſs. It is a ſubject on which I have at times reflected, and which at this moment embarraſſes me more than ever, now that I ſee that your opinion is different from that of perſons who are at the center and head of operations. One of thoſe perſons, who has been here, and with whom I was very well ſatisfied, opened to me in its whole extent the plan which you have traced; that is to ſay, with the exception of the ulterior views which you attribute to ſome who are labouring in the ſame field. I do not believe that ſuch is the ſentiment of all, and particularly not of the perſon to whom I allude. His connection with the princes is too direct, and his fidelity, I believe, too certain, to allow of his being ſuſpected of taking a part in ſuch deſigns.

Nevertheleſs, I have great reaſon to be convinced that ſuch a plot does exiſt in ſome quarter, and that by means of it the Spaniſh government is ſought to be gained over, perhaps deceived. Becauſe that, as far as yet appears, it is not in favour of the young Orleans, but of ſome branch of the Spaniſh family, that it is wiſhed to ſet aſide the legitimate ſovereign. It has been ſaid that the prince of Parma is the perſon in view; but it is rather one of the ſons of the king himſelf, that is to ſay, a ſon of the Prince of the Peace.

The agents of the king do not diſſimilate the exiſtence of ſuch a plan; but it is preciſely for this reaſon that they think, or at leaſt ſay, that the king ought to be acknowledged in the moſt expeditious manner; for fear that, conſidering the tendency which the nation ſeems to have towards monarchy, the king may be anticipated by whoever is willing to accept the throne on the leaſt burdenſome conditions.

This is a queſtion extremely difficult to ſettle, and which demands data that I do not poſſeſs.

I am of opinion that their idea is that which will be beſt liked here. It is unfortunately in the ſpirit of that policy which has been hitherto acted on. I am not, however, any the more convinced that it is that which muſt be the moſt ſucceſsful. Timid and indeciſive counſels are far enough from being always the ſureſt or the moſt prudent.

On

On this you will conſult your experience and wiſdom; but I am ſure that you will be careful not to confine your views too much to the ſpirit of the country in which you are, nor to pay too little attention to the cautious delicacy which ſhould be obſerved with reſpect to the different parts of the kingdom.

At all events you will probably think it right to preſerve the unity of action by ſacrifices of opinion on each ſide, ſo long as there is reaſon to believe that every thing is done with an honeſt intention.

I will have a converſation with the duke of H— on this point, and will endeavour to acquaint you with his ſentiments.

In the mean time I have only to add that I am enabled to honour your drafts to the amount of five hundred pounds, in addition to the thouſand, which I mentioned in my laſt, as ready to be paid on your bills being preſented; and that I am in daily expectation of having it in my power to promiſe a ſimilar ſum of £. 1,500. I do not ſay that this is much. Apropos of theſe objects, M. de Frotte tells me that five hundred pounds, which I gave him for you, made a part of the money which was taken by M. Picot. In reality, I believe that he named M. Picot as the perſon who was to be the bearer of it.

I beg that you will always reckon on the feelings of friendſhip and reſpect, with which I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

W. WINDHAM.

No. 4.

Addreſs of the royaliſt chiefs of Britanny, Normandy and Poitou, ſent to the count d'Artois, who was then at Holyrood Houſe.

London,

Sir, *December* 5, 1797.

TO ſpeak to your royal highneſs, and to his majeſty, in the name of the French royaliſts, is to awaken in your minds the deareſt feelings; for the French royaliſts to lay at your feet the truth, that ſevere truth, which the deceptions of flattery too often ſeek to weaken or obſcure, is to ſhew themſelves worthy of the conſoling and glorious title of faithful friends of their ſovereign, a title which they have earned by their long and painful labours; and to doubt that the king and your royal highneſs repoſe in us a boundleſs confidence would be to commit an outrage on your ſenſibility, and to dare to diſbelieve in your juſtice.

Deeply impreſſed with theſe truths, the chiefs of the numerous royaliſt armies in the weſt of France, as well thoſe who remain at the perilous poſt to which their devotedneſs binds them, as thoſe who, charged with watching abroad over the common intereſts, are now in England fulfilling that duty, all theſe chiefs, taught by paſt misfortunes to calculate the chances of the future, jealous of preſerving, pure and entire, the depoſit of honour and of confidence which has been entruſted to them by the faith of a generous people, are now united, to form a whole, of which henceforth nothing will be able to deſtroy the unity, and, thus united, to ſubmit to your royal highneſs, and, through you, to his majeſty, the reſult, ſo much the more ſolemn as it is unanimous, of their wiſhes, their fears, their hopes, and the reſolutions which religion, honour, and neceſſity command them to adopt.

We

We will not, in this place, enter into all the cauſes of the misfortunes of the royaliſt party; we will not ſtop to point out the negligent, fooliſh or perverſe beings, who, placed between the king and us, have, with an obſtinacy of which crime alone is capable, ſhackled, at every ſtep, the prodigious efforts of a whole people, armed, during five years, for its religion and for its ſovereign. We ſhudder to think that an examination of this ſubject will, perhaps, one day belong to the hiſtory of the cauſes which will have prevented from aſcending the throne of its fathers, that auguſt family, for which we have ſhed ſo much of our blood. To prevent this misfortune we are ſtill ready to ſhed all that remains. Nevertheleſs, when time and death ſhall have put to ſilence the little paſſions, when truth ſhall have diſſipated the clouds of calumny, and her tardy voice ſhall have ſtricken dumb the illuſions of falſehood, poſterity, while it gives tears to your calamities, will not perceive the perfidious counſellors, whom the ſcorn of the preſent generation, and their own obſcurity, will have hidden from it; but it will take a pride in the ſublime ſelf-forgetfulneſs and heroic fidelity of the royaliſt armies; and, in reading the annals of this horrible revolution, if, amidſt the long ſeries of crimes and of meanneſſes, of audacity and of cowardice, of atrocities and intrigues, if the words virtue, religion, and honour, ſometimes ſtrike the ears of our deſcendants, their minds, terrified by ſo many horrors, will turn, doubtleſs with ſome relief, to the fields of Poitou, Britanny, Anjou, and a part of Maine and Normandy.

Thus, placed as intermediaries between our king and thoſe virtuous men whoſe confidence we know how to appreciate, we will fulfil the duties which are impoſed on us by this double intereſt; we will fulfil them with the reſpect and zeal which devoted ſubjects owe to their king, to their king in misfortune, but with the foreſight and the paternal cares which thoſe who have placed their deſtiny in our hands have a juſt right to expect from us. Our conſcience ſhall be our judge, and our conduct ſhall guard our glory.

In the midſt of the preſent criſis, of which it ſeeems probable that the iſſue will irrevocably fix the fate of Europe; when one half of the globe, in a ſtate of revolution, threatens to overthrow the other, when the coaleſced powers are reduced to endeavour to obtain by negotiation that which fortune refuſes to their arms; at the moment when all public and private intereſts unite and haſten to ſeize on whatever means they can find of ſtopping, or at leaſt ſuſpending, thoſe ravages which keep increaſing, in the ſame ratio as the boldneſs of the victor and the weakneſs of the vanquiſhed; at ſuch a moment, we muſt not diſſemble that the cauſe of the king of France, when placed by the ſide of the cauſe of humanity, no longer appears in its firſt magnitude. The principle of the quarrel which convulſes Europe has entirely changed; and the intereſt which was inſpired by the fate of the king and of his faithful ſubjects has gradually decreaſed, in proportion as the danger, extending itſelf in a terrific manner, has, by its progreſs, warned all the other ſtates to think of their own ſafety. Vainly for ſeven years has every body repeated that the cauſe of one king is that of all the others; that there are no ſovereigns, nobles, nor even

even landed proprietors, who are not ſtrongly intereſted to replace in their rights thoſe who have been deſpoiled of them by this monſtrous and menacing ſyſtem; and that the beſt means of putting a ſtop to the conflagration was to extinguiſh it in the ſpot from whence it proceeded. Theſe truths are become common places, at firſt employed by reaſon, but which adulation has ſubſequently uſed to palſy the nobleſt efforts. It is not on what ought to be, but on what really is, that plans can be properly formed, and the conduct regulated. Now, it is demonſtrated to us, it is demonſtrated to every man who has not renounced the exerciſe of his underſtanding, that the foreign powers are averſe from every idea of making uſe of the king's party, that, henceforth, they will not ſecond it in any thing, and that it has no kind of ſuccour to hope from them, at leaſt till it ſhall have acquired that degree of importance which can alone be given to it by its natural chief; that, till then, the project of putting the crown of France on the head of Louis the eighteenth will not form a part of any of the plans for reſtoring peace to Europe; that the name of our king will not, perhaps, even be uttered at the congreſs which is on the point of deliberating on the great object of peace; and that, conſequently, the foreign powers are convinced that they poſſeſs more ſure, more efficacious, and more ſpeedy means, of obtaining their end.

If we turn our view towards France, to obſerve what are the diſpoſitions of the interior, (diſpoſitions which it has been our intereſt as well as our duty to ſtudy, and to underſtand clearly, in their principles and even their moſt trifling circumſtances) we ſhall find that they will afford nothing conſoling; unleſs a change be made in the mode of conſidering and directing them. Doubtleſs, ſuperficial obſervers, guided by petty intereſts of ambition and fortune, or deceived themſelves by appearances, the cauſes of which they were unable to fathom; that kind of men who, when they are compelled to tell the truth, think it always neceſſary to wrap it up under diſguiſes which give it all the inconveniences of falſehood; theſe men may have made the king and your royal highneſs participate in errors, which are ſo much the more dangerous, as they have been, and are, perhaps, ſtill, the ground work of all the plans which have hitherto been adopted, to the detriment of the immenſe means which the royaliſt party offers to his majeſty.

France, they have ſaid, attributing at the ſame time to their pretended labours the natural change in the public opinion, France is entirely royaliſt. It had been more correct to ſay the French, or almoſt all the French, are diſcontented. Then, it would not have been ſo lightly concluded as it has been, that all wiſhes are united for the return of the king; his wiſdom would not have been miſled by working on his heart; and the means of force would not have been renounced, to rely excluſively on the chimera of opinion, and on meaſures of moderation.

It is true that all the French bear with impatience a yoke which they abhor. But, when the greateſt part of them ſee themſelves placed in the alternative either of ſubmitting to the legitimate ſovereign, whom

whom they dread, or of remaining bent under the tyrannic power which oppreſſes them, and that they make no uſe of the means which they poſſeſs to free themſelves from it, it would be more juſt to conclude that, if opinion inclines to a monarchical government, it is ſtill very far from being as favourable, as ſome are pleaſed to declare, to the cauſe of the king.

Let us beware of ſhutting our eyes on the cauſes of that inaction in which appears to ſlumber a nation, the energy and courage of which have ſurmounted all the obſtacles that have been oppoſed to its will. It is, without doubt, not through cowardice that generals, who had learned ſo many intrepid ſoldiers to conquer, have preferred to yield up their heads to the axe of the executioner, rather than embrace a party that did not inſpire them with the confidence which was requiſite to enable them to come to a deciſion. It has not been through cowardice that whole battalions have allowed themſelves to be decimated, and dragged in ſilence to a ſhameful death. It is not through cowardice that victorious armies have ſuffered in their ranks the inſtrument of execution, and at their heads repreſentatives who diſpoſed, at their pleaſure, of the lives of officers and ſoldiers. He who knows the human heart, and particularly the hearts of Frenchmen, will ſeek elſewhere the cauſe of the facility with which Robeſpierre, and his ſucceſſors down to the preſent period, have accompliſhed the bringing their innumerable victims to the ſcaffold. The French nation, become yet more warlike than it was before the revolution, has alſo become more high-ſpirited. A Frenchman can brave death, but not humiliations and contempt. Nothing hitherto has been ſufficient to ſet them at eaſe with reſpect to the king's intentions. Thoſe who have uſurped the powers of government have had too many means of ſpreading and giving currency to the numerous calumnies, which keep up the fear that is inſpired by the idea of the return of the legitimate princes; and the three agents, who have made ſo bad an uſe of the authority entruſted to them by the king, are far enough from having achieved the deſtruction of thoſe calumnies. Add to this, that the royaliſts themſelves, who have ſeen, under their own eyes, the fall of thoſe who have been victims of the horrible abuſe of confidence of which the agents have been guilty, and who, at this very moment, ſee renewed a ſyſtem built on the ſame foundation, and ſubject to ſtill greater inconveniences, becauſe the energetic men, on whom they at firſt relied, are torn from them,—the royaliſts themſelves are now filled with diſquietudes, fears, and ſuſpicions, the conſequences of which it is difficult to foreſee and to calculate, if an effectual remedy be not ſpeedily applied.

In this ſtate of things, and conſidering what we have ſaid of the diſpoſitions of the interior, there is no honeſt man who will not confeſs to himſelf, that any king whatever, not choſen from the reigning branch of the houſe of Bourbon, will be conſidered by the foreign powers as a means of peace for Europe, and by the majority of the French as a gift from appeaſed Heaven, which would put an end to their ſufferings, and permit them once more to breathe.

What would be the conſequence

if,

if, as is reported, and as it is more than probable that it is meditated, if the deſcendant of Henry the fourth, if the ſole remaining offſpring of the auguſt martyrs whom they have aſſaſſinated, if that princeſs, no leſs intereſting from her misfortunes than by her graces and her virtues, ſhould be offered to the French as the ſeal of pardon, and to all Europe as a pledge of the peace of the world!

Uſeleſsly will the flattering idea be entertained that this meaſure may be turned to the profit of the royal houſe. Neither the wiſhes of a father, nor ancient promiſes, nor the ties of affection, however dear and ſacred they may be, will prevail againſt that which policy will denominate the ſalvation of nations. Thoſe illuſions, which careſs hope and flatter the deſires, may continue to be fed on; but the torrent of neceſſity drags along every thing in its rapid courſe; and the king muſt renounce his crown, and his faithful ſubjects the deſign of reſtoring it to him, if more efficacious and more direct means be not employed to replace it on his head.

In a word, if the archduke Charles, or any other, be once ſeated on the throne, by the ſide of the princeſs royal of France, it is our duty to inform the king and your royal highneſs, that, even among the royaliſts, there will not be heard a voice, there will not be raiſed an arm, to compel him to deſcend from it.

According to this too faithful picture, of which the lines have even been ſoftened by reſpect and ſenſibility, what an agonizing perſpective does the future preſent to the faithful ſubjects of his majeſty! Thouſands of devoted men, whoſe ſcars atteſt their valour, as the profound miſery in which they languiſh, proves the extent of their ſacrifices, wandering on the devaſtated ſoil of their properties, to eſcape the odious tyranny, which, each day, will come to chuſe amongſt them new victims; accuſing, in the exceſs of their deſpair, thoſe chiefs who have led them to this holy war, of having drawn their feelings aſtray, and betrayed their confidence; the king, it is no longer time to diſſemble it, the king himſelf, fugitive, and perſecuted by a diſquieted uſurper, forced to accept the uncertain and undurable aſylum of pity, inſtead of the firſt throne in Europe, on which our efforts, ſeconded by his preſence, or that of one of the princes of his houſe, would doubtleſs have replaced him; the army of Condé, that nurſery of heroes, or rather that glorious collection of the ruins of the French chivalry, reduced to breathe under a foreign ſky, and to ſerve a new maſter; the remains of your nobility, and of the virtuous individuals who have followed its example, old men, women, and children, diſperſed over all parts of the globe, dragging on a languiſhing exiſtence, abandoned, in miſery, and in humiliation, and giving to the world the ſtrange ſpectacle of the moſt ſublime fidelity to kings, puniſhed by kings themſelves.

In the midſt of theſe almoſt inevitable diſaſters there is ſtill a ray of hope to be diſcerned. It depends on his majeſty and your royal highneſs to turn it to account. His majeſty and your royal highneſs alone can, by one word, chain misfortune which purſues you, and, without any other aid than your own courage, become maſters of events, and vanquiſh fortune, which hitherto

hitherto has been obſtinately bent to oppoſe your projects.

The diſpoſitions, the number, and the force, of the royaliſt armies are ſtill the ſame. We have ſaid to the brave warriors, who have placed their hope in us, "We will not deceive your confidence. At the moment when the united efforts of all the republican armies may be turned againſt us, ours would be fruitleſs, unleſs ſeconded by extraordinary means. Either we will obtain ſuch pecuniary aid as the greatneſs of our enterprize requires, or we will rejoin you, along with a prince of that auguſt houſe, for which you have performed ſo many prodigies. If both the one and the other ſhould be refuſed to our ardent ſolicitations, we will not make a ſiniſter uſe of your devotedneſs. We will not again expoſe you to all thoſe evils which we braved together, while we had ſome proſpect of ſucceſs. We ſhall ſtill be ready to periſh with you; but your blood, and that of your fathers, your wives and your children, ſhall not fall on our heads. We have always ſpoken the truth; we owe it to you; we will ſay it to you.

There is, therefore, not an inſtant to loſe. In the uncertain and too protracted poſition in which the royaliſt armies now are, without union, and without defence, ſince the feigned laying down of arms which has diſperſed them, we cannot, even, ſeeing the actual diſtance of his majeſty, requeſt that he himſelf will deign to yield to our wiſhes. Every day produces new misfortunes in our provinces. Our officers, and those of our partizans who, without having borne arms, have rendered ſignal ſervices to the king, are continually expoſed to be carried off from their ſoldiers, and their families. It is with trembling that we open the diſpatches which arrive to us from France. Every courier brings the news of the loſs of ſome of our friends. This ſtate of things cannot be continued. Every moment that it laſts occaſions us ſo much the more ſorrow, becauſe ſo many dangers, alas! are, perhaps, incurred without an object, and becauſe we do not ſhare them.

It is then to your royal highneſs that is reſerved the glory of ſaving your country and your king. It is to you that it remains to ſhew the royaliſts, who loudly call for you, and the men who are deceived by the factious, that France alſo has its Alfred and its Guſtavus, and that the blood of Henry the fourth flows in the veins of his auguſt deſcendants. Let your royal highneſs, accompanied by his royal highneſs the duke of Bourbon, come to put yourſelf at our head, and, in the few days which muſt paſs before the execution of this project, let us be authorized to announce it to the principal chiefs, in whom the moſt perfect confidence may and ought to be placed. Then, this grand determination will totally change the face of affairs; all the calumnies will fall to the ground of themſelves, to give place to ſentiments of love, reſpect and admiration; a general enthuſiaſm will ſucceed to irreſolution, diſquietude, and ſuſpicions; the royaliſts, with emulous zeal, and the republicans, reclaimed from their errors, will haſten to offer the ſacrifice of their fortunes and their lives; the aſſiſtance of foreign pow-

ers will become unneceſſary; and the policy of men verſatile as events, will change into eager offers of ſervice and alliance, to a magnanimous prince placed at the head of an army which he will lead to victory; the cold condolences, the humiliating ſuccours, and reſpect forbids us from ſaying alſo, the rebuffs, which are the uſual and too aſſiduous attendants of misfortune to whatever rank it may attach.

We will not ſpeak to your highneſs of our efforts, and of the boldneſs with which your preſence will inſpire us; neither will we ſay that, ſome time after your arrival, which ought to be kept ſecret till the appointed day, more than a hundred and fifty thouſand men will form a rampart for you with their bodies: This would be to ſoften down the danger! But we will tell your royal highneſs, with that frankneſs which ought to give you pleaſure, that, ſhould a glorious death await you in the field of honour, and in our arms, we ſwear to revenge you, and we will not ſwear in vain. The French, at the feet of their king, will be proud to ſee, in the preſumptive heir of the crown, the ſon of the hero who compelled them to ſubmiſſion by his valour, and to love by his virtues and his clemency.

We wait, with an impatience which can only be equalled by the critical ſituation of our companions in arms, the reply of your royal highneſs. Conſidering the urgency of circumſtances that reply cannot but be preciſe. It will decide the fate of the royaliſt armies: all conſiderations ſpringing from the fear of compromiſing, by a bold meaſure, the faithful ſubjects of the king, or from a wiſh to wait for his orders before coming to a reſolution; all conſiderations belonging to other plans, and to other views, which may be propoſed to his majeſty, muſt vaniſh before the great and preſſing intereſt which commands us. The royaliſts feel but one ſentiment, form but one wiſh; it is to periſh for the cauſe which they have embraced. Your royal highneſs has received from the king unlimited powers with reſpect to our provinces; and further orders from him cannot arrive in leſs than a month. In leſs than a month, perhaps, neceſſity will have diſperſed all the elements which form his party. All the projects, all the plans, which have been offered to the king, have, unfortunately, been founded hitherto on deceptious baſes. It is, and it will be, the ſame with all thoſe which have not for their centre a prince at the head of that armed royaliſt party, which, during five years, has maintained itſelf againſt the republican forces, while the latter have ſubjugated Europe, with the rapidity of a torrent.

It is in vain to keep the eyes always fixed on that period of the revolutions of England which recalled one of its kings, while they are kept obſtinately ſhut on that which conſecrated the triumph of the dethronement of another of its monarchs. If hope, always ingenious to flatter misfortune, only calls back the remembrance of Monk and Charles the ſecond, why does not foreſight turn its view to that of James the ſecond and his deſcendants. If the Engliſh people, if that warlike nation, ſpontaneouſly ſubmitted to its ſovereign, it ought not to be forgotten

gotten that even the defeats of Worceſter ſhowed to it a warlike prince; and if, by a painful ſimilarity of circumſtances, the walls of the palace of Edinburgh again repeat the faults of the courtiers of Charles Edward, they alſo atteſt that he owed the revival of the love of the Scottiſh people for their kings, ſolely to the daring and noble enterprize, which threw him, with ſcarcely a handful of followers, on the ſhores of their country. Show yourſelf, then, Sir! Come and place yourſelf at the head of men who are eager to ſacrifice their exiſtence for you! What they have done, and what they wiſh yet to do, impoſes on them the duty of ſpeaking to your royal highneſs with the frankneſs of ſoldiers, who well know how to die for their princes, but who will never know how to flatter them.

If our deareſt hope ſhould be deceived, we have only one more duty to fulfil, the duty of ſnatching our friends from danger and an uſeleſs death; and it is with ſorrow we are compelled to tell your royal highneſs, that, if once the royaliſt armies be diſorganized, and deprived of their chiefs, it will thenceforth be impoſſible to recompoſe them. Confidence is the fruit of great examples and of long toils; it is not a place which can be conferred at pleaſure. Our companions in arms, when they hear the confeſſion, which fatal neceſſity will extort from us, will ceaſe to nouriſh a hope which we can no longer ſupply with food; they will then, in retreat, ſeek to enjoy that delicious feeling which is experienced by men of pure principles, that of having glorioufly performed their duty. We ſhall partake with them in this feeling, and ſhall ardently pray that men more fortunate, but not more devoted, nor more faithful, may, one day, with leſs efforts, obtain greater ſucceſs.

We are, with the profoundeſt reſpect,
Your royal highneſs's
moſt humble, obedient,
and devoted ſervants,

Signed, Count JOSEPH DE PUISAYE LOUIS DE FROTTE, Count DE CHATILLON, Count DE BOURMONT, Count DE SUGANNET, M. D'ALLESSE, for the department of Morbihan, and by all the leaders of diviſions, and diſtricts, of the army of Britanny.

Anſwer of the Count d'Artois, to Meſſrs. de Frotte, de Chatillon, de Bourmont, de Sugannet, and D'Allesse.

I RECEIVED yeſterday, Gentlemen, your letter of the 5th of this month; You deſire a prompt and poſitive anſwer. Here it is.

I will not at this moment authorize an inſurrection in the provinces of the weſt; I will not provoke it by my preſence; nor will I render myſelf reſponſible to poſterity for the blood which I ſhould cauſe to be fruitleſsly ſhed. The proper epoch for thoſe provinces again to take up arms is not when they are preſſed down by a new ſurcharge of republican troops.

It is not for a vain glory that we ought to combat, but for an uſeful glory. The more the blood of the brave and faithful royaliſts is dear to me, the more does my honour preſcribe to me to be careful of it, under

under circumſtances ſo evidently unfavourable.

True Frenchmen will never deſpair of the re-eſtabliſhment of the monarchy, and the king, my brother, will find them always ready to devote themſelves, when he ſhall give the order for it.

Firmly convinced that you will not ceaſe to be of this number, I repeat to you, Gentlemen, with pleaſure, the aſſurance of all my ſentiments towards you.

CHARLES PHILIP.

CHARACTERS

CHARACTERS.

1797.

Character of RUBENS. *By Sir Joſhua Reynolds: From his Works, edited by E. Malone, Esq.*

THE works of men of genius alone, where great faults are united with great beauties, afford proper matter for criticiſm. Genius is always eccentric, bold, and daring, which at the ſame time that it commands attention, is ſure to provoke criticiſm. It is the regular, cold, and timid compoſer, who eſcapes cenſure, and deſerves no praiſe.

The elevated ſituation on which Rubens ſtands in the eſteem of the world, is alone a ſufficient reaſon for ſome examination of his pretenſions.

His fame is extended over a great part of the Continent, without a rival; and it may be juſtly ſaid that he has enriched his country, not in a figurative ſenſe only, by the great examples of art which he left, but by what ſome would think a more ſolid advantage, the wealth ariſing from the concourſe of ſtrangers whom his works continually invite to Antwerp, which would otherwiſe have little to reward the viſit of a connoiſſeur.

To the city of Duſſeldorp he has been an equal benefactor. The gallery of that city is conſidered as containing one of the greateſt collections of pictures in the world; but if the works of Rubens were taken from it, I will venture to aſſert, that this great repoſitory would be reduced to at leaſt half its value.

To extend his glory ſtill further, he gives to Paris one of its moſt ſtriking features, the Luxembourg Gallery; and if to theſe we add the many towns, churches, and private cabinets, where a ſingle picture of Rubens confers eminence, we cannot heſitate to place him in the firſt rank of illuſtrious painters.

Though I ſtill entertain the ſame general opinion both in regard to his excellencies and his defects, yet having now ſeen his greateſt compoſitions, where he has more means of diſplaying thoſe parts of his art in which he particularly excelled, my eſtimation of his genius is of courſe raiſed. It is only in large compoſitions that his powers ſeem to have room to expand themſelves. They really increaſe in proportion to the ſize of the canvaſs on which they are to be diſplayed. His ſuperiority is not ſeen in eaſel-pictures, nor even in detached parts of his greater works; which are ſeldom eminently beautiful. It does not lie in an attitude, or in any peculiar expreſſion, but in the general effect, in the genius which pervades and illuminates the whole.

 I remember

I remember to have obſerved in a picture of Diatreci, which I ſaw in a private cabinet at Bruſſels, the contrary effect. In that performance there appeared to be a total abſence of this pervading genius; though every individual figure was correctly drawn, and to the action of each as careful an attention was paid, as if it were a ſet academy figure. Here ſeemed to be nothing left to chance; all the nymphs (the ſubject was the Bath of Diana) were what the ladies call in attitudes; yet, without being able to cenſure it for incorrectneſs or any other defect, I thought it one of the coldeſt and moſt inſipid pictures I ever beheld.

The works of Rubens have that peculiar property always attendant on genius, to attract attention, and enforce admiration, in ſpite of all their faults. It is owing to this faſcinating power that the performances of thoſe painters with which he is ſurrounded, though they have perhaps fewer defects, yet appear ſpiritleſs, tame, and inſipid; ſuch as the altar-pieces of Crayer, Schutz, Segers, Heyſens, Tyſens, Van Bulen, and the reſt. They are done by men, whoſe hands, and indeed all their faculties, appear to have been cramped and confined; and it is evident that every thing they did was the effect of great labour and pains. The productions of Rubens, on the contrary, ſeem to flow with a freedom and prodigality, as if they coſt him nothing; and to the general animation of the compoſition there is always a correſpondent ſpirit in the execution of the work. The ſtriking brilliancy of his colours, and their lively oppoſition to each other, the flowing liberty and freedom of his outline, the animated pencil with which every object is touched, all contribute to awaken and keep alive the attention of the ſpectator; awaken in him, in ſome meaſure, correſpondent ſenſations, and make him feel a degree of that enthuſiaſm with which the painter was carried away. To this we may add the compleat uniformity in all the parts of the work, ſo that the whole ſeems to be conducted, and grow out of one mind; every thing is of a piece, and fits its place. Even his taſte of drawing and of form, appears to correſpond better with his colouring and compoſition, than if he had adopted any other manner, though that manner, ſimply conſidered, might be better: it is here as in perſonal attractions; there is frequently found a certain agreement and correſpondence in the whole together, which is often more captivating than mere regular beauty.

Rubens appears to have had that confidence in himſelf, which it is neceſſary for every artiſt to aſſume, when he has finiſhed his ſtudies, and may venture in ſome meaſure to throw aſide the fetters of authority; to conſider the rules as ſubject to his controul, and not himſelf ſubject to the rules; to riſk and to dare extraordinary attempts without a guide, abandoning himſelf to his own ſenſations, and depending upon them. To this confidence muſt be imputed that originality of manner by which he may be truly ſaid to have extended the limits of the art. After Rubens had made up his manner, he never looked out of himſelf for aſſiſtance: there is conſequently very little in his works, that appears to be taken from other maſters. If he has borrowed any thing, he has had the addreſs to change and adapt it ſo well to the reſt of his work, that the theft is not diſcoverable.

Beſide

Beſide the excellency of Rubens in theſe general powers, he poſſeſſed the true art of imitating. He ſaw the objects of nature with a painter's eye; he ſaw at once the predominant feature by which every object is known and diſtinguiſhed; and as ſoon as ſeen, it was executed with a facility that is aſtoniſhing: and let me add, this facility is to a painter, when he cloſely examines a picture, a ſource of great pleaſure. How far this excellence may be perceived or felt by thoſe who are not painters, I know not: to them certainly it is not enough that objects be truly repreſented; they muſt likewiſe be repreſented with grace; which means here, that the work is done with facility, and without effort. Rubens was, perhaps, the greateſt maſter in the mechanical part of the art, the beſt workman with his tools, that ever exerciſed a pencil.

This part of the art, though it does not hold a rank with the powers of invention, of giving character and expreſſion, has yet in it what may be called genius. It is certainly ſomething that cannot be taught by words, though it may be learned by a frequent examination of thoſe pictures which poſſeſs this excellence. It is felt by very few painters; and it is as rare at this time among the living painters as any of the higher excellencies of the art.

This power, which Rubens poſſeſſed in the higheſt degree, enabled him to repreſent whatever he undertook better than any other painter. His animals, particularly lions and horſes, are ſo admirable, that it may be ſaid they were never properly repreſented but by him. His portraits rank with the beſt works of the painters who have made that branch of the art the ſole buſineſs of their lives; and of thoſe he has left a great variety of ſpecimens. The ſame may be ſaid of his landſcapes; and though Claude Lorrain finiſhed more minutely, as becomes a profeſſor in any particular branch, yet there is ſuch an airineſs and facility in the landſcapes of Rubens, that a painter would as ſoon wiſh to be the author of them, as thoſe of Claude, or any other artiſt whatever.

The pictures of Rubens have this effect on the ſpectator, that he feels himſelf in no wiſe diſpoſed to pick out and dwell on his defects. The criticiſms which are made on him are indeed often unreaſonable. His ſtyle ought no more to be blamed for not having the ſublimity of Michael Angelo, than Ovid ſhould be cenſured becauſe he is not like Virgil.

However, it muſt be acknowledged that he wanted many excellencies, which would have perfectly united with his ſtyle. Among thoſe we may reckon beauty in his female characters: ſometimes indeed they make approaches to it; they are healthy and comely women, but ſeldom, if ever, poſſeſs any degree of elegance; the ſame may be ſaid of his young men and children: his old men have that ſort of dignity which a buſhy beard will confer; but he never poſſeſſed a poetical conception of character. In his repreſentations of the higheſt characters in the chriſtian or the fabulous world, inſtead of ſomething above humanity, which might fill the idea which is conceived of ſuch beings, the ſpectator finds little more than mere mortals, ſuch as he meets with every day.

The incorrectneſs of Rubens in regard to his outline oftener pro-

ceeds from haſte and careleſſneſs, than from inability: there are in his works, to which he ſeems to have paid more particular attention, naked figures as eminent for their drawing as for their colouring. He appears to have entertained a great abhorrence of the meagre dry manner of his predeceſſors, the old German and Flemiſh painters; to avoid which, he kept his outline large and flowing: this, carried to an extreme, produced that heavineſs which is ſo frequently found in his figures. Another defect of this great painter is his inattention to the foldings of his drapery, eſpecially that of his women: it is ſcarcely ever caſt with any choice or ſkill.

Carlo Maratti and Rubens are in this reſpect in oppoſite extremes; one diſcovers too much art in the diſpoſition of drapery, and the other too little. Rubens's drapery, beſides, is not properly hiſtorical; the quality of the ſtuff of which it is compoſed, is too accurately diſtinguiſhed; reſembling the manner of Paul Veroneſe. This drapery is leſs offenſive in Rubens than it would be in many other painters, as it partly contributes to that richneſs which is the peculiar character of his ſtyle, which we do not pretend to ſet forth as of the moſt ſimple and ſublime kind.

The difference of the manner of Rubens, from that of any other painter before him, is in nothing more diſtinguiſhable, than in his colouring, which is totally different from that of Titian, Correggio, or any of the great colouriſts. The effect of his pictures may be not improperly compared to cluſters of flowers; all his colours appear as clear and as beautiful: at the ſame time he has avoided that tawdry effect which one would expect ſuch gay colours to produce; in this reſpect reſembling Barocci more than any other painter. What was ſaid of an ancient painter, may be applied to thoſe two artiſts, — that their figures look as if they fed upon roſes.

It would be a curious and a profitable ſtudy for a painter to examine the difference and the cauſe of that difference of effect in the works of Correggio and Rubens; both excellent in different ways. The preference probably would be given according to the different habits of the connoiſſeur: thoſe who had received their firſt impreſſions from the works of Rubens would cenſure Correggio as heavy; and the admirers of Correggio would ſay Rubens wanted ſolidity of effect. There is lightneſs, airineſs, and facility in Rubens, his advocates will urge, and comparatively a laborious heavineſs in Correggio; whoſe admirers will complain of Rubens's manner being careleſs and unfiniſhed, whilſt the works of Correggio are wrought to the higheſt degree of delicacy: and what may be advanced in favour of Correggio's breadth of light will by his cenſurers be called affected and pedantic. It muſt be obſerved that we are ſpeaking ſolely of the manner, the effect of the picture; and we may conclude, according to the cuſtom in paſtoral poetry, by beſtowing on each of theſe illuſtrious painters a garland, without attributing ſuperiority to either.

To conclude: I will venture to repeat in favour of Rubens, what I have before ſaid in regard to the Dutch ſchool, — that thoſe who cannot ſee the extraordinary merit of this great painter, either have a narrow conception of the variety of art,

art, or are led away by the affectation of approving nothing but what comes from the Italian ſchool.

Life of the Biſhop of Carliſle.

From Hutchinſon's Hiſtory of Cumberland.

EDMUND LAW, D.D. ſucceeded to the ſee in 1768.—He was born in the pariſh of Cartmel in Lancaſhire, in the year 1703. His father, who was a clergyman, held a ſmall chapel in that neighbourhood; but the family had been ſituated at Aſkham, in the county of Weſtmorland. He was educated for ſome time at Cartmel ſchool, afterwards at the free grammar-ſchool at Kendal; from which he went, very well inſtructed in the learning of grammar ſchools, to St. John's College, in Cambridge.

Soon after taking his firſt degree, he was elected fellow of Chriſt's College in that univerſity. During his reſidence in which college, he became known to the public by a tranſlation of archbiſhop King's Eſſay upon the Origin of Evil, with copious notes; in which many metaphyſical ſubjects, curious and intereſting in their own nature, are treated of with great ingenuity, learning, and novelty. To this work was prefixed, under the name of a Preliminary Diſſertation, a very valuable piece, written by the rev. Mr. Gay, of Sidney college. Our biſhop always ſpoke of this gentleman in terms of the greateſt reſpect. In the Bible, and in the writings of Mr. Locke, no man, he uſed to ſay, was ſo well verſed.

He alſo, whilſt at Chriſt College, undertook and went through a very laborious part, in preparing for the preſs, an edition of Stephen's Theſaurus. His acquaintance, during his firſt reſidence in the univerſity, was principally with Dr. Waterland, the learned maſter of Magdalen college; Dr. Jortin, a name known to every ſcholar; and Dr. Taylor, the editor of Demoſthenes.

In the year 1737, he was preſented by the univerſity to the living of Grayſtock, in the county of Cumberland, a rectory of about 300 *l.* a-year. The advowſon of this benefice belonged to the family of Howards of Grayſtock, but devolved to the univerſity for this turn, by virtue of an act of parliament, which tranſfers to theſe two bodies the nomination to ſuch benefices as appertain, at the time of the vacancy, to the patronage of a Roman Catholic. The right, however, of the univerſity was conteſted; and it was not till after a lawſuit of two years continuance, that Mr. Law was ſettled in his living. Soon after this, he married Mary, the daughter of John Chriſtian, eſq. of Unerigg, in the county of Cumberland; a lady, whoſe character is remembered with tenderneſs and eſteem by all who knew her.

In 1743, he was promoted by ſir George Fleming, biſhop of Carliſle, to the archdeaconry of that dioceſe; and in 1746, went from Grayſtock to reſide at Salkeld, a pleaſant village upon the banks of the river Eden, the rectory of which is annexed to the archdeaconry. Mr. Law was not one of thoſe who loſe and forget themſelves in the country. During his reſidence at Salkeld, he publiſhed Conſiderations on the Theory of Religion; to which were ſubjoined, Reflections on the Life and Character of Chriſt; and an appendix concerning the uſe of

the words Soul and Spirit in the holy Scripture, and the ſtate of the dead there deſcribed.

Dr. Keene held at this time, with the biſhoprick of Cheſter, the maſterſhip of Peterhouſe in Cambridge. Deſiring to leave the univerſity, he procured Dr. Law to be elected to ſucceed him in that ſtation. This took place in the year 1756; in which year Dr. Law reſigned his archdeaconry in favour of Mr. Eyre, a brother-in-law of Dr. Keene. Two years before this, he had proceeded to his degree of doctor in divinity; in his public exerciſe for which, he defended the doctrine of what is uſually called the "ſleep of the ſoul."

About the year 1760, he was appointed head librarian of the univerſity; a ſituation which, as it procured an eaſy and quick acceſs to books, was peculiarly agreeable to his taſte and habits. Some time after this, he was alſo appointed caſuiſtical profeſſor. In the year 1762, he ſuffered an irreparable loſs by the death of his wife; a loſs in itſelf every way afflicting, and rendered more ſo by the ſituation of his family, which then conſiſted of eleven children, many of them very young. Some years afterwards, he received ſeveral preferments, which were rather honourable expreſſions of regard from his friends, than of much advantage to his fortune.

By Dr. Cornwallis, then biſhop of Litchfield, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury, who had been his pupil at Chriſt College, he was appointed to the archdeaconry of Staffordſhire, and to a prebend in the church of Litchfield. By his old acquaintance, Dr. Green, biſhop of Lincoln, he was made a prebendary of that church. But in the year 1767, by the intervention of the duke of Newcaſtle, to whoſe intereſt, in the memorable conteſt for the high ſtewardſhip of the univerſity, he had adhered in oppoſition to ſome temptations, he obtained a ſtall in the church of Durham. The year after this, the duke of Grafton, who had a ſhort time before been elected chancellor of the univerſity, recommended the maſter of Peterhouſe to his majeſty for the biſhoprick of Carliſle. This recommendation was made, not only without ſolicitation on his part or that of his friends, but without his knowledge, until the duke's intention in his favour was ſignified to him by the archbiſhop.

In or about the year 1777, our biſhop gave to the public a handſome edition, in three volumes quarto, of the works of Mr. Locke, with a Life of the Author, and a preface. Mr. Locke's writings and character he held in the higheſt eſteem, and ſeems to have drawn from them many of his own principles: he was a diſciple of that ſchool. About the ſame time he publiſhed a tract, which engaged ſome attention in the controverſy concerning ſubſcription; and he publiſhed new editions of his two principal works, with conſiderable additions, and ſome alterations. Beſides the works already mentioned, he publiſhed, in 1734, or 1735, a very ingenious *Inquiry into the Ideas of Space, Time*, &c. in which he combats the opinions of Dr. Clarke and his adherents on theſe ſubjects.

Dr. Law held the ſee of Carliſle almoſt nineteen years; during which time he twice, only, omitted ſpending the ſummer months in his dioceſe at the biſhop's reſidence at Roſe Caſtle; a ſituation with which he

was much pleaſed, not only on account of the natural beauty of the place, but becauſe it reſtored him to the country, in which he had ſpent the beſt part of his life. In the year 1787, he paid this viſit in a ſtate of great weakneſs and exhauſtion; and died at Roſe Caſtle about a month after his arrival there, on the 14th day of Auguſt, and in the 84th year of his age.

The life of Dr. Law was a life of inceſſant reading and thought, almoſt entirely directed to metaphyſical and religious inquiries; but the tenet by which his name and writings are principally diſtinguiſhed, is "that Jeſus Chriſt, at his ſecond coming, will, by an act of his power, reſtore to life and conſciouſneſs the dead of the human ſpecies, who, by their own nature, and without this interpoſition, would remain in the ſtate of inſenſibility, to which the death brought upon mankind by the ſin of Adam had reduced them." He interpreted literally that ſaying of St. Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 21. "As by man came death, by man came alſo the reſurrection of the dead." This opinion had no other effect upon his own mind than to increaſe his reverence for Chriſtianity, and for its divine founder. He retained it, as he did his other ſpeculative opinions, without laying, as many are wont to do, an extravagant ſtreſs upon their importance, and without pretending to more certainty than the ſubject allowed of. No man formed his own concluſions with more freedom, or treated thoſe of others with greater candour and equity. He never quarrelled with any perſon for differing from him, or conſidered that difference as a ſufficient reaſon for queſtioning any man's ſincerity, or judging meanly of his underſtanding. He was zealouſly attached to religious liberty, becauſe he thought that it leads to truth; yet from his heart he loved peace. But he did not perceive any repugnancy in theſe two things. There was nothing in his elevation to his biſhoprick which he ſpoke of with more pleaſure, than its being a proof that decent freedom of inquiry was not diſcouraged.

He was a man of great ſoftneſs of manners, and of the mildeſt and moſt tranquil diſpoſition. His voice was never raiſed above its ordinary pitch. His countenance ſeemed never to have been ruffled; it preſerved the ſame kind and compoſed aſpect, truly indicating the calmness and benignity of his temper. He had an utter diſlike of large and mixed companies. Next to his books his chief ſatisfaction was in the ſerious converſation of a literary companion, or in the company of a few friends. In this ſort of ſociety he would open his mind with great unreſervedneſs, and with a peculiar turn and ſprightlineſs of expreſſion. His perſon was low, but well formed; his complexion fair and delicate. Except occaſional interruptions by the gout, he had for the greateſt part of his life enjoyed good health; and when not confined by that diſtemper, was full of motion and activity. About nine years before his death, he was greatly enfeebled by a ſevere attack of the gout in his ſtomach; and a ſhort time after that, loſt the uſe of one of his legs. Notwithſtanding his fondneſs for exerciſe, he reſigned himſelf to this change, not only without complaint, but without any ſenſible diminution of his cheerfulneſs and good humour. His fault

(for we are not writing a panegyric) was the general fault of retired and ſtudious characters, too great a degree of inaction and facility in his public ſtation. The modeſty, or rather baſhfulneſs of his nature, together with an extreme unwillingneſs to give pain, rendered him ſometimes leſs firm and efficient in the adminiſtration of authority than was requiſite. But it is the condition of human mortality. There is an oppoſition between ſome virtues, which ſeldom permits them to ſubſiſt together in perfection*.

The biſhop was interred with due ſolemnity in his cathedral church, in which a handſome monument is erected to his memory, bearing the following inſcription:—

Columnæ hujus ſepultus eſt ad pedem
EDMUNDUS LAW, S. T. P.
per XIX fere annos hujuſce eccleſiæ
Epiſcopus.
In evangelica veritate exquirenda,
et vindicanda,
ad extremum uſque ſenectutem
operam navavit indefeſſam.
Quo autem ſtudio et affectu veritatem,
eodem et libertatem Chriſtianam coluit;
Religionem ſimplicem et incorruptam,
niſi ſalva libertate,
ſtare non poſſe arbitratus.
Obiit Aug. XIV. MDCCLXXXVII.
Ætat. LXXXIV.

Memoirs of the Life of the late ROBERT BURNS; *by Robert Heron.*

From the Monthly Magazine.

ROBERT BURNS was a native of Ayrſhire, one of the weſtern counties of Scotland. He was the ſon of humble parents; and his father paſſed through life in the condition of a hired labourer, or of a ſmall farmer. Even in this ſituation, however, it was not hard for him to ſend his children to the pariſh-ſchool, to receive the ordinary inſtruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the principles of religion. By this courſe of education, young Robert profited to a degree that might have encouraged his friends to deſtine him to one of the liberal profeſſions, had not his father's poverty made it neceſſary to remove him from ſchool, as ſoon as he had grown up, to earn for himſelf the means of ſupport, as a hired plough-boy, or ſhepherd.

The eſtabliſhment of pariſh ſchools, but for which, perhaps, the infant energies of this young genius might never have received that firſt impulſe, by which alone they were to be excited into action, is one of the moſt beneficial that have been ever inſtituted in any country; and one which, I believe, is no where ſo firmly fixed, or extended ſo completely throughout a whole kingdom, as in Scotland. Here, every pariſh has a ſchool-maſter, almoſt as invariably as it has a clergyman. For a ſum rarely exceeding twenty pounds, in ſalary and fees, this perſon inſtructs the children of the pariſh in reading, writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, Latin, and Greek. The ſchoolmaſters are generally ſtudents in philoſophy or theology; and hence, the eſtabliſhment of the pariſh-ſchools, beſide its direct utilities, poſſeſſes alſo the accidental advantage of furniſhing an excellent ſchool of future candidates for the office of parochial clergymen. So ſmall are the fees for teaching, that

* We owe our grateful acknowledgements to the Rev. William Paley, our late chancellor, for the above account of biſhop Law; a copy of which he alſo tranſmitted to the Encyclopædia Britannica.

no parents, however poor, can want the means to give their children, at leaſt ſuch education at ſchool, as young Burns received. From the ſpring labours of a plough-boy, from the ſummer employment of a ſhepherd, the peaſant-youth often returns, for a few months, eagerly to purſue his education at the pariſh-ſchool.

It was ſo with Burns; he returned from labour to learning, and from learning went again to labour, till his mind began to open to the charms of taſte and knowledge; till he began to feel a paſſion for books, and for the ſubjects of books, which was to give a colour to the whole thread of his future life. On nature, he ſoon began to gaze with new diſcernment, and with new enthuſiaſm: his mind's eye opened to perceive affecting beauty and ſublimity, where, by the mere groſs peaſant, there was nought to be ſeen, but water, earth, and ſky, but animals, plants, and ſoil; even as the eyes of the ſervant of Eliſha were ſuddenly enlightened to behold his maſter and himſelf guarded from the Syrian bands, by horſes and chariots of fire, to all but themſelves inviſible.

What might, perhaps, firſt contribute to diſpoſe his mind to poetical efforts, is one particular in the devotional piety of the Scottiſh peaſantry; it is ſtill common for them to make their children get by heart the pſalms of David, in that verſion of homely rhymes, which is uſed in their churches. In the morning, and in the evening of every day; or, at leaſt on the evening of every Saturday and Sunday, theſe pſalms are ſung in ſolemn family-devotion, a chapter of the bible is read, and extemporary prayer is fervently uttered. The whole books of the ſacred ſcriptures are thus continually in the hands of almoſt every peaſant. And it is impoſſible that there ſhould not be occaſionally ſome ſouls among them, awakened to the divine emotions of genius, by that rich aſſemblage which thoſe books preſent, of almoſt all that is intereſting in incidents, or picturesque in imagery, or affectingly ſublime or tender in ſentiments and character. It is impoſſible that thoſe rude rhymes, and the ſimple artleſs muſic with which they are accompanied, ſhould not occaſionally excite ſome ear to a fond perception of the melody of verſe. That Burns had felt theſe impulſes, will appear undeniably certain to whoever ſhall carefully peruſe his Cotter's Saturday Night; or ſhall remark, with nice obſervation, the various fragments of ſcripture ſentiment, of ſcripture imagery, of ſcripture language, which are ſcattered throughout his works.

Still more intereſting to the young peaſantry, are thoſe ancient ballads of love and war, of which a great number are yet popularly known and ſung in Scotland. While the prevalence of the Gaelic language in the northern parts of this country, excluded from thoſe regions the old Anglo-Saxon ſongs and minſtrels; theſe ſongs and minſtrels were, in the mean time, driven by the Norman conqueſts and eſtabliſhments, out of the ſouthern counties of England; and were forced to wander, in exile, beyond its northern confine, into the ſouthern diſtricts of the Scottiſh kingdom. Hence, in the old Engliſh ſongs, is every famous minſtrel ſtill related to have been of the north country, while, on the contrary, in the old Scottiſh ſongs, it is always the ſouth country,

country, to which every favourite minſtrel is said to belong. It is the ſame diſtrict to which both allude; a diſtrict comprehending preciſely the ſouthern counties of Scotland, with the moſt northern counties of England. In the ſouth of Scotland, almoſt all the beſt of thoſe ballads are often ſung by the ruſtic maid or matron at her ſpinning-wheel. They are liſtened to with raviſhed ears, by old and young. Their rude melody; that mingled curioſity and awe, which are naturally excited by the very idea of their antiquity; the exquiſitely tender and natural complaints ſometimes poured forth in them; the gallant deeds of knightly heroiſm, which they ſometimes celebrate; their wild tales of demons, ghoſts, and fairies, in whoſe exiſtence ſuperſtition alone has believed; the manners which they repreſent; the obſolete, yet picturesque and expreſſive language in which they are often clothed; give them wonderful power to tranſport every imagination, and to agitate every heart. To the ſoul of Burns, they were like a happy breeze touching the wires of an Æolian harp, and calling forth the moſt raviſhing melody.

Beſide all this, the Gentle Shepherd, and the other poems of Allan Ramſay, have long been highly popular in Scotland. They fell early into the hands of Burns; and while the fond applauſe which they received, drew his emulation, they preſented to him likewiſe treaſures of phraſeology, and models of verſification. Ruddiman's Weekly Magazine was during this time publiſhed; was ſupported chiefly by the original communications of correſpondents, and found a very extenſive ſale. In it, Burns read, particularly, the poetry of Robert Ferguſon, written chiefly in the Scottiſh dialect, and exhibiting many ſpecimens of uncommon poetical excellence. The Seaſons of Thomſon too, the Grave of Blair, the far-famed Elegy of Gray, the Paradiſe Loſt of Milton, perhaps the Minſtrel of Beattie, were ſo commonly read, even among thoſe with whom Burns would naturally aſſociate, that poetical curioſity, although even leſs ardent than his, could, in ſuch circumſtances, have little difficulty in procuring them.

With ſuch means to give his imagination a poetical bias, and to favour the culture of his taſte and genius, Burns gradually became a poet. He was not, however, one of thoſe forward children, who, from a miſtaken impulſe, begin prematurely to write and to rhyme, and hence, never attain to excellence. Converſing familiarly for a long while, with the works of thoſe poets who were known to him: contemplating the aſpect of nature, in a diſtrict which exhibits an uncommon aſſemblage of the beautiful and the ruggedly grand, of the cultivated and the wild; looking upon human life with an eye quick and keen, to remark as well the ſtronger and leading, as the nicer and ſubordinate features of character—to diſcriminate the generous, the honourable, the manly, in conduct, from the ridiculous, the baſe, and the mean; he was diſtinguiſhed among his fellows for extraordinary intelligence, good-ſenſe, and penetration, long before others, or perhaps even himſelf, ſuſpected him to be capable of writing verſes. His mind was mature, and well-ſtored with ſuch knowledge as lay within his ſearch; he had made himſelf maſter of powers of language, ſuperior to thoſe of almoſt

almoſt any former writer in the Scottiſh dialect, before he conceived the idea of ſurpaſſing Ramſay and Ferguſon.

In the mean time, beſides the ſtudious bent of his genius, there were ſome other particulars in his opening character, which might ſeem to mark him for a poet. He began early in life, to regard with a ſort of ſullen diſdain and averſion, all that was ſordid in the purſuits and intereſts of the peaſants among whom he was placed. He became diſcontented with the humble labours to which he ſaw himſelf confined, and with the poor ſubſiſtence he was able to earn by them. He could not help looking upon the rich and great, whom he ſaw around him, with an emotion between envy and contempt; as if ſomething had ſtill whiſpered to his heart, that there was injuſtice in the exterior inequality between his fate and their's. While ſuch emotions aroſe in his mind, he conceived an inclination, very common among the young men of the more uncultivated parts of Scotland—to go abroad to America, or the Weſt Indies, in queſt of a better fortune; at the ſame time, his heart was expanded with paſſionate ardour, to meet the impreſſions of love and friendſhip. With ſeveral of the young peaſantry, who were his fellows in labour, he contracted an affectionate intimacy of acquaintance. He eagerly ſought admiſſion into the brotherhood of Free Maſons, which is recommended to the young men of this country, by nothing ſo much as by its ſeeming to extend the ſphere of agreeable acquaintance, and to knit cloſer the bonds of friendly endearment. In ſome Maſon Lodges in his neighbourhood, Burns had ſoon the fortune, whether good or bad, to gain the notice of ſeveral gentlemen, better able to eſtimate the true value of ſuch a mind as his, than were his fellow-peaſants, with whom alone he had hitherto aſſociated. One or two of them might be men of convivial diſpoſitions, and of religious notions rather licentious than narrow; who encouraged his talents, by occaſionally inviting him to be the companion of their looſer hours; and who were at times not ill-pleaſed to direct the force of his wit and humour, againſt thoſe ſacred things which they affected outwardly to deſpiſe, as mere bugbears, while they could not help inwardly trembling before them, as realities. For a while, the native rectitude of his underſtanding, and the excellent principles in which his infancy had been educated, withſtood every temptation to intemperance or impiety. Alas! it was not always ſo.—When his heart was firſt ſtruck by the charms of village beauty, the love he felt was pure, tender, ſimple, and ſincere, as that of the youth and maiden in his Cotter's Saturday Night. If the ardour of his paſſion hurried him afterwards to triumph over the chaſtity of the maid he loved; the tenderneſs of his heart, the manly honeſty of his ſoul, ſoon made him offer, with eager ſolicitude, to repair by marriage the injury of love.

About this time, in the progreſs of his life and character, did he firſt begin to be diſtinguiſhed as a poet. A maſonic ſong, a ſatirical epigram, a rhyming epiſtle to a friend, attempted with ſucceſs, taught him to know his own powers, and give him confidence to try taſks more arduous, and which ſhould command ſtill higher burſts of applauſe.

The

The annual celebration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in the rural parifhes of Scotland, has much in it of thofe old Popifh feftivals, in which fuperftition, traffic, and amufement, ufed to be ftrangely intermingled. Burns faw, and feized in it one of the happieft of all fubjects, to afford fcope for the difplay of that ftrong and piercing fagacity by which he could almoft intuitively diftinguifh the reafonable from the abfurd, and the becoming from the ridiculous;—of that picturefque power of fancy, which enabled him to repreſent fcenes, and perfons, and groupes, and looks, attitude, and geſture, in a manner almoft as lively and impreffive, even in words, as if all the artifices and energies of the pencil had been employed;—of that knowledge which he had neceffarily acquired of the manners, paffions, and prejudices of the ruftics around him—of whatever was ridiculous, no lefs than of whatever was affectingly beautiful, in rural life. A thoufand prejudices of Popifh, and, perhaps too, of ruder Pagan fuperftition, have, from time immemorial, been connected in the minds of the Scottifh peafantry, with the annual recurrence of the Eve of the Feftival of all the Saints, or Halloween. Thefe were all intimately known to Burns, and had made a powerful impreffion upon his imagination and feelings. He chofe them for the fubject of a poem, and produced a piece, which is, almoft to frenzy, the delight of thofe who are beft acquainted with its fubject; and which will not fail to preſerve the memory of the prejudices and ufages which it defcribes, when they fhall, perhaps, have ceafed to give one merry evening in the year, to the cottage fire-fide. The fimple joys, the honeft love, the fincere friendfhip, the ardent devotion of the cottage; whatever in the more folemn part of the ruftic's life is humble and artlefs, without being mean or unfeemly—or tender and dignified, without afpiring to ftilted grandeur, or to unnatural, buſkined pathos—had deeply impreffed the imagination of the rifing poet; had in fome fort wrought itfelf into the very texture of the fibres of his foul. He tried to expreſs in verſe, what he moft tenderly felt, what he moft enthufiaftically imagined; and produced the Cotter's Saturday Night.

Thefe pieces, the true effufions of genius, informed by reading and obfervation, and prompted by his own native ardour, as well as by friendly applaufe, were foon handed about among the moft difcerning of Burns's acquaintance; and were by every new reader perufed, and re-perufed, with an eagernefs of delight and approbation, which would not fuffer him long to withhold them from the preſs. A fubfcription was propofed, was earneftly promoted by fome gentlemen, who were glad to intereſt themfelves in behalf of fuch fignal poetical merit; was foon crowded with the names of a confiderable number of the inhabitants of Ayrfhire, who, in the proffered purchafe, fought not lefs to gratify their own paffion for Scottifh poefy, than to encourage the wonderful ploughman. At Kilmarnock, were the poems of Burns, for the firft time, printed. The whole edition was quickly diftributed over the country.

It is hardly poffible to expreſs, with what eager admiration and delight they were every where received. They eminently poſſeſſed all thofe qualities which the moft invariably

invariably contribute to render any literary work quickly and permanently popular. They were written in a phraſeology, of which all the powers were univerſally felt; and which being at once antique, familiar, and now rarely written, was hence fitted to ſerve all the dignified and picturesque uſes of poetry. without making it unintelligible, The imagery, the ſentiments, were, at once, faithfully natural, and irreſiſtibly impreſſive and intereſting. Thoſe topics of ſatire and ſcandal in which the ruſtic delights; that humorous imitation of character, and that witty aſſociation of ideas familiar and ſtriking, yet not naturally allied to one another, which has force to ſhake his ſides with laughter; thoſe fancies of ſuperſtition, at which he ſtill wonders and trembles; thoſe affecting ſentiments and images of true religion, which are at once dear and awful to his heart, were all repreſented by Burns with all a poet's magic power. Old and young, high and low, grave and gay, learned or ignorant, all were alike delighted, agitated, tranſported. I was at that time reſident in Galloway, contiguous to Ayrſhire, and I can well remember, how that even plough-boys and maid-ſervants would have gladly parted with the wages which they earned the moſt hardly, and which they wanted to purchaſe neceſſary clothing, if they might but procure the works of Burns. A copy happened to be preſented from a gentleman in Ayrſhire to a friend in my neighbourhood; he put it into my hands, as a work containing ſome effuſions of the moſt extraordinary genius. I took it, rather that I might not diſoblige the lender, than from any ardour of curioſity or expectation. "An unlettered ploughman, a poet?" ſaid I, with contemptuous incredulity. It was on a Saturday evening. I opened the volume, by accident, while I was undreſſing, to go to bed. I cloſed it not, till a late hour on the riſing Sunday morn, after I had read over every ſyllable it contained. And,

Ex illo Corydon, Corydon eſt tempore nobis! VIRG. Ec. 7.

In the mean time, ſome few copies of theſe faſcinating poems found their way to Edinburgh: and one was communicated to the late amiable and ingenious Dr. Thomas Blacklock. There was, perhaps, never one among all mankind, whom you might more truly have called an angel upon earth, than Dr. Blacklock: he was guileleſs and innocent as a child, yet endowed with manly ſagacity and penetration; his heart was a perpetual ſpring of overflowing benignity; his feelings were all tremblingly alive to the ſenſe of the ſublime, the beautiful, the tender, the pious, the virtuous:—poetry was to him the dear ſolace of perpetual blindneſs; cheerfulneſs, even to gaiety, was, notwithſtanding that irremediable misfortune under which he laboured, long the predominant colour of his mind: in his latter years, when the gloom might otherwiſe have thickened around him, hope, faith, devotion the moſt fervent and ſublime, exalted his mind to heaven, and made him maintain his wonted cheerfulneſs, in the expectation of a ſpeedy diſſolution.

This amiable man of genius read the poems of Burns with a nice perception, with a tremblingly impaſſioned feeling, of all their beauties. Amid that tumult of emotions of

of benevolence, curiosity, admiration, which were thus excited in his bosom, he eagerly addressed some encouraging verses to the rustic bard; which, conveying the praises of a poet, and a judge of poetical composition, were much more grateful to Burns than any applauses he had before received from others. It was Blacklock's invitation that finally determined him to abandon his first intentions of going abroad to the West Indies; and rather to repair to Edinburgh, with his book, in hopes there to find some powerful patron, and perhaps, to make his fortune by his poetry.

In the beginning of the winter 1786-87, Burns came to Edinburgh: by Dr. Blacklock he was received with the most flattering kindness; and was earnestly introduced to every person of taste and generosity among the good old man's friends. It was little that Blacklock had it in his power to do for a brother poet—but that little he did with a fond alacrity, and with a modest grace, which made it ten times more pleasing, and more effectually useful to him, in whose favour it was exercised, than even the very same services would have been from almost any other benefactor. Others soon officiously interposed, to share with Blacklock, in the honour of patronizing Burns. He had brought from his Ayrshire friends, some letters of recommendation: some of his rural acquaintance coming, as well as himself, to Edinburgh, for the winter, did him what offices of kindness they conveniently could. Those very few, who possessed at once true taste and ardent philanthropy, were soon earnestly united in his praise: they who were disposed to favour any good thing belonging to Scotland, purely because it was Scottish, gladly joined the cry; those who had hearts and understandings to be charmed, without knowing why, when they saw their native customs, manners, and language, made the subjects and the materials of poesy, could not suppress that voice of feeling which struggled to declare itself for Burns: for the dissipated, the licentious, the malignant wits, and the free-thinkers, he was so unfortunate as to have satire, and obscenity, and ridicule of things sacred, sufficient to captivate their fancies;—even for the pious, he had passages in which the inspired language of devotion might seem to come mended from his tongue: and then, to charm those whom nought can delight but wonders, whose taste leads them to admire only such things as a juggler eating fire; a person who can converse as if his organs of speech were in his belly; a lame sailor writing with his toes, for want of fingers; a peer or a ploughman making verses; a small coalman directing a concert—why, to those people, the Ayrshire poet might seem precisely one of the most wonderful of the wonders after which they were wont to gape.—Thus did Burns, ere he had been many weeks in Edinburgh, find himself the object of universal curiosity, favour, admiration, and fondness. He was sought after, courted with attentions the most respectful and assiduous, feasted, flattered, caressed, treated by all ranks, as the first boast of our country; whom it was scarcely possible to honour and reward to a degree equal to his merits. In comparison with the general favour which now promised to more than crown his most sanguine hopes, it could hardly be called praise at all, which

which he had obtained in Ayrſhire.

In this poſture of our poet's affairs, a new edition of his poems was earneſtly called for: he ſold the copy-right to Mr. Creech, for one hundred pounds; but his friends, at the ſame time, ſuggeſted, and actively promoted a ſubſcription for an edition, to be publiſhed for the benefit of the author, ere the bookſeller's right ſhould commence. Thoſe gentlemen who had formerly entertained the public of Edinburgh with the periodical publication of the papers of the Mirror, having again combined their talents in producing the Lounger, were, at this time, about to conclude this laſt ſeries of papers; yet, before the Lounger relinquiſhed his pen, he dedicated a number to a commendatory criticiſm of the poems of the Ayrſhire bard. That criticiſm is now known to have been written by the right hon. lord Craig, one of the ſenators of the college of juſtice, who had adorned the Mirror with a finely-written eſſay, in recommendation of the poetry of Michael Bruce. The ſubſcription-papers were rapidly filled; the ladies, eſpecially, vied with one another who ſhould be the firſt to ſubſcribe, who ſhould procure the greateſt number of other ſubſcribers, for the poems of a bard who was now, for ſome moments, the idol of faſhion. The Caledonian Hunt, a gay club, compoſed of the moſt opulent and faſhionable young men in Scotland, profeſſed themſelves the patrons of the Scottiſh poet, and eagerly encouraged the propoſed republication of his poems. Six ſhillings was all the ſubſcription-money demanded for each copy, but many voluntarily paid half-a-guinea, a guinea, or two guineas; and it was ſuppoſed that the poet might derive from the ſubſcription, and the ſale of his copy-right, a clear profit of, at leaſt, ſeven hundred pounds; a ſum that, to a man who had hitherto lived in his indigent circumſtances, would be abſolutely more than the vainly expected wealth of ſir Epicure Mammon.

Burns, in the mean time, led a life differing from that of his original condition in Ayrſhire, almoſt as widely as differed the ſcenes and amuſements of London, to which Omiah was introduced, under the patronage of the earl of Sandwich, from thoſe to which he had been familiar in the Friendly Iſles. The converſation of even the moſt eminent authors is often found to be ſo unequal to the fame of their writings, that he who reads with admiration can liſten with none but ſentiments of the moſt profound contempt. But the converſation of Burns was, in compariſon with the formal and exterior circumſtances of his education, perhaps even more wonderful than his poetry. He affected no ſoft airs or graceful motions of politeneſs, which might have ill accorded with the ruſtic plainneſs of his native manners. Conſcious ſuperiority of mind taught him to aſſociate with the great, the learned, and the gay, without being over-awed into any ſuch baſhfulneſs as might have made him confuſed in thought, or heſitating in elocution. He poſſeſſed, withal, an extraordinary ſhare of plain common ſenſe, or mother-wit, which prevented him from obtruding upon perſons, of whatever rank, with whom he was admitted to converſe, any of thoſe effuſions of vanity, envy, or ſelf-conceit, in which authors are exceedingly apt to indulge, who have lived

lived remote from the general practice of life, and whose minds have been almost exclusively confined to contemplate their own studies and their own works. In conversation he displayed a sort of intuitive quickness and rectitude of judgment upon every subject that arose. The sensibility of his heart, and the vivacity of his fancy, gave a rich colouring to whatever reasoning he was disposed to advance; and his language, in conversation, was not at all less happy than in his writings. For these reasons he did not cease to please immediately after he had been once seen. Those who had met and conversed with him once, were pleased to meet and to converse with him again and again. I remember that the late Dr. Robertson once observed to me, that he had scarcely ever met with any man whose conversation discovered greater vigour and activity of mind than that of Burns. Every one wondered that the rustic bard was not spoiled by so much caressing, favour, and flattery as he found; and every one went on to spoil him, by continually repeating all these, as if with an obstinate resolution that they should, in the end, produce their effect. Nothing, however, of change in his manners appeared, at least for a while, to show that this was at all likely to happen. He, indeed, maintained himself, with considerable spirit, upon a footing of equality with all with whom he had occasion to associate or converse; yet he never arrogated any superiority, save what the fair and manly exertion of his powers, at the time, could undeniably command. Had he but been able to give a steady preference to the society of the virtuous, the learned, and the wise, rather than to that of the gay and the dissolute, it is probable that he could not have failed to rise to an exaltation of character and of talents fitted to do honour to human nature.

Unfortunately, however, that happened which was natural in those unaccustomed circumstances in which Burns found himself placed. He could not assume enough of superciliousness to reject the familiarity of all those who, without any sincere kindness for him, importunately pressed to obtain his acquaintance and intimacy. He was insensibly led to associate less with the learned, the austere, and the rigorously temperate, than with the young, with the votaries of intemperate joys, with persons to whom he was commended chiefly by licentious wit, and with whom he could not long associate without sharing in the excesses of their debauchery. Even in the country, men of this sort had begun to fasten on him, and to seduce him to embellish the gross pleasures of their looser hours with the charms of his wit and fancy. And yet I have been informed by Mr. Arthur Bruce, a gentleman of great worth and discernment, to whom Burns was, in his earlier days, well known, that he had, in those times, seen the poet steadily resist such solicitations and allurements to excess in convivial enjoyment, as scarcely any other person could have withstood. But the enticements of pleasure too often unman our virtuous resolution, even while we wear the air of rejecting them with a stern brow; we resist, and resist, and resist; but, at last, suddenly turn and passionately embrace the enchantress. The bucks of Edinburgh accomplished, in regard to Burns, that in which the boors

boors of Ayrſhire had failed. After reſiding ſome months in Edinburgh, he began to eſtrange himſelf, not altogether, but in ſome meaſure, from the ſociety of his graver friends. Too many of his hours were now ſpent at the tables of perſons who delighted to urge conviviality to drunkenneſs, in the tavern, in the brothel, on the lap of the woman of pleaſure. He ſuffered himſelf to be ſurrounded by a race of miſerable beings, who were proud to tell that they had been in company with Burns; and had ſeen Burns as looſe and as fooliſh as themſelves. He was not yet irrecoverably loſt to temperance and moderation: but he was already almoſt too much captivated with their wanton rivals, to be ever more won back to a faithful attachment to their more ſober charms. He now alſo began to contract ſomething of new arrogance in converſation. Accuſtomed to be, among his favourite aſſociates, what is vulgularly but expreſſively called the cock of the company, he could ſcarcely refrain from indulging in ſimilar freedom and dictatorial deciſion of talk, even in the preſence of perſons who could leſs patiently endure his preſumption.

Thus paſſed two winters, and an intervening ſummer, of the life of Burns. The ſubſcription edition of his poems, in the mean time, appeared; and, although not enlarged beyond that which came from the Kilmarnock preſs, by any new pieces of eminent merit, did not fail to give entire ſatisfaction to the ſubſcribers. He at one time, during this period, accompanied, for a few weeks, into Berwickſhire, Robert Ainſlie, eſq. a gentlemen of the pureſt and moſt correct manners, who was accuſtomed ſometimes to ſoothe the toils of a laborious profeſſion, by an occaſional converſe with polite literature, and with general ſcience. At another time, he wandered on a jaunt of four or five weeks, through the Highlands, in company with the late Mr. William Nicol, a man who had been before the companion and friend of Dr. Gilbert Stuart, who in vigour of intellect, and in wild, yet generous, impetuoſity of paſſion, remarkably reſembled both Stuart and Burns; who, for his ſkill and facility of Latin compoſition, was perhaps without a rival in Europe; whoſe virtues and genius were clouded by habits of Bacchanalian exceſs; whoſe latter years were vexatiouſly embittered by a conteſt with a creature, that, although accidentally exalted into competition with him, was unworthy even to unlooſe his ſhoe-latchet; who by the moſt unwearied and extraordinary profeſſional toil, in the midſt of a perſevering diſſipation, by which alone it was, at any time, interrupted, won and accumulated an honourable and ſufficient competence for his family; and, alas! who died, within theſe few weeks, of a jaundice, with a complication of other complaints, the effects of long-continued intemperance! So much did the zeal of friendſhip, and the ambition of honeſt fame, predominate in Nicol's mind; that he was, in his laſt hours, exceedingly pained by the thought that ſince he had ſurvived Burns, there remained none who might reſcue his mixed character from miſrepreſentation, and might embalm his memory in never-dying verſe!

In their excurſion, Burns and his friend Nicol were naturally led to

viſit the intereſting ſcenery adjacent to the duke of Athol's ſeat at Dunkeld, on the banks of the Tay. While they were at a contiguous inn, the duke, accidentally informed of Mr. Burns's arrival ſo near, invited him, by a polite meſſage, to Dunkeld houſe. Burns did not fail to attend his obliging inviter; was received with flattering condeſcenſion; made himſelf ſufficiently agreeable by his converſation and manners; was detained for a day or two by his grace's kind hoſpitality; and, ere he departed, in a poetical petition, in the name of the river Bruar, which falls into the Tay, within the duke's pleaſure-grounds at Blair-Athol, ſuggeſted ſome new improvements of taſte, which I believe to have been ſince happily made, in compliance with his advice. I relate this little incident, rather to do honour to the duke of Athol, than to Burns: for, if I be not exceedingly miſtaken, nothing that hiſtory can record of George the Third, will, in future times, be accounted more honourable to his memory, than the circumſtances and the converſation of his well-known interview with Dr. Johnſon. The two congenial companions, Burns and Nicol, after viſiting many other of thoſe romantic, picturesque, and ſublime ſcenes, of which the fame attracts travellers of taſte to the highlands of Scotland; after fondly lingering here and there for a day or two at a favourite inn, returned at laſt to Edinburgh; and Burns was now to cloſe accompts with his bookſeller, and to retire with his profits in his pocket to the country.

Mr. Creech has obligingly informed me, that the whole ſum paid to the poet for the copy-right, and for the ſubſcription copies of his book, amounted to nearly eleven hundred pounds. Out of this ſum, indeed, the expences of printing the edition for the ſubſcribers, were to be deducted. I have likewiſe reaſon to believe, that he had conſumed a much larger proportion of theſe gains than prudence could approve, while he ſuperintended the impreſſion, paid his court to his patrons, and waited the full payment of the ſubſcription-money.

He was now at laſt to fix upon a plan for his future life. He talked loudly of independence of ſpirit, and ſimplicity of manners: and boaſted his reſolution to return to the plough. Yet, ſtill he lingered in Edinburgh, week after week, and month after month, perhaps expecting that one or other of his noble patrons might procure him ſome permanent and competent annual income, which ſhould ſet him above all neceſſity of future exertions to earn for himſelf the means of ſubſiſtence; perhaps unconſciouſly reluctant to quit the pleaſures of that voluptuous town-life to which he had for ſome time too willingly accuſtomed himſelf. An accidental diſlocation or fracture of an arm or a leg, confining him for ſome weeks to his apartment, left him, during this time, leiſure for ſerious reflection; and he determined to retire from the town, without longer delay. None of all his patrons interpoſed to divert him from his purpoſe of returning to the plough, by the offer of any ſmall penſion, or any ſinecure place of moderate emolument, ſuch as might have given him competence, without withdrawing him from his poetical ſtudies. It ſeemed to be forgotten that a ploughman thus exalted into a man of letters,

was

was unfitted for his former toils, without being regularly qualified to enter the career of any new profeſſion; and that it became incumbent upon thoſe patrons who had called him from the plough, not merely to make him their companion in the hour of riot, not ſimply to fill his purſe with gold for a few tranſient expences, but to ſecure him, as far as was poſſible, from being ever overwhelmed in diſtreſs, in conſequence of the favour which they had ſhewn him, and of the habits of life into which they had ſeduced him. Perhaps, indeed, the ſame deluſion of fancy betrayed both Burns and his patrons into the miſtaken idea that, after all which had paſſed, it was ſtill poſſible for him to return, in cheerful content, to the homely joys and ſimple toils of undiſſipated rural life.

In this temper of Burns's mind, in this ſtate of his fortune, a farm and the exciſe were the objects upon which his choice ultimately fixed for future employment and ſupport.

Mr. Alexander Wood, the ſurgeon who attended him during the illneſs occaſioned by his hurt; no ſooner underſtood his patient's wiſh, to ſeek a reſource in the ſervice of the exciſe, than he, with the uſual activity of his benevolence, effectually recommended the poet to the commiſſioners of exciſe; and the name of Burns was enrolled in the liſt of their expectant officers. Peter Millar, eſq. of Dalſwinton, deceived, like Burns himſelf, and Burns's other friends, into an idea, that the poet and exciſeman might yet be reſpectable and happy as a farmer, generouſly propoſed to eſtabliſh him in a farm, upon conditions of leaſe which prudence and induſtry might eaſily render exceedingly advantageous. Burns eagerly accepted the offers of this benevolent patron. Two of the poet's friends from Ayrſhire, were invited to ſurvey that farm in Dumfrieſſhire, which Mr. Millar offered. A leaſe was granted to the poetical farmer at that annual rent which his own friends declared that the due cultivation of his farm might eaſily enable him to pay; what yet remained of the profits of his publication was laid out in the purchaſe of farm-ſtock; and Mr. Millar might, for ſome ſhort time, pleaſe himſelf with the perſuaſion that he had approved himſelf the liberal patron of genius; had acquired a good tenant upon his eſtate; and had placed a deſerving man in the very ſituation in which alone he himſelf deſired to be placed, in order to be happy to his wiſhes.

Burns, with his Jane, whom he now married, took up their reſidence upon his farm. The neighbouring farmers and gentlemen, pleaſed to obtain for an inmate among them, the poet by whoſe works they had been delighted, kindly ſought his company, and invited him to their houſes. He found an inexpreſſible charm in ſitting down beſide his wife, at his own fire-ſide; in wandering over his own grounds; in once more putting his hand to the ſpade and the plough, in forming his incloſures, and managing his cattle. For ſome moments he felt almoſt all that felicity which fancy had taught him to expect in his new ſituation. He had been, for a time, idle; but his muſcles were not yet unbraced for rural toil. He had been admitted to flatter ladies of faſhion: he had been occaſionally ſeduced by the allurements of venal beauty; but, he now ſeemed to find

a joy in being the huſband of the miſtreſs of his affections, in ſeeing himſelf the father of her children, ſuch as might promiſe to attach him for ever to that modeſt, humble, and domeſtic life in which alone he could hope to be permanently happy. Even his engagements in the ſervice of the exciſe did not, at the very firſt, threaten neceſſarily to debaſe him, by aſſociation with the mean, the groſs, and the profligate, to contaminate the poet, or to ruin the farmer.

But, it could not be: it was not poſſible for Burns now to aſſume that ſoberneſs of fancy and paſſions, that ſedateneſs of feeling, thoſe habits of earneſt attention to groſs and vulgar cares, without which, ſucceſs in his new ſituation was not to be expected. A thouſand difficulties were to be encountered and overcome, much money was to be expended, much weary toil was to be exerciſed, before his farm could be brought into a ſtate of cultivation, in which its produce might enrich the occupier.—The proſpect before him was, in this reſpect, ſuch as might well have diſcouraged the moſt ſtubbornly laborious peaſant, the moſt ſanguine projector in agriculture: and much more, therefore, was it likely, that this proſpect ſhould quickly diſhearten Burns, who had never loved labour; and who was, at this time, certainly not at all diſpoſed to enter into agriculture with the enthuſiaſm of a projector. Beſide all this, I have reaſon to believe, that the poet had made his bargain raſhly, and had not duly availed himſelf of his patron's generoſity. His friends from Ayrſhire, were little acquainted with the ſoil, with the manures, with the markets, with the dairies, with the modes of improvement in Dumfrieſſhire. They had ſet upon his farm rather ſuch a value of rental, as it might have borne in Ayrſhire, than that which it could eaſily afford in the local circumſtances in which it was actually placed. He himſelf had inconſiderately ſubmitted to their judgment, without once doubting whether they might not have erred againſt his intereſts, without the ſlighteſt wiſh to make a bargain artfully advantageous for himſelf. And the neceſſary conſequence was, that he held his farm at too high a rent, contrary to his landlord's intention. The buſineſs of the exciſe too, as he began to be more and more employed in it, diſtracted his mind from the care of his farm, led him into groſs and vulgar ſociety, and expoſed him to many unavoidable temptations to drunken exceſs, ſuch as he had no longer ſufficient fortitude to reſiſt. Amidſt the anxieties, diſtractions, and ſeducements, which thus aroſe to him, home became inſenſibly leſs and leſs pleaſing; even the endearments of his Jane's affection began to loſe their hold on his heart; he became every day leſs and leſs unwilling to forget in riot thoſe gathering ſorrows which he knew not to ſubdue.

Mr. Millar, and ſome others of his friends, would gladly have exerted an influence over his mind, which might have preſerved him, in this ſituation of his affairs, equally from deſpondency, and from diſſipation. But Burns's temper ſpurned all control from his ſuperiors in fortune. He reſented, as an arrrogant encroachment upon his independence, that tenor of conduct by which Mr. Millar wiſhed to turn him from diſſolute conviviality,

to that ſteady attention to the buſineſs of his farm, without which it was impoſſible to thrive in it. In the neighbourhood were other gentlemen occaſionally addicted, like Burns, to convivial exceſs; who, while they admired the poet's talents, and were charmed with his licentious wit, forgot the care of his real intereſts in the pleaſure which they found in his company, and in the gratification which the plenty and feſtivity of their tables appeared evidently to afford him. With theſe gentlemen, while diſappointments and diſguſts continued to multiply upon him in his preſent ſituation, he continued to aſſociate every day more and more eagerly. His croſſes and diſappointments drove him every day more and more into diſſipation; and his diſſipation tended to enhance whatever was diſagreeable and perplexing in the ſtate of his affairs. He ſunk, by degrees, into the boon companion of mere exciſemen; and almoſt every drunken fellow, who was willing to ſpend his money laviſhly in the ale-houſe, could eaſily command the company of Burns. The care of his farm was thus neglected; waſte and loſſes wholly conſumed his little capital; he reſigned his leaſe into the hands of his landlord; and retired, with his family to the town of Dumfries, determining to depend entirely for the means of future ſupport upon his income as an exciſe-officer.

Yet, during this unfortunate period of his life, which paſſed between his departure from Edinburgh to ſettle in Dumfrieſhire, and his leaving the country in order to take up his reſidence in the town of Dumfries, the energy and activity of his intellectual powers appeared to have been not at all impaired. He made a collection of Scottiſh ſongs, which were publiſhed, the words, with the muſic, by a Mr. Johnſtone, an engraver, in Edinburgh, in three ſmall volumes, octavo. In making this collection, he, in many inſtances, accommodated new verſes to the old tunes, with admirable felicity and ſkill. He compoſed ſeveral other poems, ſuch as the tale of Tam o'Shanter, the Whiſtle, Verſes on a wounded Hare, the Pathetic Addreſs to R*** G *** of F***, and ſome others which he afterwards permitted Mr. Creech to inſert in the fourth and fifth edition of his poems.

He aſſiſted in the temporary inſtitution of a ſmall ſubſcription library, for the uſe of a number of the well-diſpoſed peaſants, in his neighbourhood. He readily aided, and by his knowledge of genuine Scottiſh phraſeology and manners, greatly enlightened the antiquarian reſearches of the late ingenious captain Groſe. He ſtill carried on an epiſtolary correſpondence, ſometimes gay, ſportive, humourous, but always enlivened by bright flaſhes of genius, with a number of his old friends, and on a very wide diverſity of topics. At times, as it ſhould ſeem from his writings of this period, he reflected, with inexpreſſible heart-bitterneſs, on the high hopes from which he had fallen; on the errors of moral conduct into which he had been hurried, by the ardour of his ſoul, and, in ſome meaſure, by the very generoſity of his nature; on the diſgrace and wretchedneſs into which he ſaw himſelf rapidly ſinking; on the ſorrow with which his miſconduct oppreſſed the heart of his Jane; on the want and deſtitute miſery in which it ſeemed pro-

bable that he muſt leave her and their infants: nor, amidſt theſe agonizing reflections, did he fail to look, with an indignation half invidious, half contemptuous, on thoſe, who, with moral habits not more excellent than his, with powers of intellect far inferior, yet baſked in the ſun-ſhine of fortune, and were loaded with the wealth and honours of the world, while his follies could not obtain pardon, nor his wants an honourable ſupply. His wit became, from this time, more gloomily ſarcaſtic; and his converſation and writings began to aſſume ſomething of a tone of miſanthropical malignity, by which they had not been before, in any eminent degree, diſtinguiſhed. But, with all theſe failings, he was ſtill that exalted mind which had raiſed itſelf above the depreſſion of its original condition; with all the energy of the lion, pawing to ſet free his hinder limbs from the yet encumbering earth, he ſtill appeared not leſs archangel ruined?

What more remains there for me to relate? In Dumfries his diſſipation became ſtill more deeply habitual; he was here more expoſed than in the country to be ſolicited to ſhare the riot of the diſſolute and the idle: fooliſh young men, ſuch as writers' apprentices, young ſurgeons, merchants' clerks, and his brother exciſemen, flocked eagerly about him, and from time to time preſſed him to drink with them, that they might enjoy his wicked wit. His friend Nicol made one or two autumnal excurſions to Dumfries; and when they met in Dumfries, friendſhip, and genius, and wanton wit, and good liquor could never fail to keep Burns and Nicol together, till both the one and the other were as dead drunk as ever was Silenus. The Caledonian club too, and the Dumfriesſhire and Galloway Hunt, had occaſional meetings, in Dumfries, after Burns came to reſide here, and the poet was, of courſe, invited to ſhare their conviviality, and heſitated not to accept the invitation. The morals of the town were, in conſequence of its becoming ſo much the ſcene of public amuſement, deplorably corrupted; and, though a huſband and a father, poor Burns did not eſcape ſuffering by the general contamination, in a manner which I forbear to deſcribe. In the intervals between his different fits of intemperance, he ſuffered ſtill the keeneſt anguiſh of remorſe, and horribly afflictive foreſight. His Jane ſtill behaved with a degree of maternal and conjugal tenderneſs and prudence, which made him feel more bitterly the evil of his miſconduct, although they could not reclaim him. At laſt, crippled, emaciated, having the very power of animation waſted by diſeaſe, quite broken-hearted by the ſenſe of his errors, and of the hopeleſs miſeries in which he ſaw himſelf and his family depreſſed; with his ſoul ſtill tremblingly alive to the ſenſe of ſhame, and to the love of virtue; yet even in the laſt feebleneſs, and amid the laſt agonies of expiring life, yielding readily to any temptation that offered the ſemblance of intemperate enjoyment, he died at Dumfries, in the ſummer of the year 1796, while he was yet three or four years under the age of forty.

After his death, it quickly appeared that his failings had not effaced from the minds of his more reſpectable acquaintance either the regard which had once been won by

by his ſocial qualities, or the reverence due to his intellectual talents. The circumſtances of want in which he left his family, were noticed by the gentlemen of Dumfries, with earneſt commiſeration. His funeral was celebrated, by the care of his friends, with a decent ſolemnity, and with a numerous attendance of mourners, ſufficiently honourable to his memory. Several copies of verſes, having, if no other merit, at leaſt that of a good ſubject, were inſerted in different newspapers, upon the occaſion of his death. A contribution, by ſubſcription, was propoſed, for the purpoſe of raiſing a ſmall fund for the decent ſupport of his widow, and the education of his infant children. This ſubſcription has been very warmly promoted, and not without conſiderable ſucceſs, by John Syme, eſq. of Dumfries, by Alexander Cunningham, eſq. writer to the ſignet, in Edinburgh; and by Dr. James Currie and Mr. Roſcoe, of Liverpool. Mr. Stephen Kemble, manager of the theatre-royal, at Edinburgh, with ready liberality, gave a benefit-night for this generous purpoſe. A publication of the poet's poſthumous works is now in preparation, the profits of which are to be appropriated to the ſame pious uſe. It is hoped that ſuch a ſum may be made up, in all, as ſhall ſecure his widow from deſtitute want, and ſhall beſtow upon his children the advantages of a liberal education; it will be rather a tribute to Burns than the mere dole of charity!

I ſhall conclude this paper with a ſhort eſtimate of what appear to me to have been Burns's real merits, as a poet and as a man: the moſt remarkable quality he diſplayed, both in his writings and his converſation, was, certainly, an enlarged, vigorous, keenly diſcerning, conſcious comprehenſion of mind. Whatever be the ſubject of his verſe, he ſeems ſtill to graſp it with giant force; to wield and turn it with eaſy dexterity; to view it on all ſides, with an eye which no turn of outline and no hue of colouring can elude; to mark all its relations to the group of ſurrounding objects, and then to ſelect what he chooſes to repreſent to our imaginations, with a ſkilful and happy propriety, which ſhows him to have been, at the ſame time, maſter of all the reſt. It will not be very eaſy for any other mind, however richly ſtored with various knowledge; for any other imagination, however elaſtic and inventive, to find any new and ſuitable topic that has been omitted by Burns, in celebrating the ſubjects of all his greater and more elaborate poems. It is impoſſible to conſider, without aſtoniſhment, that amazing fertility of invention which is diſplayed, under the regulation of a ſound judgment, and a correct taſte, in the Twa Dogs; the Addreſs to the De'il; Scotch Drink; the Holy Fair; Hallowe'en; the Cottar's Saturday Night; To a Haggis; To a Louſe; To a Mountain Daiſy; Tom O'Shanter; on Captain Groſe's Peregrinations; the humble Petition of Bruar water; The Bard's Epitaph. Shoemakers, footmen, threſhers, milk-maids, peers, ſtaymakers, have all written verſes, ſuch as deſervedly attracted the notice of the world; but in the poetry of theſe people, while there was commonly ſome genuine effuſion of the ſentiments of agitated nature, ſome exhibition of ſuch imagery as at once impreſſed itſelf upon the heart; there was alſo

much to be ever excuſed in conſideration of their ignorance, their want of taſte, their extravagance of fancy, their want or abuſe of the advantages of a liberal education. Burns has no pardon to demand for defects of this ſort. He might ſcorn every conceſſion which we are ready to grant to his peculiar circumſtances, without being, on this account, reduced to relinquiſh any part of his claims to the praiſe of poetical excellence. He touches his lyre, at all times, with the hand of a maſter. He demands to be ranked, not with the Woodhouſes, the Ducks, the Ramſays, but with the Miltons, the Popes, the Grays. He cannot be denied to have been largely endowed with that ſtrong common ſenſe which is neceſſarily the very ſource and principle of all fine writing.

The next remarkable quality in this man's character, ſeems to have conſiſted in native ſtrength, ardour, and delicacy of feelings, paſſions, and affections. *Si vis me flere*; *dolendum primum eſt ipſi tibi.* All that is valuable in poetry, and, at the ſame time, peculiar to it, conſiſts in the effuſion of particular, not general, ſentiment, and in the picturing out of particular imagery. But education, reading, a wide converſe with men in ſociety, the moſt extenſive obſervation of external nature, however uſeful to improve, cannot, even all combined, confer the power of apprehending either imagery or ſentiment with ſuch force and vivacity of conception as may enable one to impreſs whatever he may chooſe upon the ſouls of others, with full, irreſiſtible, electric energy; this is a power which nought can beſtow, ſave native ſoundneſs, delicacy, quickneſs, ardour, force of thoſe parts of our bodily organization, of thoſe energies in the ſtructure of our minds, on which depend all our ſenſations, emotions, appetites, paſſions, and affections. Who ever knew a man of high original genius, whoſe ſenſes were imperfect, his feelings dull and callous, his paſſions all languid and ſtagnant, his affections without ardour, and without conſtancy? Others may be artiſans, ſpeculatiſts, imitators in the fine arts: none but the man who is thus richly endowed by nature, can be a poet, an artiſt, an illuſtrious inventor in philoſophy. Let any perſon firſt poſſeſs this original ſoundneſs, vigour, and delicacy of the primary energies of mind; and then let him receive ſome impreſſion upon his imagination, which ſhall excite a paſſion for this or that particular purſuit: he will ſcarcely fail to diſtinguiſh himſelf by illuſtrious efforts of exalted and original genius. Without having, firſt, thoſe ſimple ideas which belong, reſpectively, to the different ſenſes, no man can ever form for himſelf the complex notions, into the compoſition of which ſuch ſimple ideas neceſſarily enter. Never could Burns, without this delicacy, this ſtrength, this vivacity of the powers of bodily ſenſation, and of mental feeling, which I would here claim as the indiſpenſable native endowments of true genius—without theſe, never could he have poured forth thoſe ſentiments, or pourtrayed thoſe images which have ſo powerfully impreſſed every imagination, and penetrated every heart. Almoſt all the ſentiments and images diffuſed throughout the poems of Burns, are freſh from the mint of nature. He ſings what he had himſelf beheld with intereſted attention—what he had

had himſelf felt with keen emotions of pain or pleaſure. You actually ſee what he deſcribes; you more than ſympathize with his joys; your boſom is inflamed with all his fire; your heart dies away within you, infected by the contagion of his deſpondency. He exalts, for a time, the genius of his reader to the elevation of his own; and, for the moment, confers upon him all the powers of a poet. Quotations were endleſs: but any perſon of diſcernment, taſte, and feeling, who ſhall carefully read over Burns's book, will not fail to diſcover, in its every page, abundance of thoſe ſentiments and images to which this obſervation relates;—it is originality of genius, it is ſoundneſs of perception, it is delicacy of paſſion, it is general vigour and impetuoſity of the whole mind, by which ſuch effects are produced. Others have ſung, in the ſame Scottiſh dialect, and in ſimilar rhymes, many of the ſame topics which are celebrated by Burns; but, what with Burns awes or faſcinates, in the hands of others, only diſguſts by its deformity, or excites contempt by its meanneſs and unintereſting ſimplicity.

A third quality which the life and the writings of Burns ſhow to have belonged to his character, was a quick and correct diſcernment of the diſtinctions between right and wrong—between truth and falſehood; and this, accompanied with a paſſionate preference of whatever was right and true, with an indignant abhorrence of whatever was falſe and morally wrong. It is true that he did not always ſteadily diſtinguiſh and eſchew the evils of drunkenneſs and licentious love; it is true that theſe, at times, ſeem to obtain even the approbation of his muſe: but there remains in his works enough to ſhow, that his cooler reaſon, and all his better feelings, earneſtly rejected thoſe gay vices which he could ſometimes, unhappily, allow himſelf to practiſe, and ſometimes to recommend to others, by the charms which his imagination lent them. What was it but the clear and ardent diſcrimination of juſtice from injuſtice, which inſpired that indignation with which his heart often burned, when he ſaw thoſe exalted by fortune, who were not exalted by their merits? His Cottar's Saturday Night, and all his grave poems, breathe a rich vein of the moſt amiable, yet manly, and even delicately correct morality. In his pieces of ſatire, and of lighter humour, it is ſtill upon the accurate and paſſionate diſcernment of falſehood, and of moral turpitude, that his ridicule turns. Other poets are often as remarkable for the incorrectneſs, or even the abſurdity of their general truths, as for intereſting ſublimity, or tenderneſs of ſentiment, or for picturesque ſplendour of imagery; Burns is not leſs happy in teaching general truths, than in that diſplay of ſentiment and imagery, which more peculiarly belongs to the province of the poet. Burns's morality deſerves this high praiſe—that it is not a ſyſtem merely of diſcretion; it is not founded upon any ſcheme of ſuperſtition; but ſeems to have always its ſource, and the teſt by which it is to be tried, in the moſt diffuſive benevolence, and in a regard for the univerſal good.

The only other leading feature of character that appears to be ſtrikingly diſplayed in the life and writings of Burns, is a lofty-minded conſciouſneſs of his own talents and

and merits. Hence the fierce and contemptuous aſperity of his ſatire; the ſullen and gloomy dignity of his complaints, addreſſed, not ſo much to alarm the ſoul of pity, as to reproach injuſtice, and to make fortunate baſeneſs ſhrink abaſhed; that general gravity and elevation of his ſentiments, which admits no humbly inſinuating ſportiveneſs of wit, which ſcorns all compromiſe between the right and the expedient, which decides with the authoritative voice of a judge, from whom there is no appeal, upon characters, principles, and events, whenever they preſent themſelves to notice. From his works, as from his converſation and manners, pride ſeems to have excluded the effuſions of vanity. In the compoſition, or correction of his poetry, he never ſuffered the judgment, even of his moſt reſpectable friends, to dictate to him. This line in one of his poems ("When I look back on proſpects drear") was criticiſed; but he would not condeſcend either to reply to the criticiſm, or to alter the expreſſion. Not a few of his ſmaller pieces are ſufficiently trivial, vulgar, and hackneyed in the thought, are ſuch as the pride of genius ſhould have diſdained to write, or, at leaſt, to publiſh; but there is reaſon to believe that he deſpiſed ſuch pieces, even while he wrote and publiſhed them; that it was rather in regard to the effects they had already produced upon hearers and readers, than from any overweening opinion of their intrinſic worth, he ſuffered them to be printed. His wit is always dignified: he is not a merry-andrew in a motley coat, ſporting before you for your diverſion; but a hero, or a philoſopher, deigning to admit you to witneſs his relaxations, ſtill exerciſing the great energies of his ſoul, and little caring, at the moment, whether you do, or do not, cordially ſympathize with his feelings.

His poems may be all diſtributed into the two claſſes of paſtorals and pieces upon common life and manners. In the former claſs, I include all thoſe in which rural imagery, and the manners and ſentiments of ruſtics are chiefly deſcribed: in the latter, I would comprehend his epigrams, epiſtles, and, in ſhort, all thoſe pieces in which the imagery and ſentiments are drawn from the condition and appearances of common life, without any particular reference to the country. It is in the firſt claſs that the moſt excellent of his poems are certainly to be found. Thoſe few pieces which he ſeems to have attempted in the Della Cruſca ſtyle, appear to me to be the leaſt commendable of all his writings; he uſually employs thoſe forms of verſification which have been uſed chiefly by the former writers of poetry in the Scottiſh dialect, and by ſome of the elder Engliſh poets. His phraſeology is evidently drawn from thoſe books of Engliſh poetry which were in his hands, from the writings of former Scottiſh poets, and from thoſe unwritten ſtores of the Scottiſh dialect, which became known to him, in the converſation of his fellow peaſants. Some other late writers in the Scottiſh dialect ſeem to think, that not to write Engliſh is certainly to write Scottiſh: Burns, avoiding this error, hardly ever tranſgreſſed the propriety of Engliſh grammar, except in compliance with the long-accuſtomed variations of the genuine Scottiſh dialect.

From the preceding detail of the particulars

particulars of this poet's life, the reader will naturally and juſtly infer him to have been an honeſt, proud, warm-hearted man; of high paſſions, and found underſtanding, and a vigorous and excurſive imagination. He was never known to deſcend to any act of deliberate meanneſs. In Dumfries he retained many reſpectable friends, even to the laſt. It may be doubted whether he has not, by his writings, exerciſed a greater power over the minds of men, and, by conſequence, on their conduct, upon their happineſs and miſery, and upon the general ſyſtem of life, than has been exerciſed by any half dozen of the moſt eminent ſtateſmen of the preſent age. The power of the ſtateſman is but ſhadowy, ſo far as it acts upon externals alone: the power of the writer of genius ſubdues the heart and the underſtanding, and having thus made the very ſpring of action its own, through them moulds almoſt all life and nature at its pleaſure. Burns has not failed to command one remarkable ſort of homage, ſuch as is never paid but to great original genius: a crowd of poetaſters ſtarted up to imitate him, by writing verſes as he had done, in the Scottiſh dialect; but, *O imitatores! ſervum pecus!* To perſons to whom the Scottiſh dialect, and the cuſtoms and manners of rural life in Scotland, have no charm, I ſhall poſſibly appear to have ſaid too much about Burns: By thoſe who paſſionately admire him, I ſhall, perhaps, be blamed, as having ſaid too little.

June, 1797.

Life of CHARLES BONNET, *of Geneva.*

From the ſame.

THIS celebrated philoſopher was born at Geneva, on the 13th day of March, in the year 1720. His anceſtors, who were compelled to emigrate from France, in the year 1572, after the dreadful ſlaughter of St. Bartholomew's day, eſtabliſhed themſelves at Geneva. His grandfather was advanced to the magiſtracy, in that city, and he adorned an eminent ſtation. His father, who preferred the ſtation of a private citizen, paid unremitted attention to the education of his ſon. M. Bonnet recompenſed, at a very early period, his father's aſſiduity, by the amiableneſs of his diſpoſition, and the rapid progreſs he made in general literature. When he was about ſixteen years of age, he applied himſelf, with great eagerneſs, to the peruſal of Le Spectacle de la Nature, and this work made ſuch a deep impreſſion on his mind, that it may be ſaid to have directed the taſte and the ſtudies of his future life. What that publication had commenced, was confirmed by the work of La Pluche; but having accidentally ſeen the treatiſe of Reaumur upon inſects, he was in a tranſport of joy. He was very impatient to procure the book, but, as the only copy in Geneva belonged to a public library, and as the librarian was reluctant to entruſt it in the hands of a youth, it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he could obtain his end.

By the poſſeſſion of this treaſure, our aſſiduous youth was enabled to make ſeveral new and curious experiments, which he communicated to Reaumur himſelf; and the high applauſe he gained, from ſo great a naturaliſt,

a naturaliſt, added freſh vigour to his aſſiduity.

In compliance with his father's deſires, he applied himſelf, though with much reluctance, to the ſtudy of the law. The works of Burlamaqui pleaſed him the moſt, on account of the perſpicuous and philoſophic manner in which the ſubject was treated; the inſtitutes of Heineccius gave him ſome courage alſo, as he perceived order and connection; but the Roman Law terrified him as the Hydra of Lerna. Notwithſtanding his application to theſe authors, he ſtill continued attached to natural hiſtory, and was very active in making experiments. The experiments which demonſtrate that tree-lice propagate without copulation, was communicated by Reaumur to the Academy of Sciences, and this circumſtance occaſioned an epiſtolary correſpondence between M. Bonnet and that great naturaliſt. This was, doubtleſs, very flattering to a youth of twenty years. The letter of Reaumur was accompanied with a preſent of that very book which he had borrowed, with ſo much difficulty, two years before.

Animated by ſuch diſtinguiſhed marks of approbation, he diligently employed every moment he could ſteal from the ſtudy of juriſprudence to the completion of his natural hiſtory of the tree-louſe; to experiments on the reſpiration of caterpillars and butterflies, which he diſcovered to be effected by ſtigmata, or lateral pores; to an examination of the conſtruction of the tinea, or tapeworm; in frequent correſpondence with Reaumur; and in aſſiſting Trembley in his diſcoveries, and publication concerning millepedes, &c. Having, in the year 1743, obtained the degree of doctor of laws, he relinquiſhed a purſuit which he had commenced with ſo much reluctance. In the ſame year he was admitted a fellow of the Royal Society, to which he had communicated a treatiſe on inſects.

Bonnet being now liberated from his other purſuits, applied himſelf, without intermiſſion, to collecting together his experiments and obſervations concerning the tree-louſe and the worm, which he publiſhed in 1744, under the title of Inſectology. This work acquired deſerved approbation from the public, and was honoured by the commendation of the celebrated B. de Juſſieu. He was reproached, however, in a periodical publication, with having paid too little attention to the delicacy of his reader; though his patience and accuracy were acknowledged to be deſerving of praiſe. Such unremitted application and labour could not fail of becoming injurious to his health. Inflammations, nervous fever, ſore eyes, &c. compelled him to relinquiſh the uſe of the microſcope and the ſtudy of inſects. This prevention was ſo extremely mortifying to a man of his taſte and activity of mind, that he was thrown into a deep melancholy, which could only be ſubdued by the reſolution inſpired by philoſophy, and the conſolations of religion: theſe gradually rouſed him from a dejected ſtate of mind. About the end of the year 1746, our philoſopher was choſen member of the Literary Inſtitution at Bologna, which introduced him to a correſpondence with the famed Zanotti, who may be deemed the Fontenelle of Italy.

In the year 1747, he undertook a very difficult work on the leaves of plants; which, of all his publications

tions in natural hiſtory, bore the ſtrongeſt marks of originality, both with reſpect to the manner in which his experiments were made, and the diſcoveries reſulting from them. His extreme attachment to natural hiſtory gradually led him to a ſtudy of a very different nature: ſpeculative philoſophy now engaged his whole attention. The firſt fruits of his meditations in this department, was his Eſſay on Pſychology. In this work, the principal facts obſervable in human nature, and the conſequences reſulting from them, are ſtated in a conciſe and conſpicuous manner. He contemplated man, from the firſt moment of his exiſtence, and purſued the developement of his ſenſes and faculties, from ſimple growth up to intelligence. The work, which was publiſhed without his name, met with great oppoſition, and was criticiſed with ſeverity; but the cenſures were directed more againſt his expreſſions than his principles, nor were they of ſufficient importance to impede the general acceptance of the publication.

His analyſis of the mental faculties was ſimply a developement of the ideas contained in the preceding work. It engaged his inceſſant attention for the ſpace of five years; nor was it completed before 1759. It is ſomewhat ſingular, that both he and the abbé de Condillac ſhould have illuſtrated their principles by the ſuppoſition of a ſtatue, organized like the human body, which they conceived to be gradually inſpired with a ſoul, and the progreſſive developement of whoſe powers they carefully traced. In the year 1760, this work was publiſhed at Copenhagen, by order and at the expence of Frederick V; and it was followed, in 1762, by contemplations on organized bodies. In this the author had three principal objects before him: the firſt was to give a conciſe view of every thing which appears intereſting in natural hiſtory, reſpecting the origin, developement, and re-production of organized bodies; the ſecond was, to confute the two different ſyſtems founded upon the Epigeneſis; and the third, was to explain the ſyſtem of germs, indicate the ground upon which it was founded, its correſpondence with facts, and the conſequences reſulting from it. This work was received with much ſatisfaction by natural philoſophers. The academy of Berlin, which had propoſed the ſame ſubject, as a prize-queſtion for 1761, declared that they conſidered the treatiſe as the offspring of cloſe obſervation and profound reaſoning; and that the author would have had an indubitable right to the prize, if he had confined his labours to the preciſe ſtatement of the queſtion. It muſt alſo be recorded, to the honour of the great Maleſherbes, that he reverſed the interdict which the public cenſor had laid upon this book, under the pretext that it contained dangerous principles.

The Contemplations of Nature appeared in 1764. In this work, the author firſt enlarged upon the common conceptions entertained concerning the exiſtence and perfections of God; and of the order and uniformity obſervable in the univerſe. He next deſcends to man, examines the parts of his compoſition, and the various capacities with which he is endowed. He next proceeds to the plants; aſſembles and deſcribes the laws of their economy; and, finally, he examines the

the insects, indicates the principal circumstances in which they differ from larger animals, and points out the philosophical inferences that may legitimately be deduced from these differences; and he concludes with observations respecting the industry of insects. This work being of a popular nature, the author spared no pains in bestowing upon it those ornaments of which it was susceptible. The principles which he thus discovered and explained, induced him to plan a system of moral philosophy; which, according to his ideas, consisted solely in the observance of that relation in which man is placed, respecting all the beings that surround him. The first branch would have comprehended various means, which philosophy and the medical science have discovered, for the prevention of disease, the preservation and augmentation of the corporeal powers, and the better exertion of their force: in the second, he proposed to show, that natural philosophy has a powerful tendency to embellish and improve our mind, and augment the number of our rational amusements, while it is replete with beneficial effects, respecting the society at large. To manifest the invalidity of opinions, merely hypothetical, he undertook, in the third place, to examine, whether there were not truths within the compass of human knowledge, to which the most sceptical philosopher must be compelled to yield his assent, and which might serve as the basis of all our reasonings concerning man and his various relations. He then would have directed his attention to a first cause, and have manifested how greatly the idea of a deity, and supreme law-giver, favoured the conclusions which reason had drawn from the nature and properties of things; but it is deeply to be regretted that his health, impaired by incessant labour, would not permit him to complete the design.

His last publication was the Palingenesis, which treats of the prior existence and future state of living beings.

Of his publications in natural history, those deemed the most excellent, are, his treatise on the best Means of preserving Insects and Fish, in Cabinets of Natural History; a Dissertation on the Loves of the Plants; sundry pieces on the experiments of Spallanzani, concerning the Reproduction of the Head of the Snail; a Dissertation on the Pipa, or Surinam toad; and different Treatises on Bees.

In the year 1783, he was elected honorary member of the Academy of Sciences, at Paris; and of the Academy of Sciences and the Belles Lettres, at Berlin.

Much of his time was employed in a very extensive correspondence with some of the most celebrated natural philosophers and others. Of this number were Reaumur; De Geer, the Reaumur of Sweden; Du Hamel; the learned Haller; the experimental philosopher Spallanzani; Van Swieten; Merian; and that ornament of Switzerland, the great Lambert. He entertained, however, the utmost aversion to controversy. He thought that no advantage to be obtained by it could compensate for the loss of that repose which he valued, with Newton, as the *rem prorsus substantialem*. He never answered remarks that were made to the prejudice of his writings, but left the

deciſion with the public: yet, ever ready to acknowledge his errors, he was ſincerely thankful to every one who contributed to the perfection of his works. He was uſed to ſay, that one confeſſion, I was in the wrong, is of more value than a thouſand ingenious confutations.

His literary occupations, and the care he was obliged to take of his health, prevented him from travelling. He delighted in retirement, and every hour was occupied in the improvement of his mind. The laſt twenty-five years of his life were ſpent in the ſame rural ſituation where he had paſſed the greater part of his early days; yet, notwithſtanding the purſuit of literature was his ſupreme delight, he never refuſed to ſuſpend his ſtudies, when the good of his country ſeemed to demand his ſervices.

He was choſen, in 1752, member of the Grand Council, in the republic of Geneva; and he aſſiſted regularly at their deliberations, till the year 1768, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his eloquence, his moderation, united with firmneſs; by his good ſenſe and penetration, in caſes of difficulty; and by the zeal with which he endeavoured to reclaim his fellow citizens to that ancient ſimplicity of manners which had been ſo conducive to the welfare of the ſtate, and to the love of virtue, and ſo eſſential to the exiſtence of genuine liberty. His conduct, in every caſe, was conſiſtent with his principles. He took no pains to accumulate wealth, but remained ſatisfied with a fortune equal to his moderate wants, and to the exerciſe of his benevolence. The perfect correſpondence between his extenſive knowledge and virtuous deeds, procured him univerſal eſteem.

In the year 1788, evident ſymptoms of an hydrops pectoris manifeſted themſelves; and from this time he gradually declined. He ſuſtained his indiſpoſition with unremitted cheerfulneſs and compoſure. After various fluctuations, uſual in that complaint, he died, on the 20th of May, 1793, in the ſeventy third year of his age; retaining his preſence of mind to the laſt moment; adminiſtering comfort to ſurrounding friends and relatives; and attempting to alleviate the diſtreſs of his diſconſolate wife, in whoſe arms he expired.

As a demonſtration of the high value placed upon his labours and talents, by the literari, we have only to remark, that he was member of moſt of the learned ſocieties of Europe.

Sketch of the Female Economy of the Seraglio, and of the real Condition of the Female Sex at Conſtantinople.

[*From Dallaway's Conſtantinople, Ancient and Modern.*]

"THE inhabitants of the ſeraglio exceed ſix thouſand, of which about five hundred are women. Many who are employed there during the day, have their houſes and families in the city.

"When the ſultan comes to the throne the grandees preſent him with virgin ſlaves, who, they hope, may become their patroneſſes.—From theſe principally, ſix are then choſen, who are ſtyled Kadinns, but the late ſultan Abdul-hamid added a ſeventh. The firſt of them who gives an heir to the empire becomes the favourite, and has the title of Haſſeky-Sultàn. There are many others

others in the harem, but they ſeldom are ſuffered to infringe the excluſive privilege of producing heirs to the empire, which the kadinns claim; for with the others the moſt infamous means of prevention are forcibly adopted. If the child of the firſt haſſeky-ſultàn ſhould die, her precedence is loſt. The old ſtory of the ladies ſtanding in a row, and the ſultan's throwing his handkerchief to his choice, is not true. His preference is always officially communicated by the kiſlàr-agha.

"So dependent is opinion upon education and the early habits of life, that the ſtate of female ſociety in the ſeraglio, is to themſelves that of the moſt perfect happineſs. It was ordained by Mahommed, that women ſhould not be treated as intellectual beings, leſt they ſhould aſpire to equality with men. This ſyſtem he found already prevalent in the eaſt, and received by his converts, and therefore cannot be charged with having curtailed their liberty and ſocial intercourſe.—Throughout Turkey, in every rank of life, the women are literally children of larger growth, as trifling in their amuſements, as unbounded in their deſires, and as abſolutely at the diſpoſal of others, being conſidered by the men merely as created for the purpoſes of nature, or ſexual luxury. None of our miſtakes concerning the opinion of the Turks, is more unjuſt than that which reſpects the notion attributed to them, that women have no ſouls; on the other hand, they are promiſed in the Koràn to be reſtored with all the charms of eternal youth and unblemiſhed virginity, and what, in many inſtances, may heighten the idea of perfect paradiſe to themſelves, not again to be united with their former earthly huſbands, but to be allotted to other true muſulmans by the benevolence of the prophet.

"The females of the ſeraglio are chiefly Georgian or Circaſſian ſlaves, ſelected from all that are either privately bought, or expoſed to ſale in the Avrèt Bazar*, and, for many reaſons, are admitted at an early age. We may readily conclude that an aſſemblage of native beauty ſo exquiſite, does not exiſt in any other place.

"The education of theſe girls is very ſcrupulouſly attended to; they are taught to dance with more luxuriance than grace, to ſing and to play on the tambourin, a ſpecies of guitar; and ſome of them excel

"* The Avrèt Bazar (woman market) conſiſts of an incloſed court, with a cloiſter and ſmall apartments ſurrounding it. It is ſupplied by female ſlaves brought from Ægypt, Abyſſinia, Georgia, and Circaſſia, who are expoſed to public ſale every Friday morning. Thoſe from the firſt mentioned countries are generally purchaſed for domeſtic ſervices, which, in a menial capacity, no Turkiſh woman will condeſcend to perform; their perſons or countenances are rarely beautiful, and their price ſeldom fetches forty pounds Engliſh. The exquiſite beauty of the others is enhanced by every art of dreſs and oriental accompliſhments, and they are uſually ſold for ſeveral thouſand piaſtres. Many are reſerved for the ſeraglio, where, though they are conſidered as moſt fortunate, they are moſt frequently ſacrificed. Intrigues are concealed by the application of poiſonous drugs which often occaſion death, and upon detection of pregnancy they are inſtantly drowned. One ſhudders to relate how many of theſe victims are taken out into the ſea at the dead of the night, and committed to the deep. Formerly, the Avrèt Bazar was open to Franks, who were ſuppoſed to purchaſe ſlaves in order to redeem them, but they are now excluded, by order of the preſent ſultan's father.

in

in embroidery. This arrangement is conducted ſolely by the elder women, though from the taſte for European faſhions, which ſultan Selim openly avows, ſome Greek women have been lately introduced to teach them the harp and pianoforte, which they had learned for that purpoſe. Amongſt the five hundred already mentioned the kiſlàr-agha preciſely ſettles all precedence. Some are diſqualified by age from the notice of the ſultan, and of thoſe who are conſidered as wives there are four; he is reſtricted to ſeven, but as to concubines there is no legal limitation, and their number depends on the inclination of their ſublime maſter. The ſuperiors ſpend their time in a ſeries of ſedentary amuſements. Dreſs, the moſt ſumptuous that can be imagined, changed frequently in the courſe of the day, the moſt magnificent apartments and furniture, viſits of ceremony with each other, and the inceſſant homage of their ſubordinate companions, fill their minds with a ſort of ſupine happineſs, which indeed is all that moſt Turkiſh women aſpire to, or are qualified to experience.

"Sometimes, as an indulgence, they are permitted to go to the kioſques near the ſea, of which circumſtance the officers of police are informed, that no veſſel ſhould approach too near the ſeraglio point. Every ſummer the ſultan viſits his palaces in rotation for a ſhort time with his harèm, when every paſs and avenue, within three or five miles diſtance, is guarded by fierce boſtandjis *, leſt the approach of any male being ſhould contaminate them.

"They depend entirely upon their female ſlaves for amuſements which have any thing like gaiety for their object, and recline on their ſofas for hours, whilſt dancing, comedy, and buffoonery, as indelicate as our vulgar puppet ſhow, are exhibited before them. Greek and Frank ladies occaſionally viſit them, whoſe huſbands are connected with the Porte as merchants or interpreters, under pretence of ſhewing them curioſities from Europe.—From ſuch opportunities all the accurate information concerning the interior palace muſt be collected, and to ſuch I am, at preſent, indebted.

"The articles of female habiliment are infinite, both as to coſt and number; but change of faſhion is adopted only for the head attire, which happens with ſcarcely leſs frequency than in the courts of Europe. They are imitated by the Greek ladies, whoſe dreſs differs little from theirs; but the original Greek dreſs, rather than of the Turkiſh harèm, is that deſcribed by lady M. Wortley Montague. Both the ſtyle of beauty, and the idea of improving its effect by ornament amongſt the Ottoman women, have much ſingularity. Of the few I have ſeen with an open veil, or without one, the faces were remarkable for their ſymmetry and brilliant complexion, with the noſe ſtraight and ſmall, the eyes vivacious, either black or dark blue, having the eye-brows, partly from nature, and as much from art, very full and joining over the noſe.—They have a cuſtom too of drawing a black line with a mixture of powder of antimony and oil,

* The ſultan's body guards.

called Surmèh, above and under the eye-laſhes, in order to give the eye more fire. Of the ſhape and air little can be ſaid from our idea of lovelineſs. All the Levantine women, from their mode of ſitting on their ſofa, ſtoop extremely, and walk very aukwardly. Warm baths uſed without moderation, and unrelieved idleneſs, ſpoil in moſt inſtances, by a complete relaxation of the ſolids, forms that nature intended ſhould rival the elegance of their countenances. The nails both of the fingers and feet are always ſtained of a roſe colour. Such is the taſte of Aſiatics. The diſcriminative trait of beauty between the Circaſſian and Greek women, is the more majeſtic air and ſtature of the former, while the latter excel upon a ſmaller ſcale, no leſs in brilliancy of complexion, than in ſymmetry and delicacy of form. The ſtatues of Juno, Minerva, or the Amazons, are contraſted by that of the Medicean Venus. Both very generally anſwer to Homer's deſcription of 'the full-eyed,' and 'the deep boſomed.'

"In the ſtreets of Conſtantinople, no female appears without her feredjè and mahramàh; the former reſembles a looſe riding coat with a large ſquare cape, covered with quilted ſilk, and hanging down low behind, made univerſally amongſt the Turks of green cloth, and amongſt the Greeks and Armenians of brown, or ſome grave colour. The mahramàh is formed by two pieces of muſlin, one of which is tied under the chin, enveloping the head, and the other acroſs the mouth and half the noſe, admitting ſpace enough for ſight. Yellow boots are drawn over the feet; and thus equipped, a woman may meet the public eye without ſcandal. This dreſs is of very ancient invention, calculated for concealment of the perſon, nor can there be a more complete diſguiſe.

"In every civilized country the middle ranks in ſociety enjoy the trueſt comfort. Whilſt the ladies of the harèms of great or opulent Turks, are conſoling themſelves with faſtidious indulgence, in luxury unknown to the vulgar, the wives and concubines of ſober citizens are allowed almoſt a free intercourſe with each other. The men, merchants or mechanics, are engaged in their various occupations, leaving the whole day at the diſpoſal of the women, who walk the ſtreets and bazars in groupes of muffled figures, or go to the cemeteries, where, upon ſtated days, under pretence of ſaying prayers at the graves of deceaſed friends, they enjoy the ſhade of cypreſſes, whilſt loitering away many hours; and ſhow unreſtrained happineſs, by the moſt vehement loquacity. Several times a year they are drawn in arabàhs, or painted waggons with a covering of red cloth, by buffaloes gaudily harneſſed, to ſome favourite retreat in the country, but never attended by the men of their family.

"That love of ſplendid dreſs which diſtinguiſhes the nations of the eaſt, pervades every rank of females. Thoſe connected with the meaneſt labourer occaſionally wear brocade, rich furs, and embroidery of gold or ſilver, which are willingly ſupplied by his daily toil. In large harèms the number of children is proportionably ſmall, where few women produce more than three. Much has been ſaid concerning the infidelity of the Turkiſh

women belonging to harèms of quality; whoever has paſſed a few years in this country, muſt know that any ſcheme of gallantry would be utterly impracticable, however they may have been prompted, by perſonal vanity, to impoſe a falſe opinion on the world. In complete eſtabliſhments they are guarded by thoſe unfortunate men

'Who youth ne'er loved, and beauty ne'er enjoyed;'

and in thoſe of leſs expence, by old women, whoſe ceaſeleſs vigilance is equally ſecure.

"If ſuch things ever happen, it may be ſuppoſed of thoſe who are permitted to gad abroad; but this privilege is conditional, and never without a certain number of relatives or neighbours.

"During my reſidence at Pera, I heard of but one circumſtance only. A young Venetian ſerved in the ſhop of an apothecary at Conſtantinople, whom a Turkiſh lady, attended only by her ſlave, came to conſult, and was ſhewn into another room, leaving the apprentice and the fair Circaſſian alone. It is ſaid, that nothing then paſſed between them. In a few days, returning with her miſtreſs, and the ſame opportunity recurring, ſhe opened her heart, propoſed elopement, and promiſed much treaſure. She kept her word, and they diſappeared without ſubſequent detection. Upon diſcovery the puniſhment of theſe lovers would have been horrible; he would have been impaled alive, and ſhe drowned in a ſack. Such a penal code as that of the Turks, has in no period of corruption been adopted by any nation of Chriſtians.

"Infidelity or licentiouſneſs in women, is a ſubject of the ſevereſt crimination amongſt the Turks, and their puniſhment of it borders upon groſs barbarity. That branch of police is under the juriſdiction of the boſtandji baſhi, or captain of the guard, with many inferior officers. When any of theſe miſerable girls are apprehended, for the firſt time they are put to hard labour, and ſtrictly confined; but for the ſecond they are re-committed, and many at a time tied up in ſacks, and taken in a boat to the Seraglio-point, where they are thrown into the tide. The Turks excuſe this cruelty by pleading the law, and adding that every woman has it in her power to be attached to one man, by kebinn, or contract for a certain term before the kady, which ceremony would exempt them from the cognizance of the police.

"The real ſtate of female ſlaves in Turkey has been much miſrepreſented. I do not allude to it previouſly to their eſtabliſhment in ſome harèm, when expoſed to ſale with practices of their owners equally repugnant to humanity and decency: but when they become private property, they are well clothed, and treated with kindneſs by their miſtreſſes. If the huſband preſents his wife with a female ſlave, ſhe becomes her ſole property, and he cannot cohabit with her without legal complaint of the wife, excepting with her conſent, which prudence generally inclines her to give. No woman of Turkiſh birth can be an odalik, or domeſtic ſlave. Illegitimacy is unknown, for every child, born of the wife or concubine, has nearly equal rights. The ſuperior privilege of the wife conſiſts only in the partition of the huſ-

band's property on his deceaſe, and the difficulty of procuring a divorce without her acquieſcence. Odaliks are diſmiſſed and reſold at pleaſure, if they have borne no child. But it frequently happens that they become confidential with their miſtreſſes, are emancipated, and married to huſbands whom they provide for them. Few young men have more than one wife, but the elder, if opulent, indulge themſelves to the extent of the prophet's licence. My fair countrywomen, from ſo ſlight a ſketch of female economy in this eccentric nation, may form favourable concluſions reſpecting that of our own. They may reſt aſſured, that in no other country are the moral duties and rational liberty ſo juſtly appreciated, or ſo generally rewarded with happineſs."

Obſervations and Anecdotes, illuſtrative of the preſent Police, Commerce, State of Society, and Manners at Conſtantinople.

[*From the ſame.*]

"THE greater part of the night in many European capitals is little diſcriminated from the broad day in the buſtle of crowded ſtreets, but the laſt muezzin has ſcarcely called the hour of evening prayer, before each habitually ſober muſſulman retires from public notice, and the reſort of thouſands during a long day, from ſun riſe to ſun ſet, becomes an unoccupied ſpace, like a deſert. One hour after ſun ſet every gate of the city is ſhut, and entrance ſtrictly prohibited.

"The houſes of the opulent Turks are large, with the moſt convenient part appropriated as the harèm, which is uſually ſurrounded with a court, be it ever ſo ſmall, having a fountain in the midſt. Theſe apartments are remarkable for their neatneſs, and all the accommodation that the climate and architecture will admit; for it is here only that the poſſeſſor diſplays any expence in ornament, or furniture. As to the houſes in general, they are mere comfortleſs wooden boxes, cool in ſummer, but ill adapted to wet or cold weather, being full of unglazed windows, and without fire-places; in winter ſupplied by earthen pans of charcoal, which ſuffocate whilſt they warm you. The ground floor is a continuation of the ſtreet, and the ſtaircaſe a dirty ladder, frequently in darkneſs.

"That ſuch a ſtillneſs ſhould reign in the crowded ſtreets of a capital, who ever has viſited thoſe of Europe, will obſerve with ſurpriſe; there is no noiſe of carriages, and even 'the buſy haunts of men' are ſcarcely different from the abode of ſilence.

"Much of the romantic air which pervades the domeſtic habits of the perſons deſcribed in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, particularly in inferior life, will be obſerved in paſſing through the ſtreets. And we recur with additional pleaſure to a remembrance of the delight with which we at firſt peruſed them, in finding them authentic portraits of every oriental nation.

"Some years ago no Frank could walk in Conſtantinople without the riſque of incurring inſult, and the merchants of Pera were uſually protected by a janiſſary. At this time no moleſtation is to be feared, at leaſt by a perſon who is prudent enough to give the upper hand to a Turk.

Turk. This favourable change has taken place only ſince the concluſion of the war in 1774. Many victories in ſucceſſion had perſuaded them of their ſuperiority over the Chriſtians, of whom they have ſeveral millions of ſubjects; till at the time above mentioned prince Repnin, attended by ſix hundred ſoldiers, with their drawn ſwords, paraded through the city, when he came to give them that peace, which they had ſo humbly begged of the Ruſſians. This circumſtance has had a wonderful effect in reducing the inſolence and ferocity of their national character.

"Fires are ſo frequent that few months paſs without them, and they are generally ſo furious, that whole diſtricts are lain in aſhes. Houſes are ſo ſoon re-erected, that the former appearance of the ſtreets is ſpeedily reſtored, and little alteration is ever made in their form. Notice of a fire at Conſtantinople, or at Galata, is given by beating a great drum from two high towers; the night watch then patrole the ſtreets, ſtriking the pavement with their ſtaves ſhod with iron, and crying out 'Yangen var'—'There is 'a fire,' naming the place. The ſultan is then ſummoned three times, and when the conflagration has laſted one hour he is forced to attend in perſon, and to bring mules with him laden with piaſtres, which he diſtributes with his own hands to the firemen, who are very inactive before his arrival. Theſe are armed againſt accidents in the ſame manner as they are in London, and are equally expert and adventurous. Fires are extinguiſhed, by pulling down the adjoining houſes, for the engines are very ſmall, and borne on the ſhoulders of two men.

"The perfect reſignation with which a good muſſulman ſees his houſe conſumed by the flames, and himſelf reduced from affluence to poverty, has been often and juſtly remarked by others; he exclaims 'Allah Karim'—'God is merciful,' without apparent emotion, and has aſſured himſelf that the ſame providence which hath made him poor and abject, can once more reſtore him to wealth, if it be his fate. For the women, they have not the praiſe of ſuch philoſophy. They aſſemble in a groupe near the ſultan, and unmercifully load him with the bitterest revilings, particulariſing his own crimes, and the errors of his government, and charging him with the cauſe of their preſent calamity. At ſuch rencounters no crowned head need envy ſultan Selim his ſituation. As this is the only privileged time of conveying the voice of the people to his ears, and as women in Turkey ſay any thing with impunity, it is preſumed that many of the fires are not accidental.

"As a grand ſpectacle, detaching the idea of commiſeration of the calamity from the preſent view, if a volcanic eruption be excepted, none can exceed a great fire at Conſtantinople. The houſes being conſtructed with wood, and frequently communicating with magazines, filled with combuſtible materials, a vaſt column of flame, of the moſt luminous glow, riſes from the centre, which lighting up the moſques, and contiguous cypreſs groves, produces an effect of ſuperior magnificence. In other cities, where the buildings are of

ſtone, the flames are ſeen partially, or are overpowered by ſmoke.

"The merchandiſe and trade of Conſtantinople are carried on principally in the khans, bazars, and bezeſten, according to the cuſtom of the eaſt, each of which requires a ſummary deſcription.

"The khans are ſpacious ſtructures, with quadrangles erected by the munificence of the ſultans, or ſome of the royal family, for the public benefit. They are entirely ſurrounded by a cloiſter and colonade, into which numerous cells open, generally repeated for three ſtories; are built with ſtone and fire proof. Here the merchants from every part of the empire, who travel with caravans, are received with accommodations for themſelves and their valuable traffic.

"In the bazars are aſſembled dealers of each nation under the Turkiſh government, who have ſmall ſhops in front, and a room behind, for their wares. Theſe are very extenſive cloiſters of ſtone, lofty and lighted by domes; are admirably adapted to the climate, and in ſummer are extremely cool. One called the Miſr Charthè, or Egyptian market, is ſet apart for the merchandiſe of Cairo, chiefly minerals and drugs, and is a great curioſity for the naturaliſt.

"Other quarters are occupied by the working jewellers, where raw jewels may be advantageouſly purchaſed; and by the bookſellers, who have each his aſſortment of Turkiſh, Arabic, and Perſian MSS. of which they do not always know the value, but demand a conſiderable price. The oriental ſcholar may here find MSS. equally beautiful and rare, as ſince the civil commotions in Perſia, the moſt elegant books, taken in plunder, have been ſent to Conſtantinople for ſale, to avoid detection.

"The ſtaple articles of importation from England are cloth and block tin, as the conſumption of both is very great. Engliſh watches, prepared for the Levant market, are more in demand than thoſe of other Frank nations, and are one of the firſt articles of luxury that a Turk purchaſes or changes, if he has money to ſpare.

"The national character is here admirably diſcriminated, and to inveſtigate it with ſucceſs no place offers ſuch an opportunity as theſe markets.

"A ſtranger will wonder to ſee ſo many of their ſhops left open, without a maſter or guard; but pilfering is not a Turkiſh vice.

"He ſhould be informed previouſly, that no article of commerce has a ſtated price; bargains muſt be made, and the baſeſt impoſition is counted fair gain. The Turk is fixed to his ſhop-board with his legs under him for many hours, and never relaxes into civility with his Frank cuſtomer, but from the hopes of advantage. One may venture to give him two thirds of his demand; but to thoſe of other nations not more than half. The Greek, more pliant and prevaricating, praiſes his commodity beyond meaſure, and has generally to congratulate himſelf upon having outwitted the moſt cautious dealer. The Armenian, heavy and placid, is rouſed to animation only by the ſight of money, which he cannot withſtand. As for the Jew, every where a Jew, he is more frequently employed as a broker, a buſineſs which

which that people have had addreſs enough to engroſs; and ſome acquit themſelves with honeſty and credit. Thoſe of the lower ſort are walking auctioneers, who tramp over the bazars, and carry the goods with them, vociferating the price laſt offered. Each of theſe nations, which conſtitute the vaſt population of Conſtantinople, has a different mode of covering the head, a circumſtance ſoon learned, and which renders the groupes of figures ſufficiently amuſing, as it breaks the ſameneſs of their other dreſs. The Armenians, Jews, and the mechanical Greeks, uſually wear blue, which the Turks conſider as a diſhonourable colour, and have their ſlippers of a dirty red leather.

"The common trades are diſpoſed, all of one kind in ſingle ſtreets. Shoe-makers, furriers, and pipe-makers, with many others, occupy each their diſtinct diſtrict, and are ſeldom found diſperſed, as in our cities.

"A room of very conſiderable dimenſions, is called the bezeſtèn, or public exchange, where are collected ſecond-hand goods, which are hawked about by the auctioneers. In another part are the ſarraffs, or money changers, Armenians and Jews.

"I regret my incompetency to deſcribe the various mechanic arts which are practiſed in the eaſt, and particularly by the Turks, ſo different from our own; and leave it to ſome future viſitant, well qualified to give the hiſtory of their manufactures, and the divers modes by which the ſame effect is produced, and the ſame utenſils are made.

"The neceſſaries of life are well managed, and the ſhops of cooks, confectioners, and fruiterers, are excellently ſtored, and ſerved with neatneſs. For the greater part of the year, ſherbets with ice are cried about the ſtreets, at a very cheap rate. The bakers exerciſe a lucrative, but a dangerous trade, if they are not proof againſt temptation to fraud. Their weights are examined at uncertain times, and a common puniſhment on detection is nailing their ear to the door-poſt. Upon a complaint made to the late viſier Mehmèt Melek againſt a notorious cheat, he ordered him to be inſtantly hanged. The maſter eſcaped, but the ſervant, a poor Greek, perfectly innocent, was executed. It was remarked to a Turk, that this injuſtice was foreign to the character for clemency, which Melek bore, when he ſarcaſtically replied, 'The viſier had not yet breakfaſted.'

"The coffee-houſes, which abound, are fitted up in an airy Chineſe taſte, and curiouſly painted. Within, they are divided into partitions or ſtages without ſeats, for the Turks ſit as the tailors in England. The reſort of all ranks to them is univerſal and conſtant; and ſome during the greater part of the day, which paſſes there, conſume thirty or forty pipes, and as many cups of coffee, boiling hot, thick, and without ſugar.

"Beſide theſe, near the Oſmanie, are teriaki-hanà, where (afioni) opium is ſold; and taken in gradation from ten to a hundred grains in a day. Intoxication with this noxious drug is certainly leſs prevalent than we have been informed; and he who is entirely addicted to

it, is conſidered with as much pity or diſguſt as an inveterate ſot is with us. The preparation of opium is made with ſeveral rich ſyrups, and inſpiſſated juices, to render it palatable and leſs intoxicating, and reſembles elder rob. It is either taken with a ſpoon, or hardened into ſmall lozenges, ſtamped with the words 'Maſh allàh,' literally 'the work of God.'

"The Turks take opium as an intoxicant, or occaſionally under an idea of its invigorating quality, when unuſual fatigue is to be endured. The Tartar couriers, who travel with aſtoniſhing expedition, generally furniſh themſelves with 'Maſh allàh.' A leading cauſe of its diſuſe is, that the prejudices reſpecting wine are daily relaxing, which accounts for the ſcarcely credible quantity and univerſality mentioned by old writers being unaccordant with modern practice.

"The adminiſtration of juſtice in Conſtantinople is notoriouſly corrupt. It is placed ſolely in the hands of the oulemah, or eccleſiaſtical body, who are confirmed in their rapacity, by being ſecured from the interpoſition of the body politic, as they receive no ſalary from the ſtate. In theſe two cauſes originates a ſyſtem of enormous peculation and bribery, ſo that for the poor there is no redreſs. Turkiſh juriſprudence profeſſes the implicit direction of the koràn, but more attention is paid to the multèkah, or ſonbèt, containing the traditional injunctions; after all, the intereſt or caprice of the judge biaſſes the deciſion.

"The rank of Turkiſh lawyers is the muſti, or deputy to the ſultan; as kalife or oracle of the law, the kadileſcars of Roumily and Anadoly; ſupreme in their diſtinct diſtricts, mollahs, muſelims, and kadies. Theſe hold their mekemehs, or halls of juſtice, where they try criminals and hear cauſes, in which oral teſtimony always prevails againſt written evidence.—Three MSS. of the Koran, the Evangeliſts, and the Pentateuch, are kept by the kadies, who adminiſter oaths upon them, according to the religion of the perſon to be ſworn. Falſe witneſſes are eaſily procured; they frequent certain coffee-houſes, where theſe infamous tranſactions are arranged. If one of theſe wretches be too often detected, or has forfeited the intereſted connivance of the judge, he is given over to the puniſhment of the law. Mounted on an aſs, with his arms and legs tied, and his face toward the tail, he is led through the ſtreets and bazàrs, where he is inſulted with every groſſneſs, and if a Turk fares very ill.

"It is truly remarkable, in ſo great a population, that criminal cauſes do not occur more frequently. Murders are ſeldom heard of, and happen amongſt the ſoldiers oftener than other deſcriptions of people; they are certainly prevented by the prohibition of wearing arms in the capital. If the murderer eſcape juſtice for twenty-four hours, he is not amenable to the law; at leaſt, has a good chance of evading its vengeance. Robberies are not frequent, excepting in the great roads through diſtant provinces, where they are always puniſhed with impalement. There is no place of public execution; and when a criminal is condemned, he is led down the neareſt ſtreet by the

the executioner, who is provided with a large nail and cord, which he places over the door of any ſhop where he is not paid for forbearance. The body is raiſed a few inches only above the ground, and muſt be left untouched for three days. In inſtances of decapitation, the more honourable puniſhment, it is expoſed as long in the ſtreet, with the head under the arm, if a muſſulman, but if a rayah, between the legs. So horrid a ſpectacle excites no emotion in the mind of a Turk, for it is certain, that by no nation, be it as ſavage as it may, is the life of a man ſo lightly regarded as by them. This is a diſguſting, but true ſketch of their laws and executive juſtice.

"Perſonal combat, unknown to the ancients, but ſo univerſal in modern Europe ſince the days of Chivalry, is not practiſed amongſt the Turks, nor is aſſaſſination, the diſgrace of many nations, in any degree frequent. Connections with women, the great cauſe of inveterate quarrels, are ſo arranged as to render interference with each other almoſt impoſſible. Before marriage they are not ſeen by their lovers, and after only by their huſbands and near relatives. There is likewiſe an inviolable point of honour between men reſpecting their harèms, and an avowed libertine would be baniſhed from ſociety. Poiſon, ſecretly given, is the puniſhment he would probably incur.

"To another occaſion of perſonal provocation they are equally ſtrangers. Gaming is prohibited by the Mohammedan law, and as cheſs is their favourite amuſement, their ſingular proficiency is a proof that the love of gain may not be the only inducement to excel. Wagers, or anticipating the chances of any trial of ſkill or common event, they can conſider as unlawful.

"To the abſence of theſe powerful incitements to anger, and to their national ſuavity of manners as confined to themſelves, may be attributed much ſocial harmony, though with fewer examples of diſintereſted friendſhip than amongſt us. The Turk ſhews inſolence or moroſeneſs to thoſe only whom his prejudices exclude from intercourſe.

"The Rammezan, or Turkiſh Lent, laſts for one complete moon, and takes every month in the year, in rotation. No inſtitution can be more ſtrictly or more generally obſerved; it enjoins perfect abſtinence from ſun-riſe to ſun-ſet, from every kind of aliment, even from water. Mohammed did not foreſee that coffee and tobacco would become the chief luxury of his followers, and various were the opinions reſpecting the legality of taking them in Rammezan; which were finally determined in the negative. Theſe are indeed days of penance to the labourer and mechanic, but to the opulent only a pleaſing variety, for they ſleep all day, and in the evening feaſt and make merry; as if they exulted in cheating the prophet. The only ſhow of mortification is a prohibition from entering the harèm during the twelve hours of faſting. Every night of this ſeaſon is ſome appointed feaſt amongſt the officers of the court.

"Nor are the inferior orders deprived of their ſhare of relaxation; for the ſhops of cooks and confectioners, and the coffee-houſes, are unuſually decorated and frequented. There are exhibitions of low humour, and the kara-guze, or puppet

puppet ſhow, repreſented by Chineſe ſhades.

"For the graver ſort, moſt coffee-houſes retain a raccontatorè, or profeſſed ſtory teller, who entertains a very attentive audience for many hours. They relate eaſtern tales, or ſarcaſtic anecdotes of the times, and are ſometimes engaged by government to treat on politics, and to reconcile the people to any recent meaſure of the ſultan or viſier. Their manner is very animated, and their recitation accompanied by much geſticulation. They have the fineſſe, when they perceive the audience numerous, and deeply engaged, to defer the ſequel of their ſtory. The nightly illuminations of every minareh in the city, eſpecially thoſe of the imperial moſques, produce a very ſingular and ſplendid effect. Within each of theſe, the vaſt concaves of the domes are lighted up by ſome hundred lamps of coloured glaſs; and externally cords are thrown acroſs from one minareh to another, and the lamps fantaſtically diſpoſed in letters and figures. I was not more agreeably ſurpriſed by any thing I ſaw in Conſtantinople, than the whole appearance of the firſt night in Rammezan.

"As an indulgence from the ſeverities of Lent, the Turks have their Beyràm, and the Chriſtians their Eaſter. At this ſeaſon, thoſe of every nation appear in new clothes, and exhibit all poſſible gaiety. Places of public reſort are then particularly frequented, and the paſtimes and groupes, excepting in their dreſs, exactly reſemble an Engliſh wake. The Turks are much delighted by a circular ſwing, made by fixing a wheel on a high poſt, from which hang many poles, with ſeats attached to them. I have ſeen ſeveral of theſe bearded children taking this amuſement with great glee, and contraſted with the gravity of their habits nothing could be more ridiculous. The Greeks have an univerſal licenſe, dance through the ſtreets to very rude muſic, and are in the zenith of their vivacity; but the feſtivity of the Armenians, a ſaturnine race, ſeems to conſiſt chiefly in being intoxicated, and jumping with the prepoſterous activity of an elephant. In the Campo de' Morti, near Pera, ſo called from being the cemetery of the Franks and Armenians, many of theſe droll ſcenes may be then contemplated by an inveſtigator of the preciſe traits of character which diſcriminate the maſs of all nations.

"The Turks have ſumptuary laws, and habits peculiar to profeſſions. By the turban differing in ſize and ſhape every man is known; and ſo numerous are theſe diſtinctions, that a dragoman, long converſant with Conſtantinople, told me he knew not half of them. The Emirs, real or pretended deſcendants from the prophet, are diſtinguiſhed by the green muſlin, the others wear white round a cap of cloth, and the head is univerſally very cloſely ſhaven. In the turbans of the oulemah there is a greater profuſion of muſlin, from ten to twenty yards, which are proportionably larger, as the wigs of profeſſional men were formerly. The military, as the janiſſaries, boſtandjis, and topjis, wear caps of the moſt uncouth ſhape and faſhion, ſuch as defy deſcription. The rayahs are known by a head-dreſs called a kalpac, made of lamb-ſkin, and inimitably ugly, differing entirely

tirely from a turban; and ſometimes a ſamour, or black fur cap, which is principally worn by dragomen and phyſicians. In other reſpects they are dreſſed as the Turks. Yellow ſlippers, or boots, are indulged only to thoſe under ambaſſadorial protection, and are an envied diſtinction. When the preſent ſultan came to the throne, he iſſued an edict that no unlicenſed rayah ſhould appear publicly in yellow ſlippers. At that time he took great pleaſure in walking the ſtreets in diſguiſe; when meeting an ill ſtarred Jew dreſſed contrary to law, he ordered his head to be inſtantly ſtruck off. This was his firſt act of ſeverity, which created moſt unfavourable conjectures, not altogether confirmed by his ſubſequent reign.

"The Turks of better rank, and the regular citizens, wear what is called the long dreſs, with outer robes of fine cloth, ſhalloon, or pellices, which are in general uſe for the greater part of the year, and commonly of the moſt coſtly furs. They are ſeldom ſeen without a teſpi in their hands; it is a ſtring of ninety beads, correſponding with the names of the deity, which they carry as much for amuſement as devotion. Hamid Ali, a late viſier, wore one of pearl, ſo perfect as to be valued at 3,000 *l.* ſterling.

"The common people, eſpecially thoſe belonging to any military corps, have a jacket richly ornamented with gold or ſilk twiſt, trowſers of cloth, which cloſe to the middle of the leg, the other part of which is bare, and red ſlippers. Their great pride is to ſtick into their girdles a pair of large horſe piſtols, a yataghán or long knife, a hanjiar or dagger, all profuſely inlaid with ſilver in a groteſque taſte, which, with pouches for ammunition and tobacco, are extremely incommodious and ſeveral pounds weight. With theſe weapons they frequently do miſchief, often from childiſhneſs, ſometimes from intention. Such are ſeen in every town in the empire, excepting the capital, who glory in their privilege, as no rayah is permitted to carry arms.

"By the laws of Iſlamiſm the Turks are forbidden veſſels and utenſils of gold or ſilver, and are directed to great ſimplicity in every habit of life. This injunction does not extend to women, whoſe pride conſiſts in the number and coſtlineſs of their trinkets. The chief luxury of the men is diſplayed in the number of their attendants, and their horſes with ſuperb capariſons, often of embroidered velvet, and plates of ſilver emboſſed and gilt. No rich man appears in public but on horſeback, with a train of footmen, in any part of Conſtantinople, the number of whom is unneceſſarily great, and much of his income is expended in their daily maintenance, and new clothes at the feaſt of Bayràm. Their wages are inconſiderable. No domeſtic performs more than one office; this ſerves the coffee, and that hands the napkin, but no emergency can command any other ſervice.

"The horſes of the Arab, or Tourcoman breed, are eminently beautiful, and are taught to prance under the perfect manêge of the rider, however infirm. Great expence likewiſe is laviſhed on the boats, which are elegant in a high degree, carved, gilded, and lined with rich cuſhions. They coſt from a hundred

a hundred to a thouſand piaſtres each. The rank of the owner is aſcertained by the number of oars, and in dexterity or civility no watermen exceed the Turks.

" Coaches are not in uſe, excepting that the clumſy, nondeſcript vehicles, which convey the ladies of great harèms, can be ſo called. In his pipe an opulent man is extremely ſumptuous; the head muſt be of pale amber, the ſtick of jaſmine wood, with the bark preſerved, and the bowl of a delicate red clay, manufactured at Burgàs, in Romelia, and highly ornamented. According to the dignity of the ſmoker is the length of his pipe, often ſix or ſeven feet, when it is carried by two of his ſervants from place to place, with much ceremony; and the bowl is ſupported by wheels, as an aid to ſupreme indolence. In the ſummer, for greater coolneſs, the ſtem of the pipe is covered with cotton or muſlin, and moiſtened with water. This ſovereign recreation is not confined to the men; the ladies, eſpecially thoſe advanced in life, partake of it largely, and, as a delicacy, they mix the tobacco with frankincenſe, muſk, or aloes wood. The ſultan alone abſtains from etiquette; as kaliſe, or repreſentative of the prophet, he declines deciding, by his own practice, upon the propriety of any cuſtom, about which the law is not ſpecific and declaratory.

" Notwithſtanding their grave exterior, which might prepoſſeſs foreigners with an idea of concealing as much ſtupidity as ſenſe, and apparently ſo ungenial with mirth or vivacity, the Turks, in ſuperior life, of both ſexes, indulge a vein of ſarcaſtic humour, and are not behind more poliſhed nations in the delicacy or ſeverity of their repartees. Moſt gentlemen of the ſeraglio, or capital, have been educated in their ſeminaries of learning, and are converſant with oriental literature. Many of them quote the Perſian poets as happily, and refer to the Arabic philoſophers with as complete erudition, as we can do to the Greek or Roman. The 'Leilat u alf leilah,' or Arabian Nights, firſt introduced into Europe by Monſieur Petit de la Croix, are familiarly known by them, as well as the fables and allegories of Pilpay and Lokman, from which ſources they ſtore their minds as well with ſentiment as expreſſion. To excel in colloquial facility and elegance, is the firſt ambition of every cheliby, or man of breeding.

" I repeat a ſpecimen of Turkiſh wit, related to me as having been occaſioned by a recent circumſtance.

" A man of rank, remarkably unpleaſing in his countenance and figure, was married, according to cuſtom, without having firſt ſeen her unveiled, to a lady whoſe pretenſions to perſonal attraction did not exceed his own. On the morning after their marriage, ſhe demanded of him, to whom of his friends ſhe might ſhew her face with freedom. 'Shew it,' ſaid he, 'to all the world, but hide it from 'me.' 'Patience,' rejoined the lady. 'I have none,' returned the bridegroom. 'Ah!' ſaid ſhe, 'I 'think you muſt have had a good 'ſhare; for you have carried that 'abominable great noſe about with 'you all your life-time.'"

NATURAL

NATURAL HISTORY.

On the Nature of the Diamond. By SMITHSON TENNANT, *Esq. F.R.S.*

From the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, for the Year 1797.

SIR Isaac Newton having observed that inflammable bodies had a greater refraction, in proportion to their denſity, than other bodies, and that the diamond reſembled them in this property, was induced to conjecture that the diamond was of an inflammable nature. The inflammable ſubſtances which he employed, were camphire, oil of turpentine, oil of olives, and amber; theſe he called "fat, ſulphureous, unctuous bodies;" and, uſing the ſame expreſſion reſpecting the diamond, he ſays, it is probably "an unctuous body coagulated." This remarkable conjecture of ſir Iſaac Newton has been ſince confirmed by repeated experiments. It was found that, though the diamond was capable of reſiſting the effects of a violent heat when the air was carefully excluded, yet that, on being expoſed to the action of heat and air, it might be entirely conſumed. But, as the ſole object of theſe experiments was to aſcertain the inflammable nature of the diamond, no attention was paid to the products afforded by its combuſtion; and it ſtill, therefore, remained to be determined, whether the diamond was a diſtinct ſubſtance, or one of the known inflammable bodies; nor was any attempt made to decide this queſtion, till M. Lavoiſier, in 1772, undertook a ſeries of experiments for this purpoſe. He expoſed the diamond to the heat produced by a large lens, and was thus enabled to burn it in cloſe glaſs-veſſels. He obſerved, that the air in which the inflammation had taken place had become partly ſoluble in water, and precipitated from lime-water a white powder, which appeared to be chalk, being ſoluble in acids, with effervescence. As M. Lavoiſier ſeems to have had little doubt that this precipitation was occaſioned by the production of fixed air, ſimilar to that which is afforded by calcareous ſubſtances, he might, as we know at preſent, have inferred that the diamond contained charcoal; but the relation between that ſubſtance and fixed air was then too imperfectly underſtood to juſtify this concluſion. Though he obſerved the reſemblance of charcoal to the diamond, yet he thought that nothing more could be reaſonably deduced from their analogy, than that each of thoſe ſubſtances belonged to the claſs of inflammable bodies.

As the nature of the diamond is ſo extremely ſingular, it ſeemed deſerving of farther examination; and it will appear, from the following experiments, that it conſiſts entirely of charcoal, differing from the uſual ſtate of that ſubſtance only by its cryſtallized

cryſtallized form. From the extreme hardneſs of the diamond, a ſtronger degree of heat is required to inflame it when expoſed merely to air, than can eaſily be applied in cloſe veſſels, except by means of a ſtrong burning lens; but with nitre its combuſtion may be effected in a moderate heat. To expoſe it to the action of heated nitre, free from extraneous matters, I procured a tube of gold, which, by having one end cloſed, might ſerve the purpoſe of a retort; a glaſs tube being adapted to the open end, for collecting the air produced. To be certain that the gold veſſel was perfectly cloſed, and that it did not contain any unperceived impurities which could occaſion the production of fixed air, ſome nitre was heated in it till it had become alkaline, and afterwards diſſolved out by water; but the ſolution was perfectly free from fixed air, as it did not affect the tranſparency of lime-water. When the diamond was deſtroyed in the gold veſſel by nitre, the ſubſtance which remained precipitated lime from lime-water; and, with acids, afforded nitrous and fixed air; and it appeared ſolely to conſiſt of nitre, partly decompoſed, and of aërated alkali.

In order to eſtimate the quantity of fixed air which might be obtained from a given weight of diamonds, two grains and a half of ſmall diamonds were weighed with great accuracy, and, being put into the tube, with a quarter of an ounce of nitre, were kept in a ſtrong red heat for about an hour and a half. The heat being gradually increaſed, the nitre was in ſome degree rendered alkaline before the diamonds began to be inflamed; by which means almoſt all the fixed air was retained by the alkali of the nitre. The air which came over was produced by the decompoſition of the nitre, and contained ſo little fixed air as to occaſion only a very ſlight precipitation from lime-water. After the tube had grown cold, the alkaline matter contained in it was diſſolved in water, and the whole of the diamonds were found to have been deſtroyed. As an acid would diſengage nitrous air from this ſolution, as well as the fixed air, the quantity of the latter could not, in that manner, be accurately determined. To obviate this inconveniency, the fixed air was made to unite with calcareous earth, by pouring into the alkaline ſolution a ſufficient quantity of a ſaturated ſolution of marble in marine acid. The veſſel which contained them, being cloſed, was left undiſturbed till the precipitate had fallen to the bottom; the ſolution having been previouſly heated, that it might ſubſide more perfectly. The clear liquor being found, by means of lime-water, to be quite free from fixed air, was carefully poured off from the calcareous precipitate *. The veſſel which was uſed on this occaſion was a glaſs globe, having a tube annexed to it, that the quantity of the fixed air might be more accurately meaſured. After as much quickſilver had been poured into the glaſs globe containing the calcareous precipitate as was neceſſary to fill it, it was inverted in a veſſel

* If much water had remained, a conſiderable portion of the fixed air would have been abſorbed by it. But, by the ſame method as that deſcribed above, I obſerved that as much fixed air might be obtained from a ſolution of mineral alkali, as by adding an acid to an equal quantity of the ſame kind of alkali.

of

of the ſame fluid. Some marine acid being then made to paſs up into it, the fixed air was expelled from the calcareous earth; and, in this experiment, in which two grains and a half of diamonds had been employed, occupied the ſpace of little more than 10.1 ounces of water.

The temperature of the room, when the air was meaſured, was at 55°, and the barometer ſtood at about 29.8 inches.

From another experiment, made in a ſimilar manner, with one grain and a half of diamonds, the air which was obtained occupied the ſpace of 6.18 ounces of water; according to which proportion, the bulk of the fixed air from two grains and a half, would have been equal to 10.3 ounces.

The quantity of fixed air which was thus produced by the diamond, does not differ much from that which, according to M. Lavoiſier, might be obtained from an equal weight of charcoal. In the memoirs of the French Academy of Sciences for the year 1781, he has related the various experiments which he made to aſcertain the proportion of charcoal and oxygen in fixed air. From thoſe which he conſidered as moſt accurate, he concluded, that 100 parts of fixed air contain nearly 28 parts of charcoal, and 72 of oxygen. He eſtimates the weight of a cubic inch of fixed air, under the preſſure and in the temperature above mentioned, to be 695 parts of a grain. If we reduce the French weights and meaſures to Engliſh, and then compute how much fixed air, according to this proportion, two grains and a half of charcoal would produce, we ſhall find that it ought to occupy very nearly the bulk of 10 ounces of water.

M. Lavoiſier ſeems to have thought, that the aërial fluid produced by the combuſtion of the diamond, was not ſo ſoluble in water as that produced from calcareous ſubſtances. From its reſemblance, however, in various properties, hardly any doubt could remain that it conſiſted of the ſame ingredients; and I found, upon combining it with lime, and expoſing it to heat with phoſphorus, that it afforded charcoal, in the ſame manner as any other calcareous ſubſtance.

On the Action of Nitre upon Gold and Platina. By the ſame.

From the ſame.

GOLD, which cannot be calcined by expoſure to heat and air, has been alſo conſidered as incapable of being affected by nitre. But, in the courſe of ſome experiments on the diamond, an account of which has been communicated to the Royal Society, I obſerved, that when nitre was heated in a tube of gold, and the diamond was not in ſufficient quantity to ſupply the alkali of the nitre with fixed air, a part of the gold was diſſolved. From this obſervation, I was induced to examine more particularly the action of nitre upon gold, as well as to enquire whether it would produce any effect upon ſilver and platina.

With this intention, I put ſome thin pieces of gold into the tube, together with nitre, and expoſed them to a ſtrong red heat for two or three hours. After the tube was taken from the fire, the part of the nitre

nitre which remained, conſiſting of cauſtic alkali and of nitre partially decompoſed, weighed 140 grains; and ſixty grains of the gold were found to have been diſſolved. Upon the addition of water, about fifty grains of the gold were precipitated, in the form of a black powder. The gold which was thus precipitated, was principally in its metallic ſtate, the greater portion of it being inſoluble in marine acid. The remaining gold, about ten grains in weight, communicated to the alkaline ſolution, in which it was retained, a light yellow colour. By dropping into this ſolution diluted vitriolic or nitrous acid, it became at firſt of a deeper yellow; but, if viewed by the tranſmitted light, it ſoon appeared green, and afterwards blue. This alteration of the colour, from yellow to blue, ariſes from the gradual precipitation of the gold in its metallic form, which, by the tranſmitted light, is of a blue colour. Though the gold is precipitated from this ſolution in its metallic form, yet there ſeems to be no doubt that, while it remains diſſolved, it is entirely in the ſtate of calx. Its precipitation, in the metallic ſtate, is occaſioned by the nitre contained in the ſolution, which, having loſt part of its oxygen by heat, appears to be capable of attracting it from the calx of gold; for I found that if the calx of gold is diſſolved, by being boiled in cauſtic alkali, and a ſufficient quantity of nitre, which has loſt ſome of its air by heat, is mixed with it, the gold is precipitated by an acid in its metallic ſtate *.

Having found that nitre would diſſolve gold, I tried whether it would produce any effect upon platina.

It has been formerly obſerved, that the grains of platina, in the impure ſtate in which it is originally found, might, by being long heated in a crucible with nitre, be reduced to powder. Lewis, from his own experiments, and thoſe of Margraaf, thought that the iron only which is contained in the grains of platina, was corroded by the nitre. But by heating nitre with ſome thin pieces of pure platina, in a cup of the ſame metal, I found that the platina was eaſily diſſolved; the cup being much corroded, and the thin pieces entirely deſtroyed. By diſſolving the ſaline matter in water, the greater part of the platina was precipitated in the form of a brown powder. This

* As the precipitation of gold in its metallic form, by nitre which has loſt ſome of its oxygen, has not, I believe, been noticed, it may not be improper to mention ſome of thoſe facts relating to it, which ſeem moſt entitled to attention. Nitre which has been heated ſome time, precipitates gold in its metallic ſtate, from a ſolution in aqua regia, if it is diluted with water. If a ſolution of gold in nitrous acid is dropped into pure water, the calx of gold is ſeparated, which is of a yellow colour; but, if the water contains a very ſmall portion of nitre which has loſt ſome of its air by heat (as one grain in ſix ounces) the gold is deprived of its oxygen, and becomes blue. The alkali of the nitre does not aſſiſt in producing this effect. Nitrous acid alone, which does not contain its full proportion of oxygen, occaſions the ſame precipitation, unleſs it is very ſtrong; and, if a mixture of ſuch ſtrong nitrous acid, and of a ſolution of gold in nitrous acid, is dropped into water, the gold is deprived of its oxygen, and is precipitated of a blue colour. Two cauſes contribute to produce this effect upon the addition of water. The adheſion of the calx of gold to nitrous acid is by that means weakened; and the oxygen is attached more ſtrongly to the imperfect nitrous acid, in conſequence of their attraction for water when they are united.

powder,

powder, which was entirely ſoluble in marine acid, conſiſted of the calx of platina, combined with a portion of alkali, which could not be ſeparated by being boiled in water. The platina, which was retained by the alkaline ſolution, communicated to it a brown yellow colour. By adding an acid to it, a precipitate was formed, which conſiſted of the calx of platina, of alkali, and of the acid which was employed.

Silver, I found to be a little corroded by nitre. But, as its action upon that metal was very inconſiderable, it did not appear to be deſerving of a more particular examination.

Deſcription of the Oeſtrus Equi. By Mr. BRACY CLARK, *Veterinary Surgeon, and F. L. S.*

From Obſervations on the genus Oeſtrus, in the Tranſactions of the Linnean Society, Vol. III.

"THE mode purſued by the parent fly to obtain for its young a ſituation in the ſtomach of the horſe is truly ſingular, and is effected in the following manner:—When the female has been impregnated, and the eggs are ſufficiently matured, ſhe ſeeks among the horſes a ſubject for her purpoſe, and approaching it on the wing, ſhe holds her body nearly upright in the air, and her tail, which is lengthened for the purpoſe, curved inwards and upwards: in this way ſhe approaches the part where ſhe deſigns to depoſit the egg; and ſuſpending herſelf for a few ſeconds before it, ſuddenly darts upon it, and leaves the egg adhering to the hair: ſhe hardly appears to ſettle, but merely touches the hair with the egg held out on the projected point of the abdomen. The egg is made to adhere by means of a glutinous liquor ſecreted with it. She then leaves the horſe at a ſmall diſtance, and prepares a ſecond egg, and, poiſing herſelf before the part, depoſits it in the ſame way. The liquor dries, and the egg becomes firmly glued to the hair: this is repeated by various flies, till 4 or 500 eggs are ſometimes placed on one horſe.

"The horſes, when they become uſed to this fly, and find it does them no injury, as the Tabani and Conopes, by ſucking their blood, hardly regard it, and do not appear at all aware of its inſidious object.

"The ſkin of the horſe is always thrown into a tremulous motion on the touch of this inſect, which merely ariſes from the very great irritability of the ſkin and cutaneous muſcles at this ſeaſon of the year, occaſioned by the continual teaſing of the flies, till at length theſe muſcles act involuntarily on the ſlighteſt touch of any body whatever.

"The inſide of the knee is the part on which theſe flies are moſt fond of depoſiting their eggs, and next to this on the ſide and back part of the ſhoulder, and leſs frequently on the extreme ends of the hairs of the mane. But it is a fact worthy of attention, that the fly does not place them promiſcuouſly about the body, but conſtantly on thoſe parts which are moſt liable to be licked with the tongue; and the ova, therefore, are always ſcrupulouſly placed within its reach. Whether this be an act of reaſon or of inſtinct,

inſtinct, it is certainly a very remarkable one. I ſhould ſuſpect, with Dr. Darwin, it cannot be the latter, as that ought to direct the performance of any act in one way only.

"Whichever of theſe it may be, it is, without doubt, one of the ſtrongeſt examples of pure inſtinct, or of the moſt circuitous reaſoning any inſect is capable of. The eggs thus depoſited, I at firſt ſuppoſed were looſened from the hairs by the moiſture of the tongue, aided by its roughneſs, and were conveyed to the ſtomach, where they were hatched; but, on more minute ſearch, I do not find this to be the caſe, or at leaſt only by accident, for when they have remained on the hairs four or five days, they become ripe, after which time the ſlighteſt application of warmth and moiſture is ſufficient to bring forth in an inſtant the latent larva. At this time, if the tongue of the horſe touches the egg, its operculum is thrown open, and a ſmall active worm is produced, which readily adheres to the moiſt ſurface of the tongue, and is from thence conveyed with the food to the ſtomach. If the egg itſelf be taken up by accident, it may paſs on to the inteſtinal canal before it hatches; in which caſe its exiſtence to the full growth is more precarious, and certainly not ſo agreeable, as it is expoſed to the bitterneſs of the bile.

"I have often, with a pair of ſciſſars, clipped off ſome hairs with the eggs on them, from the horſe, and on placing them in the hand, moiſtened with ſaliva, they have hatched in a few ſeconds. At other times, when not perfectly ripe, the larva would not appear, though held in the hand under the ſame circumſtances for ſeveral hours; a ſufficient proof that the eggs themſelves are not conveyed to the ſtomach.

"It is fortunate for the animals infeſted by theſe inſects, that their numbers are limited by the hazards they are expoſed to. I ſhould ſuſpect near a hundred are loſt, for one that arrives at the perfect ſtate of a fly. The eggs, in the firſt place, when ripe, often hatch of themſelves, and the larva, without a nidus, crawls about till it dies; others are waſhed off by the water, or are hatched by the ſun and moiſture thus applied together.

"When in the mouth of the animal they have the dreadful ordeal of the teeth and maſtication to paſs through. On their arrival at the ſtomach, they may paſs, mixed with the maſs of food, into the inteſtines; and, when full grown, on dropping from the anus to the ground, a dirty road or water may receive them.—If on the commons, they are in danger of being cruſhed to death, or of being picked up by the birds who ſo conſtantly for food attend the footſteps of the cattle. Such are the contingencies by which Nature has wiſely prevented the too great increaſe of their numbers, and the total deſtruction of the animals they feed on."

Curious fact in the Hiſtory of the common Mole.

By ARTHUR BRUCE, *Eſq. &c.*

[*From the ſame.*]

"THAT the mole does, in common with other quadrupeds and man

man, poſſeſs that ſpirit of curioſity which prompts to emigration and even to tranſmarine expeditions, I found out laſt ſummer from the beſt authenticated facts.

"In viſiting the Loch of Clunie, which I often did, I obſerved in it a ſmall iſland at the diſtance of 180 yards from the neareſt land, meaſured to be ſo upon the ice. Upon the iſland, lord Airly, the proprietor, has a caſtle and a ſmall ſhrubbery. I obſerved frequently the appearance of freſh mole-caſts, or hills. I for ſome time took it to be the water-mouſe, and one day aſked the gardener if it was ſo? No, he ſaid, it was the mole; and that he had caught one or two lately. But that five or ſix years ago he had caught two in traps; and for two years after this he had obſerved none. But about four years ago, coming aſhore in a ſummer's evening in the duſk, the 4th or 5th of June, 10 o'clock P. M. he and another reſpectable perſon, lord Airly's butler, ſaw at a ſmall diſtance upon the ſmooth water, ſome animal paddling to, and not far diſtant from the iſland. They ſoon, too ſoon! cloſed with this feeble paſſenger, and found it to be our common mole, led by a moſt aſtoniſhing inſtinct from the neareſt point of land (the caſtle hill) to take poſſeſſion of this deſert iſland. It was at this time for about the ſpace of two years quite free from any ſubterraneous inhabitant; but the mole has for more than a year paſt made its appearance again, and its operations I was witneſs to.

"In the hiſtory of this animal, I do not at preſent recollect any fact ſo ſtriking; eſpecially when we conſider the great depth of the water, both in ſummer and winter—from ſix to ten, fifteen, and ſome places as deep as thirty or forty feet, all round the iſland."

Account of a Child born without a Brain. By Dr. HEYSHAM.

[*From Hutchinſon's Hiſtory of Cumberland.*]

I SHALL conclude the obſervations on the bills of mortality, with an account of a very curious and important circumſtance in phyſiology, which occurred at Carliſle during the preſent year. A child was born apparently at the full time, not only alive, but which lived and took nouriſhment ſeveral days, without the ſmalleſt veſtige of a brain. In all my reading I do not recollect to have met with ſo extraordinary a phenomenon; nor does it appear that profeſſor Monro, who has ſpent the greateſt part of his time in anatomical and phyſiological purſuits, has either ſeen or read of any thing exactly ſimilar. He has indeed, in his ingenious obſervations on the ſtructure and functions of the nervous ſyſtem, publiſhed in 1783, favoured the world with ſome plates, which repreſent the heads of two children, born at the full time, in which the bones which generally form the top of the cranium are wanting, and in which the brain, which is extremely ſmall, projects like an excreſcence. In theſe two inſtances, however, there was a ſmall portion of brain in each, and though both the children are ſtated to have been born at the full time, yet it does not appear that they were even born

alive, much leſs that they lived any time after birth; for, if either had been the caſe, we cannot ſuppoſe that a gentleman of Dr. Monro's great accuracy, would have omitted circumſtances ſo remarkable; but I think we may, on the contrary, infer from his ſilence, and from the following concluſions, which he himſelf draws from the above-mentioned monſtrous productions, and which I ſhall take the liberty of quoting, as the work is not in every perſon's hands, that they were really born dead:—

"Nay we may, perhaps, go a ſtep farther, and doubt whether, inſtead of conſidering the brain as the origin of the nerves, we ought not to conſider it merely as connected with the nerves; or whether there are better reaſons for ſuppoſing the brain to produce the nerves, than for ſuppoſing the nerves to produce the brain. Some facts, at leaſt, may be here obſerved, which ſeem to ſhew that the nerves may exiſt, independent of the brain.

"I. In children delivered at the full time, plump and well formed in their trunk and limbs, I have obſerved the ſubſtance which ſupplied the place of the brain, not more bulky than a ſmall nut; and, inſtead of containing a white medullary ſubſtance, it was of a red colour, reſembling a clot of blood: and ſmall cords, occupying the place of the optic nerves were likewiſe of a red colour. Yet the ſpinal marrow, and all the nerves from it, had the ordinary ſize and appearance.

"II. In a monſtrous kitten, with two bodies and the appearance of one head, I found the ſpinal marrow of one of the bodies connected with a brain and cerebellum of the common ſhape and ſize. But the ſpinal marrow of the other body, though equally large, had only a ſmall button of medullary ſubſtance at its upper end, without a ſuitable brain or cerebellum *."

At eight o'clock on Monday morning, May 26, 1788, Mary Clarke, aged 26 years, and the mother of ſix children, ſome of whom are healthy and others unhealthy, was delivered of a living female child, at the expence of the Carliſle diſpenſary.

The midwife, ſhocked at the ſtrange and unuſual appearance of the child's head, ſent for me immediately. I got there about an hour after the delivery, and at firſt ſight, it appeared evident that the bones which form the upper part of the ſcull were wanting, and that the brain was only covered by its proper membranes, the pia and dura mater, and reſembled a large excreſcence which projected a little over the common integuments, eſpecially towards the forehead, where it extended over the root of the noſe. The colour of this ſubſtance was a dark reddiſh brown, and upon examining it more particularly, I thought I could perceive the diviſion of the two hemiſpheres of the brain, and likewiſe the diviſion of the cerebrum from the cerebellum. I gently raiſed with my fingers, a part of it which projected over the integuments, which made the child cry, and produced a conſiderable ſtarting, ſimilar to what is occaſioned by an electric ſhock. The

* See Monro's Obſervations on the Nervous Syſtem, page 26, 116, and Table VIII.

child

child was full grown, and ſeemed in perfect health, her limbs were plump, firm, and well proportioned, and ſhe moved them with apparent agility. The external organs of ſenſe were alſo perfect. She ſwallowed well, and took a ſufficient quantity of nouriſhment for ſeveral days, but ſometimes during the action of ſwallowing ſtarted a little. She lived till five o'clock on Sunday morning, June the 1ſt, when ſhe expired. Some time before her death ſhe was affected with ſlight convulſions. During the three or four days preceding her death, there was a conſtant diſcharge of a thin watery fluid, ſomewhat tinged with blood, from the excreſcence, which greatly diminiſhed its bulk; for at her death, it was only about half the ſize of what it had been when ſhe was born, and the ſurface was, in ſome places, beginning to put on an appearance of mortification.

A few hours after her death, Dr. Blamire, and Mr. Charles Fariſh, accompanied me to the houſe, where Dr. Blamire very cautiouſly diſſected, away from the bones, the whole of the ſubſtance; when we found the greateſt part of the frontal, the temporal, the occipital, and the whole of the parietal bones wanting. The ſubſtance removed was then carefully examined, and what was our aſtoniſhment to find it entirely to conſiſt of membranes, blood-veſſels, but principally of ſeveral bags; one of which was as large as a nutmeg, the reſt of different ſizes, but much ſmaller. They were all filled with a browniſh coloured fluid; which, when the cyſts were punctured, guſhed out with ſome violence.

There was not the leaſt appearance of cerebrum, cerebellum, or any medullary ſubſtance whatever. The ſpinal marrow had a natural appearance, but did not ſeem to have been connected with the parts above deſcribed.

Having accurately related the facts as they appeared to Dr. Blamire and myſelf, which for their ſingularity deſerve to be recorded; I think the few following obvious inferences may be drawn from them. 1. That the fluid diſcharged from the excreſcence during the life of the infant, and which produced the great diminution of its bulk, was occaſioned by the rupture, or eroſion of cyſts, ſimilar to thoſe which remained ſound and full of water after death. 2d. That the living principle, the nerves of the trunk, and extremities, ſenſation and motion, may exiſt independent of, and that the natural, vital, and animal functions, may be performed without, the brain. And as the external organs of ſenſe, viz. the eyes, the noſe, the tongue, and the ears, all ſeemed perfect; may we not, therefore, ſuppoſe, that the optic, the olfactory, the guſtatory, and the auditory nerves, may exiſt independent of, and unconnected with either the brain or ſpinal marrow?

I content myſelf with little more than deſcribing this extraordinary caſe, and leave to others to deduce from it, ſuch conclusions as the appearances obſerved may be thought to warrant.

Account of a Change in the Complexion of a Negro.

[*From the Monthly Magazine.*]

Sir,

I HAVE lately received, from a very reſpectable correſpondent, at Philadelphia, ſome particular information reſpecting a negro man of Virginia, who, in 1792, at about the age of 38 years, began to change from a black to white complexion. I think the facts are ſo extraordinary, as to merit preſervation; and that this purpoſe will be no where better anſwered, than by giving an abridged ſtate of them a place in your uſeful repoſitory. They are as follow:

In July, 1796, Henry Moſs came to Philadelphia, and returned to Virginia in November following. He produced a certificate, of which the following is a copy:

"I do hereby certify, that I have been well acquainted with Henry Moſs, who is the bearer hereof, upwards of thirty years; the whole of which time, he has ſupported an honeſt character. In the late war, he enliſted with me in the continental army, as a ſoldier, and behaved himſelf very well as ſuch. From the firſt of my acquaintance with him, till within two or three years paſt, he was of as dark a complexion as any African; and, without any known cauſe, it has changed to what it is at preſent. He was free-born, and ſerved his time with major John Brint, late of Charlotte county. Given under my hand, the 2d of September, 1794. "JOSEPH HOLT,
"Bedford county."

He was alſo perſonally known to ſeveral of the other officers of the regiment in which he ſerved, who aſſerted, that he was then black, and that there was no reaſon to queſtion his veracity. When at Philadelphia, the preſident (Waſhington) ſaw him, as well as many others, whoſe notice of him was attracted by the ſingularity of the caſe. He appeared to be a modeſt, well-behaved man, and the clear pertinent manner in which he anſwered their various queſtions, left them in no doubt of the truth of ſuch parts of his ſtory as reſted on his own credit. Being aſked a great many, tending to diſcover whether the change had been effected by any alteration in his mode of life or diet, of his health, of cutaneous diſorders, or remedies uſed for their removal, or any other phyſical cauſe? nothing appeared to account for it.

He has all the features common to the African, though not ſo ſtrongly marked. His ſtature is about five feet ſix inches; his age 42 years. On his face, from the roots of his hair, on the ſinciput, about one inch in breadth, extending by his right ear, with increaſe of breadth under his chin, and upwards, to within two inches of the left ear, is perfectly fair as any European. From the eye-lids, above both eyes, the African complexion has entirely diſappeared. For nearly one inch in latitude, under the right eye, there is a ſmall white ſtreak; and under the left eye, a broader one. Around his mouth, is a ſtreak of white, ſhaded by another remaining ſtreak of black, reaching nearly to the chin, under which, all round his neck, he has a very fair European complexion. The lines dividing the black from the white, are not regularly defined, but indented

and inſulated, the borders appearing as iſlands and peninſulas, as they are repreſented on the chart of a ſea coaſt. The whole of his breaſt, arms, and legs, ſo far as it was decent to expoſe them to a mixed company, were of a clear European complexion, interſperſed with ſmall ſpecks of his original colour, as freckles on the ſkin of a fair woman appear in ſummer. The backs and palms of his hands are alſo perfectly fair; but on their ſides, from the wriſts to the ends of his thumbs and fingers, there are ſtripes of black; and on the outſides of his thumbs and fingers, there are ſpots of it. But, generally, between the limbs, and wherever ſkin meets ſkin, and is covered by clothing, the change is perfect from the colour of an African, to that of a fair European; and it was believed, that the whole of the former, then remaining, if accurately meaſured, would not amount to one ſquare foot. His hair is undergoing a ſimilar change, from the black criſpy wool of the African, to the ſoft curly hair of an European, wherever the colour of the ſkin is altered; and in the white parts, it is become ſoft and long, inſtead of harſh and ſhort.—Upon preſſing his ſkin with a finger, the part preſſed appeared white; and on removal of the preſſure, the diſplaced blood ruſhed back, ſuffuſing the part with red, exactly as in the caſe of an European, in like circumſtances; and his veins, and their ramifications, had the ſame appearance. In the borders of the two colours, there appeared no diſcontinuity, or fiſſure, in the external ſurface of the ſkin; and it ſeemed evident, that the change was not occaſioned by the caſting off the epidermis, but by the diſſolution of the rete mucoſum, between the dermis and epidermis: ſo that he was not ſenſible of the leaſt obſtruction, on the paſſage of a razor from the black to the white, or from the white to the black parts of his face.

He ſaid, that his paternal grandfather was born in Africa, and his grandmother an Indian native of America; that his father (the iſſue of their marriage) married a mulatto woman, born of an African father, and an Iriſh mother; and that his maternal grandfather was a native of Africa.—That about February, 1792, he firſt perceived a change in his ſkin, about the roots of his finger-nails, which extended to the length of the firſt joints; that about two months afterwards, the back of his neck began to change, gradually extending downward, and round his body, to moſt parts covered by his clothes; that the alteration was greater in the ſecond, than the firſt year; and that he has not perceived much, if any, progreſs in the winter, or cold weather. In the latter part of the ſummer of 1796, it was ſo rapid on his face and hands, that ſeveral who reviſited him, after an abſence of twelve or fourteen days, diſcovered a very obvious alteration; and they had no doubt, that if he ſhould live over another ſummer or two, the change would be completed throughout. He remarked, that ſince it began, he has been much more ſenſible of the heat of the ſun on his ſhoulders, than formerly; and that bliſters and freckles have been raiſed on every part which holes in his clothes had expoſed to its action; and alſo, that he has felt the cold much more ſenſibly than before.

Such is the hiſtory, ſo far as it

goes, of the change of a negro to a white man—a change, which, had Henry Moſs happened to have been a ſlave, would have furniſhed an irrefragable argument for annihilating his owner's claim. Now as, on the preſent prevailing ſyſtem of morality, a black colour ſo clearly authorizes the extreme degradation of a conſiderable portion of the human race; and as the change from white to black muſt be admitted as equally poſſible with the reverſe above ſtated, it may be well for the white ſlave dealers, and their fair abettors, whether legiſlators or others, to conſider how far they may be perſonally intereſted in perpetuating ſuch a criterion: as by it, they may ultimately be doomed to the wretchedneſs, to which they are now devoting millions, unimpeached of any crime more atrocious than that of differing from themſelves in complexion.

D. W.

London, April 17, 1797.

USEFUL

USEFUL PROJECTS.

First Report from the Committee on Waſte Lands, &c.

The Committee appointed to take into conſideration the Means of promoting the Cultivation and Improvement of the Waſte, Uninclоſed, and Unproductive Lands, and the Common Arable Fields, Common Meadows, and Common of Paſture in this Kingdom; and who were empowered to report their Proceeding, together with their Opinion thereon, from Time to Time, to the Houſe,

HAVING proceeded to that important inquiry, and having examined ſeveral intelligent perſons upon the ſubject, and had ſeveral papers and other documents laid before them, have thought it expedient to loſe no time in ſubmitting to the conſideration of the Houſe the information they have already collected; and for that purpoſe will ſtate with as much brevity as poſſible,

I. The progreſs that has hitherto been made in the incloſure of land by private acts, in ſo far as the ſame can be aſcertained.

II. The extent of land remaining uninclоſed, and the means which, in the judgment of your committee, are likely to be moſt effectual for the ſpeedy incloſure thereof.

I.

Progreſs of Incloſure by Private Acts.

The firſt act for the incloſure of lands according to the modern ſyſtem, is that of Ropley, in the county of Southampton, anno 1709-10. This, as might be expected in a new attempt, was oppoſed, though, fortunately, without ſucceſs *. Only one other act paſſed in the reign of Queen Anne; namely, that of Thromarton, alias Farmington, in the county of Glouceſter. In the reign of George I. there were but ſixteen acts; in that of George II. only 226. The remainder, amounting to 1,532, have all taken place during the reign of his preſent Majeſty, and prior to the firſt ſeſſion of the preſent parliament.

The following Table will give ſome idea of the number of theſe bills that paſſed every ten years, and the average thereof, commencing anno 1726; ſince which period, acts of incloſure have paſſed in a greater or ſmaller number every year.

Number of Bills for Ten Years.

Ending anno	1735	38	4
	1745	39	4
	1755	61	6
	1765	312	31
	1775	471	47
	1785	469	47
	1796	371	37

* See Petition againſt Ropley Incloſure, *Comm. Jour.* Vol. XVI. p. 381.

Your

Your Committee next proceeded to draw up an abſtract of the acts of incloſure which have paſſed for each county; and an eſtimate of the extent of land thereby incloſed in each. The number of acts could be in general ſufficiently aſcertained by peruſing the titles to the ſtatutes paſſed each year; but the extent of land thereby incloſed could not ſo eaſily be known. In the greater part of the acts, it is true, that ſome general eſtimate is given of the land to be incloſed, but in 1776 acts, there are no leſs a number than 466, which do not ſpecify the contents in acres.

In this ſituation, your Committee were of opinion, that the beſt rule to proceed upon was to take the average number of acres, where the contents were ſpecified, as the rule of calculation where the extent was unknown; and the following Table is drawn up on that principle:—

General Table of the Acts of Incloſure, from the Commencement of the Reign of Queen Anne, to the Concluſion of the Seſſion of the 17th Parliament of Great Britain, 37 George III. anno 1797.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
COUNTY.	Number of Acts where the Extent is ſpecified.	Extent of Land incloſed, where the Number of Acres is ſpecified.	Number of Acts where the Extent is not ſpecified.	Probable Extent where the Number of Acres is not ſpecified.	Total Number of Acts.	TOTAL EXTENT.
Bedford	17	30,031	14	24,732	31	54,763
Berks	7	6,333	20	153,333	27	159,666
Bucks	31	38,457	22	26,899	53	63,356
Cambridge	5	8,816	2	3,516	7	12,352
Cheſter	12	10,563	-	-	12	10,563
Cumberland	7	25,146	11	38,087	18	63,233
Derby	63	54,985	11	9,600	74	64,585
Dorſet	9	13,354	5	6,308	14	19,622
Durham	26	64,115	-	-	26	64,615
Eſſex	2	1,022	1	511	3	1,533
Glouceſter	39	51,471	35	46,192	74	27,663
Hereford	7	3,320	-	-	7	3,300
Hertford	6	8,022	3	4,011	9	12,033
Huntingdon	19	30,750	8	14,471	27	45,321
Lancaſter	27	26,801	1	993	28	27,994
Leiceſter	117	161,208	18	24,814	135	186,102
Lincoln	153	368,018	19	46,879	172	414,897
Middleſex	2	3,350	3	4,525	5	7,875
Norfolk	37	70,176	16	30,346	53	100,222
Northampton	97	157,956	39	48,852	127	206,808

(continued.)

General Table continued.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
Northumberland	30	111,248	- -	- - -	30	111,248
Nottingham -	60	108,541	19	34,223	79	142,764
Oxford - - -	34	50,736	33	49,224	67	99,980
Rutland - - -	15	23,704	3	4,541	18	27,245
Salop - - -	16	18,920	2	2,365	18	21,285
Somerfet - -	42	44,986	3	3,214	45	48,200
Southampton -	20	15,782	15	11,587	35	27,369
Stafford - - -	35	35,646	3	3,027	38	38,673
Suffolk - - -	7	7,501	1	1,072	8	8,573
Surry - - -	2	437	1	218	3	615
Suffex - - -	4	1,450	- -	- - -	4	1,450
Warwick - -	38	49,155	31	40,134	69	89,289
Weftmoreland -	2	2,158	11	11,689	13	14,027
Wilts - - - -	18	31,681	36	63,368	54	95,052
Worcefter - -	26	24,184	36	33,486	62	57,670
York - - - -	265	338,757	50	63,954	315	402,711
	1,297	1,997,372	454	806,501	1,761	2,803,873
WALES.						
Flint - - - -	6	16,990	- -	- - -	6	16,990
Glamorgan - -	1	750	- -	- - -	1	750
Monmouth - -	1	780	- -	- - -	1	780
Montgomery -	4	8,626	1	2,157	5	10,783
Pembroke - -	1	2,450	1	2,450	2	4,900
	13	28,596	2	4,507	15	33,203
	1,310	2,025,968	466	811,108	1,776	2,837,873
Total number of inclofures from the commencement of the reign of Queen Anne, to the conclufion of the feffion of the 17th parliament of Great Britain - - -	1,297	1,997,372	464	806,501	1,761	2,803,873
D° in Wales -	19	28,596	2	4,607	15	33,203
GRAND TOTAL	1,310	2,025,968	466	811,108	1,776	2,837,873

On

On the preceding Table your Committee beg leave to remark, that no acts of inclofure have taken place in the counties of Devon and Cornwall; and a very few in proportion to its extent in the principality of Wales. Indeed there is every reafon to imagine that counties at a diftance from the metropolis are deterred from making applications to parliament, by the difficulty in obtaining fuch acts, and the expence attending them; and that no extenfive plan of improvement can be expected in the more remote parts of the kingdom whilft the prefent fyftem continues.

Your Committee have alfo thought proper to draw up a table of the acts, according to the reigns of the different fovereigns, together with a calculation of the extent of land inclofed in each reign.

General Table of Acts of Inclofures, according to the Reigns of the different Sovereigns.

Reign.	Number of Acts.	Extent of Land inclofed.
Queen Anne - -	2 -	1,438
George I. -	16 -	17,660
George II. -	226 -	318,778
George III. -	1,532 -	2,804,197
	1,776	2,837,873

It would alfo have been defireable to have diftinguifhed the extent of wafte land inclofed, compared to that of common fields or lands of an arable nature; but to have afcertained the fame with any tolerable accuracy, would have required fo much time, and been attended with fo many difficulties, that your Committee were under the neceffity of giving up the idea.

II.

On the Extent of Land remaining uninclofed, and the Means which might be adopted for more effectually promoting the Inclofure thereof.

HAVING endeavoured to afcertain the quantity of land already inclofed, it would have been extremely defireable, in the next place, to have laid before the Houfe an accurate ftatement of the extent of land ftill remaining uninclofed, reftricting the eftimate to England, as the waftes and commons of Scotland do not come within the fcope of this report. Your Committee, however, on this head, have been under the neceffity of being fatisfied with very general calculations, of which the following is the refult:—

It is fuppofed that England alone contains about 46,000,000 of acres, of which about 7,800,000 remain wafte in common or uncultivated; and on the fuppofition that only 1,200,000 acres are in a ftate of common fields, or, from various circumftances, as from Lammas tenure, &c. cannot be inclofed without the authority of parliament, it would appear that at leaft one-fifth part of the fouthern part of the ifland remains fubject to the operations of a general bill of inclofure.

The progrefs in dividing and improving this extent of territory muft be extremely flow; and experience has already fatally proved, that, as the law now ftands, it is extremely inadequate to the increafing population and confumption of the country. On the fuppofition indeed that 50,000 acres are annually inclofed under the prefent fyftem, if there are 10,000,000 acres uninclofed, it would require

200 years

200 years before the whole is accomplished. Besides, in many cases, the commons are too small to bear the heavy expence attending a special act of parliament; and in remote parts of the country, where the land is of little value, the expence of an act is a very material consideration. Your Committee will therefore proceed briefly to state the means which have occurred to them for removing so great an obstacle to improvement.

To pass a law permitting persons unanimously consenting to an inclosure to divide their common property by agreement among themselves, and to remove all legal disabilities which may stand in the way of such agreement, is a measure which will not probably meet with any opposition; and your Committee have come to a resolution, recommending that such a bill should be submitted to the consideration of the House. The great difficulty however is, to suggest the means of bringing about a division where the parties differ regarding the inclosure.

If the parties are not unanimous, there are two modes by which the inclosure might be effected; namely, 1st, By giving authority to the courts of law either to appoint commissioners, or to divide the commons by judicial proceedings: or, 2d, To enable the parties interested to appoint commissioners for the purpose of separating the portions of those who assent from those who dissent to the inclosure, in order that the shares belonging to the assenters may be inclosed.

In regard to the first idea, that of passing a law giving the power of nominating the commissioners, not to the parties interested, but to the Lord Chancellor, the Judge of Assize, the Grand Jury, or the Quarter Sessions of each county; or to adopt a plan similar to that established in Scotland, by which the commons are divided by the courts of law, without the intervention of commissioners, it would require very deliberate consideration. The Scotch plan, your Committee understand, has in some cases been found expensive, and in others impracticable*. And in regard to the granting authority to the Chancellor, the Judge of Assize, the Grand Jury, or the Quarter Sessions, to appoint commissioners, if other means can be thought of to answer the same purpose, it seems unnecessary to add to the labour of those who are, it is supposed, already sufficiently loaded with judicial business.

2d. To the adoption of the second plan, however, your Committee can see no material objection. It is an established principle in the law of England, that no person holding a property in severalty can have that property encroached upon without his own consent, or an act of the legislature. But the case is different where the property is mixed. It is well known that joint tenants, coparceners, and tenants in common, are either by the com-

* Attempts have been made to divide a common called Milbuie, situated in the counties of Ross and Cromarty; but in vain. To ascertain the rights of the parties, and the extent of their mutual interests, before a court of law, was found impracticable. But commissioners appointed for that purpose, invested with authority similar to that granted in an English bill of inclosure, would have found no difficulty in dividing that common.

mon

mon law, or by expreſs ſtatute, compellable to a diviſion; and it is only neceſſary to extend the ſame principles to mixed property of every other deſcription, to obtain what has been ſo long ardently wiſhed for,—an eaſy and effectual method of promoting a general ſyſtem of improvement. For that purpoſe, it is propoſed that proviſion ſhould be made, under the authority of a general law, by which all perſons poſſeſſed of mixed property in land, deſirous of incloſing or improving the ſame, ſhall be enabled to have their ſhare in that property ſeparately ſet out, leaving the property of thoſe who diſſent from ſuch a meaſure, in its former mixed ſtate. By this plan, every individual may do what he judges beſt with his own property; but he is not entitled, contrary to every principle of juſtice and equity, to prevent other individuals from enjoying the ſame valuable privilege. For effecting ſo important an object, it is propoſed to legalize the diviſion of mixed property by commiſſioners, one appointed by the parties aſſenting to the incloſure, another by the parties diſſenting, and a third by the two commiſſioners previouſly nominated. This is in fact merely extending the principles of the writ of partition, as improved on by the proviſions of 8 and 9 Will. III. Cap. 31. to other mixed property, through the medium of commiſſioners, in conſequence of the rights being too complicated for a jury to decide on them; and by that ſimple operation, the great object of facilitating the improvement of the country will be effectually ſecured. The parties deſirous of an incloſure may thus obtain the object of their wiſhes; whereas thoſe who are either unable or unwilling to improve their allotments, and therefore diſſent from the incloſure, are permitted to retain their ſhares in common as formerly. This is infinitely preferable to compelling a reluctant aſſent; for if the improvements made in the portion thus incloſed, are found to anſwer, thoſe who diſſent will ſoon follow the example of their neighbours.

Concluſion.

Your Committee cannot too ſtrongly recommend to the Houſe an immediate attention to this important ſubject. Every means (they are of opinion) ought to be taken for adding, without delay, from at leaſt 150,000 to perhaps 300,000 acres to the land now in cultivation, as the only effectual means of preventing that importation of corn, and diſadvantages therefrom, by which this country has already ſo deeply ſuffered. But if the views of the legiſlature ſhould extend ſtill further, and if the neceſſary meaſures are taken for improving the territory, now in a ſtate of defective cultivation, as well as cultivating the lands which ſtill remain in a waſte and unproductive ſtate, this country might draw as much wealth from exporting the ſurplus produce of its ſoil as from any branch of its commerce, however lucrative; and thence would ariſe a ſource of riches not depending upon the caprice, but ariſing from the neceſſities of other nations. Such a reſource, in a domeſtic point of view, is the moſt likely means of enabling us to bear the heavy burthens to which we are now ſubjected, without being exhauſted or cruſhed by the preſſure.

It is more particularly neceſſary to

to carry ſuch a meaſure ſpeedily into effect, becauſe it might be of the moſt eſſential public ſervice, as ſoon as the preſent war is concluded, to have ſo important a reſource opened at home for the employment of our gallant ſoldiery, who muſt be diſmiſſed when ſuch an event takes place, and to whom the cultivation and improvement of the territory of the country would furniſh by far the moſt uſeful and valuable of all occupations. A diſbanded fleet ſupplies our merchantmen with ſailors, and may extend the fisheries on our coaſts; but a diſbanded army has hitherto had little reſource, but emigration to our colonies, or to foreign countries, or reſorting to manufactures, many of which require ſkill and experience in thoſe who are employed in them. Since the introduction of machinery, however, great numbers of hands are leſs neceſſary for our manufactures than formerly; and hence the proper buſineſs for our diſbanded ſoldiers would be the cultivation of the ſoil. With what ſatisfaction would not the nation at large witneſs thoſe brave and gallant men, who in time of war devoted themſelves to the neceſſary defence of their country, in the time of peace uſefully occupied in the eſſential employment of furniſhing it with ſubſiſtence!

On the whole, your Committee have come to the following reſolutions:—

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the cultivation and improvement of the waſte, unincloſed, and unproductive lands, and of the common arable fields, common meadows, and common of paſture, in this kingdom, is an object of ſuch eſſential conſequence to the general intereſts of the nation, that every means ought to be adopted, ſpeedily and effectually, to accompliſh the ſame; and that every poſſible ſtep ought to be taken for that purpoſe, in the courſe of the preſent ſeſſion of parliament.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that it would tend to promote the incloſure of ſuch lands, if a bill were paſſed for dividing, allotting, and incloſing the waſte lands, commons, common fields, and other commonable lands, of that part of Great Britain called England, by agreement among the parties intereſted therein, and for removing any legal diſabilities which may ſtand in the way of ſuch agreement.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that it would materially tend to the incloſure of ſuch lands (more eſpecially where the parties are neither numerous or complicated) if, in caſes where the parties are not unanimous, a law were paſſed for enabling any perſon or perſons entitled to any waſte, unincloſed, and unproductive lands, common arable fields, common meadows, or common of paſture, or any portion thereof, in that part of Great Britain called England, to divide, incloſe, and hold the ſame in ſeveralty.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the chairman do move the Houſe for leave to bring in a bill or bills, purſuant to the above reſolutions.

Account

Account of a Cottage and Garden near Tadcaſter, by THOMAS BERNARD, ESQ.: *deſigned to ſhew the benefit reſulting from allowing ſmall portions of land to Labourers.*

[*From Communications to the Board of Agriculture, Vol. I.*]

TWO miles from Tadcaſter, on the left hand ſide of the road to York, ſtands a beautiful little cottage, with a garden, that has long attracted the eye of the traveller. The ſlip of land is exactly a rood, incloſed by a cut quick hedge; and containing the cottage, fifteen apple trees, one green gage, and three wine four plum trees, two apricot trees, ſeveral gooſeberry and currant buſhes, abundance of common vegetables, and three hives of bees, being all the apparent wealth of the poſſeſſor. The ſingular neatneſs and good order that marked every part of this little domain, and ſome circumſtances reſpecting the owner, which had been mentioned to me by Dr. Burgh of York, made me anxious to obtain the hiſtory of the cottager and his family. In the end of May, 1797, I called there in my way from York; but found the houſe and the gate of the garden locked. In the road to Tadcaſter, however, I met his wife, laden with a baſket of proviſions from the market; and engaged her to find her huſband, who was at work about a mile off, and to ſend him to me to the inn at Tadcaſter. When he arrived, he very willingly gave me his hiſtory, as follows:

His name is Britton Abbot; his age ſixty-ſeven; and his wife's nearly the ſame. At nine years old he had gone to work with a farmer; and being a careful ſteady lad, and a good labourer, particularly in what is called taſk work, he had managed ſo well, that before he was twenty-two years of age, he had accumulated near 40*l.* He then married, and took a little farm at 30*l.* a year; but, before the end of the ſecond year, he found it prudent, or rather neceſſary, to quit it; having already exhauſted, in his attempt to thrive upon it, almoſt all the little property that he had heaped together. He then fixed in a cottage at Poppleton; where, with two acres of land, and his common right, he kept two cows. Here he had reſided very comfortably, as a labourer, for nine years, and had ſix children living, and his wife preparing to lie in of a ſeventh, when an incloſure of Poppleton took place; and the arrangements made in conſequence of it, obliged him to ſeek for a new habitation, and other means of ſubſiſtence for his family.

He applied to Squire Fairfax, and told him that, if he would let him have a little bit of ground by the road ſide, "he would ſhew him the *faſhions* on it." After enquiry into his character, he obtained of Mr. Fairfax the ground he now occupies, and with a little aſſiſtance from his neighbours, in the carriage of his materials, he built his preſent houſe; and planted the garden, and the hedge round it, which is a ſingle row of quick, thirty-five years old, and without a flaw or defect. He ſays he cut it down ſix times ſucceſſively when it was young. Mr. Fairfax was ſo much pleaſed with the progreſs of his work, and the extreme neatneſs of his place, that he told him he ſhould be rent free. His anſwer deſerves to be remembered: "Now, Sir, you have a pleaſure in ſeeing my cottage and garden neat:

neat: and why ſhould not other ſquires have the ſame pleaſure, in ſeeing the cottages and gardens nice about them. The poor would then be happy; and would love them, and the place where they lived: but now every little nook of land is let to the great farmers; and nothing left for the poor, but to go to the pariſh."

He has had ſeven children; ſix of whom attained to the age of maturity; and five are living, and thriving in the world. One is the wife of a carpenter at York; another occupies a little farm at Kelfield; a third is the wife of a labourer, who has built a cottage for himſelf at Tadcaſter, and wants nothing (as the father obſerved) but a bit of ground for a garden. Britton Abbot ſays he now earns 12*s.* and ſometimes 15*s.* and 18*s.* a week, by hoeing turnips by the piece, ſetting quick, and other task work: "but to be ſure (he added) *I have a grand character in all this country.*" He gets from his garden, annually, about forty buſhels of potatoes, beſides other vegetables; and his fruit is worth, in a good year, from 3*l.* to 4*l.* His wife occaſionally goes out to work; ſhe alſo ſpins at home, and takes care of his houſe and garden. He ſays they have lived very happy together for forty-five years. To the account that I have given, it may be needleſs to add, that neither he, nor any part of his family, has ever had occaſion to apply for parochial relief.

Though my viſit was unexpected, and he at the latter end of his Saturday's work, his clothes were neat and ſufficiently clean: his countenance was healthy and open; he was a little lame in one leg, the conſequence of expoſure to wet and weather. He ſaid he had always worked hard, and well; but he would not deny, but that he loved a mug of good ale * when he could get it. When I told him my object in inquiring after him, that it was in order that other poor perſons might have cottages and gardens as neat as his; and that he muſt tell me all his ſecret—how it was to be done; he ſeemed extremely pleaſed, and very much affected; he ſaid, "nothing would make poor folks more happy, than finding that great folks thought of them:" that he wiſhed every poor man had as comfortable a home as his own; not but that he believed there might be a few thriftleſs fellows, who would not do good in it.

I aſked him whether he had not had a cow. He ſaid he had had one, and ſhe had died; and, having no other place than the lane to keep his cow, he had not attempted to get another.—"Could you get land,

* I have ſince learnt, that ſome of his neighbours are more diſpoſed to talk of his love of ale, than of his induſtry. Perhaps he may have drank a little more, on account of the great quantity of task work that he has done. He has not, however, the appearance of one habituated to tipling. My viſit to him was on a Saturday evening, a time when alehouſes are not empty; he was then at hard work. His countenance ſhows that he has not prejudiced his own health by drinking; and his cottage, garden, wife, and children, all teſtify, that he has not injured his family by it. His wife ſpoke of him with much apparent pleaſure; while ſhe produced a leg of mutton, and other good things which ſhe had been purchaſing at market for the ſupply of their larder. If it had been true that he was a drunkard, it would have ſhown ſtill more forcibly, how much the energy of the labourer is capable of, even under ſo great and *deplorable* a diſadvantage.

if you had a cow?" "He thought he could." "Supposing then (I added) a cow could be bought for 12*l.*; and you could rent it on the terms of paying down 3*l.* 10*s.* immediately; and then 3*l.* 10*s.* at the end of each year during three years; and that the cow was to be yours at the end of three years, if she lived, and you paid your rent regularly;—do you think such a bargain would answer for you?" "Yes, he said, he was sure it would very greatly; and there were few cottagers, to whom it would not be a very great advantage, especially where they had a family of children." I told him to inquire whether he could get a little land; and I would have some more talk with him about it, when I came down in August.

On the Method of cultivating Rhubarb. By Mr. T. JONES.

[*From the Transactions of the Society instituted at* London, *for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, Vol.* XV.]

Sir,

IN the year 1796 I planted nine hundred and thirty-five plants of the Rheum Palmatum, or True Rhubarb, agreeably to the rules prescribed by the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce; I have, therefore, to request you will present the inclosed certificates, in support of my pretensions to their gold medal. Having said so much on this subject on a former occasion, I have very little to add upon the present. Upon two points, it may be recollected, I then laid a particular stress; the absolute necessity of guarding against the ill effects of a super-abundancy of moisture: and as it is essential the roots should be of a considerable size, so the propriety of allotting to each a proportionable space of ground, equal, I supposed, to six feet square. For these purposes, it was further observed, I adopted a mode of culture different from any of my predecessors; this consisted in raising a distinct hill for each plant, instead of situating them over so many holes: in the former, it is obvious, with every advantage of room, all unnecessary moisture has an opportunity of escaping, while in the latter it cannot fail to be confined, to the certain detriment of the plants. Truth, however, obliges me to acknowledge, these benefits are attended with an inconvenience, which, it must be confessed, I was not at first aware of; I mean the difficulty of keeping the plantation free from weeds, and consequently increasing the expence of cultivation. I have, for these reasons, in the present instance, abandoned my original method; but in adopting another, being now assured of its importance, have been studious to preserve the same principle; excepting that the Rhubarb beds are broader, and the trenches much deeper, each communicating with a ditch, to convey the water from springs or immoderate rains entirely away; they resemble the asparagus beds in the neighbourhood of Gravesend or Battersea. By the certificates the Society will likewise perceive, that the distances between the plants are also reduced to four feet; this alteration arose from observing, that although the foliage will frequently meet at a much greater distance, the roots never occupy so large a space as the So-

ciety

riety had been led to ſuppoſe. Plants of every deſcription are more or leſs precarious, but ſcarcely any ſo much ſo as the Rhubarb; hence, a method of planting which, comparatively ſpeaking, reduces the cultivation of ſo valuable a plant to a certainty, cannot fail of being acceptable: I will therefore ſubjoin, for the benefit of future cultivators, a mode of proceeding I have found ſucceſsful, beyond the moſt ſanguine expectation. Inſtead of placing the ſeedling plants where they are to remain for a crop, as is uſually recommended, beds ſhould be prepared of fine mould (if ſifted the better) of about twelve or eighteen inches deep; upon theſe, when arrived at a proper ſize in the ſeed bed, reſpecting which enough has been already ſaid by others as well as myſelf; that is, when they have attained the height of four or five inches, and have thrown out as many leaves, they may be planted at eight inches aſunder. After directing the ſeed to be ſown in March, the planting ſeaſon muſt remain diſcretional, as all the plants will not be ready at the ſame time: the largeſt ſhould be firſt ſelected, carefully drawing them out, ſo as to deſtroy as few fibres, and diſturb the remainder as little as poſſible; I have generally well watered the bed previous to their removal, which has greatly facilitated the operation. In the culture of Rhubarb the whole difficulty conſiſts in bringing them through their firſt ſeaſon; and to do this, a great deal of care and circumſpection are found neceſſary; if the weather is hot and ſultry, the nurſery muſt be ſhaded; at all events, it muſt be continually watered; for though this element is ſo prejudicial to the older plants, it is now of the firſt conſequence. As for planting in general, ſo for theſe in particular, a wet or cloudy day ſhould always be preferred; and if the weather continues ſo for two or three days ſucceſſively, and every circumſtance properly attended to, not more than four or five in a hundred will moſt probably be loſt. In about a month from this period, the roots will have made freſh ſhoots, and new leaves will have ſucceeded the former, which commonly, notwithſtanding all our care, will wither away. It is now at the option of the cultivator, either to let them remain in theſe nurſery beds, as I call them for diſtinction ſake, till the enſuing ſpring, or not; if the ſummer is favourable, and in the mean time his land intended for the plantation is properly prepared, I would recommend him to complete it without further delay. After trenching my ground generally three feet deep, I ſowed it with carrot ſeed of the largeſt ſort I could poſſibly procure: the ſurface by this means was preſerved from weeds, and rendered fine by repeated hoeings, and the bottom kept light and open. At different periods through the ſummer, with a tranſplanter or a circular ſpade, taking care, as the gardeners expreſs themſelves, to preſerve a ball, I removed them, at proper diſtances, into the midſt of the carrots, deſtroying thoſe which might obſtruct the growth of the other; and if this is effected judiciouſly, this laſt removal will not at all affect the young Rhubarb, while another benefit ariſes from the carrots, and very well deſerving of notice; that, if at at any time the weather proves unuſually hot, their foliage will preſerve the plants from the rays of the ſun till their own have acquired a ſufficient growth. After this, no-

thing that I know of, is neceſſary to be done, but to keep the plantation clean, and the trenches open.

Account of the Ferment for Bread uſed at Debretzin.

[*From Travels in* Hungary, *by Dr.* Townson.]

"LIGHTER, whiter, and better flavoured bread than that made here I never ate; nor did I ever ſee elſewhere ſuch large loaves. Were I not afraid of being accuſed of taking advantage of the privilege of travellers, I ſhould ſay they were near half a yard cubed. As this bread is made without yeaſt, about which ſuch a hue and cry is often raiſed, and with a ſubſtitute, which is a dry maſs, that may be eaſily tranſported, and kept half a year or more, I think it may be of uſe to my country for me to detail the Debretzin art of making bread. The ferment is thus made: two good handfulls of hops are boiled in four quarts of water; this is poured upon as much wheaten bran as can be well moiſtened by it; to this are added four or five pounds of leaven: when this is only warm, the maſs is well worked together to mix the different parts. This maſs is then put in a warm place for twenty-four hours, and after that it is divided into ſmall pieces about the ſize of a hen's egg or a ſmall orange, which are dried by being placed upon a board and expoſed to a dry air, but not to the ſun: when dry they are laid by for uſe, and may be kept half a year. This is the ferment, and it is to be uſed in the following manner: for a baking of ſix large loaves, ſix good handfulls of theſe balls are taken and diſſolved in ſeven or eight quarts of warm water. This is poured through a ſieve into one end of the bread-trough, and three quarts more of warm water are poured through the ſieve after it, and what remains in the ſieve is well preſſed out: this liquor is mixed up with ſo much flour as to form a maſs of the ſize of a large loaf: this is ſtrewed over with flour, the ſieve with its contents is put upon it, and then the whole is covered up warm, and left till it has riſen enough, and its ſurface has begun to crack: this forms the leaven. Then fifteen quarts of warm water, in which ſix handfulls of ſalt have been diſſolved, are poured through the ſieve upon it, and the neceſſary quantity of flour is added, and mixed and kneaded with the leaven; this is covered up warm, and left for about an hour. It is then formed into loaves, which are kept in a warm room half an hour; and after that they are put in the oven, where they remain two or three hours according to the ſize. The great advantage of this ferment is, that it may be made in great quantities at a time, and kept for uſe. Might it not on this account be uſeful on board of ſhips, and likewiſe for armies when in the field?"

On the Means of improving the Hempen Linen Trade.

By a Manufacturer.

[*From* Young's *General View of the Agriculture of the County of* Suffolk.]

I will now, agreeably to your request, proceed to mention a few hints, which may tend to the improvement and extenſion of the trade:

Although I have ſtated hemp, in the

the proceſs of manufacturing, to paſs through the hands of the breaker, heckler, ſpinner, whitester, weaver, and bleacher of cloth, yet many of theſe different operations are frequently carried on under the direction of the ſame perſon. Some weavers bleach their own yarn and cloth; others their cloth only: others heckle their tow, and put it out to ſpinners; others buy the tow, and put it out; and a few carry on the whole of the trade themſelves. This latter is the plan which I purſue, the advantages appearing to me conſiderable.

When the trade is conducted by different perſons the intereſts often claſh: by under-retting the hemp, the grower increaſes the weight; by ſlightly beating it, the heckler increaſes the quantity of tow, but leaves it fuller of bark; by drawing out the thread beyond the ſtaple, the ſpinner increaſes the quantity of yarn, but injures the quality; by forcing the bleaching, the whiteſter increaſes his profit, but diminiſhes the ſtrength of the yarn. The whole ſhould, therefore, be checked and regulated by the weaver, with a view to his ultimate profit; which, in the hemp trade, ſhould ever be deemed inſeparable from the ſtrength of his cloths.

It appears to me, that in manufacturing cloth, in general, in Ireland, Scotland, and elſewhere, ſtrength has been ſacrificed to fineneſs and colour. Flax is pulled too early (being fineſt before it acquires its full ſtrength) and drawn beyond its ſtaple, to render the cloth finer at the price; and although there never was a time when the linen manufacturer excelled ſo much in colour and fineneſs, yet the want of ſtrength was never ſo univerſally complained of.

The hemp manufacture cannot rival that of flax in fineneſs; nor is it deſirable: in colour, it is by no means deficient, and poſſeſſes this advantage over Iriſh and all other linens, that its colour improves in wearing, while theirs declines. But the article in which Engliſh hemp, properly manufactured, ſtands unrivalled, is the ſtrength; flax will not bear the leaſt compariſon with it, in this reſpect; and I can aſſert, from experience, that it is far ſuperior in ſtrength to Ruſſian, the ſtrongeſt known hemp next to the Engliſh. Every regulation made in the trade, ſhould, therefore, be done with a view to improve it in this reſpect; and one of the moſt beneficial, I conceive to be an increaſed bounty on the growth of hemp; if it could be procured, the additional bounty to be paid for hemp water-retted only. If large farmers could be induced to grow it, as they became habituated to the management of it, the trouble would decreaſe, and the bounty might in time again be diſcontinued.

The neceſſity of keeping up the quality of the cloths ſhould be ſtrongly impreſſed on the weavers: perhaps if premiums were given for the beſt manufactured hemp cloths, it might be ſerviceable, under proper regulations. I think the public would be found very much diſpoſed to encourage a ſtrong manufacture of cloths; and there are facts which induce me to think ſo.

Conſiderable quantities of Ruſſian ſheeting are ſold in England, merely for their ſtrength; as they are coarſer, at the price, than any other foreign linen.

Suffolk hemp, if known, would always be preferred, being ſtronger than Ruſſian, from the quality of the thread, and at the ſame time lighter in waſhing; which is often an objection to Ruſſian.

The quantity of good hemp being gradually increaſed, would inſenſibly increaſe the number of ſpinners, and extend the trade. Some regulations are wanting reſpecting reeling the yarn. The ſame method the wool trade has adopted, would not, I think, ſucceed; as the ſpinners often buy the tow, and therefore it would be impracticable for an inſpector to examine the yarn. But if the puniſhment were ſimilar, and the owner of the tow, the putter out, or the perſon to whom it was offered, were permitted to proſecute, it might anſwer the purpoſe.

In Ireland and in Scotland, I am informed, there is a board, or committee of gentlemen, entruſted with powers by government for the regulation of the linen trade: if ſome plan of this kind were adopted, I think it would be very ſerviceable, as they would acquire, in time, a complete knowledge of the trade in its different branches; and apply ſuch rewards and regulations as the different times and ſituations would require; and might extend theſe to circumſtances, which general regulations by parliament could not effect.

In Scotland and in Ireland, each piece of cloth is ſtamped by an officer, with the length, breadth, and number of one hundred threads contained in the warp.

If a ſimilar practice were obtained here, it would have a beneficial tendency; as the length, breadth, and rate (or number of threads in the warp) being given, it is eaſy to aſcertain what ſhould be the weight. If then a certain mark were put on each piece of hemp manufactured agreeably to the beſt rules, it would improve the quality of the cloths, by exciting competition rather in goodneſs than in fineneſs. This would alſo prevent a practice which, I fear, prevails greatly; the ſelling other cloths, made up to imitate hemp, in lieu of it.

If the method I have hinted ſhould be found impracticable, ſome means ſhould be deviſed to prevent this impoſition on the public, which, if ſuffered to proceed, will diſcredit, and perhaps ruin the manufacture.

You will perceive, Sir, that theſe are, many of them, hazarded thoughts, which it would require much reflection to mature and reduce to practice.

You enquire if Suffolk hemp is uſed for ropes? I believe, never. It is too fine and dear; and ſacking is principally made from Ruſſian hemp, although the offal of Engliſh is ſometimes uſed.

On Land Draining.

By James Young, *Eſq.*

[*From the ſame.*]

I do not pretend to determine what ſort of ſoil will be moſt benefited by land draining; in my opinion, there is ſcarce any land in a clayey country, but will be greatly improved by it, and in particular, wherever the horſe-tail (*Equiretum Arvense*) abounds, a man will very ſeldom be diſappointed in expecting to be repaid the expence by the firſt crop.

I hold it right never to draw the drains ſtraight down a hill, but obliquely acroſs it, with a deſcent juſt ſufficient

ſufficient to give the water a fall into a leading ditch; there are ſome fields where a leading ditch muſt be covered. I contrive almoſt every method to have as few covered as poſſible; I like to have every drain independent; and have carried it ſo far as to have open ditches cut on purpoſe.

When I have marked the drains in a field (uſually a rod aſunder,) I draw two furrows with a common foot plough, leaving a balk between them, about 15 inches wide; then with a ſtrong double breaſted plough, made on purpoſe, I ſplit that balk, and leave a clean furrow, 14 or 15 inches below the ſurface; but where the depth of ſoil requires it, for I like to touch the clay, by a ſecond ploughing I ſink it to 18 or 20 inches; it is then ready for the land ditching ſpade, with which I dig, 15 inches deep, a drain as narrow as poſſible. It is an invariable rule with me, never to ſuffer the man who digs to cover up the drain, but it is left open for me or my bailiff to examine, and then it is well filled up to the ſhoulder with wheat ſtubble, cut and ſtacked for the purpoſe immediately after the harveſt, and a ſmall ſtick or two at the outlet, to prevent its being ſtopped by any external accident. Laſtly, with a common plough, I turn a furrow of the upper ſoil, or mould, upon the drain, taking care not to turn in any of the dead ſoil raiſed by the land ditch ſpade, which ought always to be laid on the outſide, and ſcattered over the land.

It is right not to let the drains lie open any length of time, leſt they get injured by wet or froſt; my general rule is to fill them up every day.

A Method of Tanning Leather without Oak Bark, discovered and proved by Wm. White, *Tanner, of* Aſhburton, Devon.

[*From Letters and Papers on Agriculture, &c. of the Bath and West of England Society. Vol. VIII.*]

I have tanned ſeveral hides and calf ſkins (theſe three years paſt) with oak leaves only, and have found that the leather is tanned quicker, weighs as well, and anſwers for wear in all reſpects as well as if tanned with oak bark, as hath been proved by ſeveral perſons who are judges. The leaves which I uſed were gathered when the coppice was felled, which was about the latter end of May; the expence of which did not amount to the ripping of the oak: the leaves were dried juſt in the ſame manner as hay; for if they are put together before they are properly dry they will heat and ſpoil. As the oak was felled, there was no damage done in gathering the leaves, as they were thought perfectly uſeleſs. The leaves are in greater perfection for tanning about October; and I do ſuppoſe that the gathering them from the oak at that time would not occaſion any damage, as they otherwiſe will ſoon fall off. If the weather ſhould prove wet, they may be thrown into a large room about two or three feet deep, and turned or tumbled about once a day until dry and fit for uſe.

I have found by experience that 30 pounds weight of leaves are equal to 1 cwt. of good bark in tanning leather; and do ſuppoſe that half the bark that is uſed by tanners may be ſaved by uſing the leaves. There is no difficulty in uſing them, as they are uſed in all reſpects as

the bark. Bark being now ſo very dear, the above diſcovery muſt be of ſome benefit to tanners. The expence of drying the bark by fire, and pounding and ſifting it, is conſiderable; whereas that expence is ſaved by uſing the leaves. The felling of coppices of fourteen years growth, hath for ſeveral years paſt reduced the quality and quantity of oak bark very much; therefore I ſuppoſe the above diſcovery will be of public utility.

Method of killing Slugs in a Garden. By Capt. SCHANK.

[*From the ſame.*]

TAKE a barrel of coal tar, remove a conſiderable quantity ſo as to give ſpace at diſcretion, pour on the remainder a quantity of water, let it ſtand two or three days or more; this water will be powerfully impregnated with a quality noxious to ſlugs, and if poured on them they will immediately die.—And to prevent the depredations of ſlugs among young plants in a garden, this gentleman recommends the ſcattering of this impregnated water, by means of a watering pot, on the ground before and after ſowing, at pleaſure.

Experiment in planting Potatoe Shoots. By R. HILL, *Esq.*

[*From the ſame.*]

Sir,

IN conſequence of the recommendation of your valuable Society, for trials to propagate potatoes from the ſprouts or fibrous ſhoots of the potatoe, I have, for two years laſt paſt, cultivated the potatoe from the ſhoots, both in my garden and fields; though in no very extenſive degree. The laſt year in my garden I ſet forty ſhoots, and earthed them up at various times with freſh earth; on taking them up in November, I had a produce from them of upwards of two Wincheſter buſhels. I alſo planted with ſhoots in the open field about one third of an acre with the plough, in the uſual manner of planting ſets from the potatoe, by ſetting the ſhoots in the furrow, and turning the ground over with the next furrow. As ſoon as the tops appeared, and, the weeds began to ſhew themſelves, I cauſed them to be ſtirred with the plough; and earthing them with freſh earth by the plough, twice in the ſummer, and once hoeing and cleaning by the hand by labourers, the top was ſtrong, free from curl, and on taking them up in the autumn, I had a crop equal from the ſhoots to that from the potatoe plants. The harveſt the laſt year was rather unfavourable for potatoes; and, through anxiety to get them together, my bailiff omitted taking a particular account of the produce, but he aſſures me they were equal to thoſe raiſed from the cuttings of the potatoe. Being ill in the gout at the time, I was prevented from attending particularly myſelf; but I am ſo well ſatisfied that the planting from the ſhoot will anſwer the purpoſe, that if I can bring my ground into tillage this year, to receive them, I will plant at leaſt two acres.

A Method

A Method of preparing Canvas, ſo as to make Flexible Tubes for conveying Freſh Air into Coal-Mines: and for other uſeful purpoſes. By Mr. LANSDOWN.

[*From the ſame.*]

TAKE one quart of boiled linſeed oil, and a quarter of a pound of gum elaſtic; boil them gently together; they will ſo boil nearly two hours before the gum will be diſſolved. Then add three quarts more of boiled oil, one pound of reſin, one pound of bees wax, and one pound of litharge of lead;—boil all up together, and with a bruſh lay it warm and evenly as a coat on the canvas. —This prepared ſubſtance will be as flexible as can be wiſhed, without cracking; will reſiſt wet or damp, and will be found durable, if common prudence be exerciſed in the care of it.

Modes of relieving Sea Sickneſs.—[*From* NICHOLSON'S *Journal of Natural Philoſophy, Chemiſtry, and the Fine Arts.*]

IN an account of the iſlands of Goree and Senegal, by M. Prelong, printed in the XVIIIth volume of the Annales de Chemie, the author mentions that he ſuffered prodigiouſly and for a long time by the ſea ſickneſs, but was greatly, and afterwards habitually, relieved by taking ten drops of vitriolic ether in a ſpoonful of water. I have alſo been aſſured by the commander of a packet conſtantly paſſing between Harwich and Helvoetſluys, that he always found this diſtreſſing illneſs greatly relieved in his paſſengers by a ſmall quantity of red wine heated with ſpices. The ſea ſickneſs ſeems to be a ſpaſmodic affection of the ſtomach, produced by the alternate preſſure and receſs of the contents of that viſcus againſt its lower internal ſurface, according as the riſe and fall of the ſhip oppoſes or recedes from the action of gravity. Hence it is relieved by change from the erect to the prone poſture, or by removing from the extremity of the veſſel to the vicinity of axis of the pitching motion near the mainmaſt; and hence alſo, when the organs have become habituated to a regular vibration of one kind in a ſhip for ſeveral months, the ſickneſs may nevertheleſs be again generated by a different vibration in a boat. As it is a habit which requires ſome time to be generated, and comes on gradually, it is not difficult to oppoſe it by mental effort or diverſion; but, to ſuch as have not acquired this facility, it may be acceptable to know that the above ſpirituous ſtimuli have been found of ſervice in counteracting it. The ſtimulus of food, taken even againſt the inclination, has alſo been frequently found to be beneficial.

Curious Method of procuring Dwarf Trees. [*From the Account of the Embaſſy to* China. *By Sir* G. STAUNTON.]

"THE Hall of Audience furniſhed alſo another object of curioſity, ſtriking at leaſt to ſtrangers. On ſeveral tables, were placed in frames, filled with earth, dwarf pines, oaks, and orange trees, bearing fruit. None of them exceeded in height, two feet. Some of thoſe dwarfs bore all the marks of decay from age; and upon the ſurface of the ſoil were interſperſed ſmall heaps

heaps of ſtones, which, in proportion to the adjoining dwarfs, might be termed rocks. Theſe were honeycombed and moſs-grown, as if untouched for ages, which ſerved to maintain the illuſion, and to give an antique appearance to the whole. This kind of ſtunted vegetation ſeemed to be much reliſhed by the curious in China; and ſpecimens of it were to be found in every conſiderable dwelling. To produce them, formed a part of the gardener's ſkill, and was an art invented in that country. Beſide the mere merit of overcoming a difficulty, it had that of introducing vegetables into common apartments, from which their natural ſize muſt otherwiſe have excluded them.—The general method of obtaining vegetable dwarfs is ſaid to be the following:—A quantity of clay or mould is applied to the upper part of the trunk of a tree, from which a dwarf is intended to be taken, and cloſe to its diviſion into branches. The mold is to be confined to the ſpot by coarſe hempen, or cotton cloth, and to be carefully kept moiſt by water. In conſequence of this application, continued ſometimes above a twelvemonth, ſmall tender fibres ſhoot down like roots from the wood into the mold. The part of the trunk emitting thoſe new fibres, together with the branch immediately above it, is then to be carefully ſeparated from the reſt of the tree, and planted in new earth, in which the fibres become new roots, while the former branch is now the ſtem of the vegetable, thus transformed in ſome meaſure. This operation does not deſtroy or alter the productive faculty which thoſe parts enjoyed before their ſeparation from their parent root. That which, while a branch of the original tree bore flowers and fruit, continues to produce the ſame, though no longer ſupported upon any ſtock. The terminal buds of ſuch branches of trees, as are meant to become dwarfs, are torn off; which circumſtance prevents the further elongation of thoſe branches, and forces other buds and branchlets from the ſides. Theſe branchlets are bent by wires to whatever form the operator wiſhes: and when the appearance of age and decay is meant to be given to a dwarf tree, it is repeatedly ſmeared with treacle or molaſſes, which attracts multitudes of ants, who, in purſuit of thoſe ſweet juices, attack the bark, and, by a gradual corroſion of it, produce the deſired effect. Theſe different proceſſes are ſometimes attempted to be kept ſecret by the gardeners, and they vary deſignedly in the mode of carrying them on; but the principle on which they are founded, is ſufficiently apparent from what is related here; and the contrivance argues ingenuity and perſeverance, rather than the practice does true taſte, which conſiſts in aſſiſting nature in its moſt favourite works; not in counteracting its operations, or diſtorting its productions."

Improved Method of making Roads.
By R. L. EDGEWORTH, *Eſq.*

[*From the Monthly Magazine.*]

Sir,

SOME time ſince, I received a letter from a gentleman of Barbadoes, deſiring my opinion upon the ſubject of wheel-carriages, particularly with a view to the tranſport of ſugar-hogſheads in that iſland. I have

have, unfortunately, loſt the gentleman's addreſs, but, as I make no doubt that the Monthly Magazine is circulated in the Weſt Indies, I take this method of anſwering his inquiries:—

The writer of the letter which I allude to, appears to be perfectly acquainted with the common theory of wheel carriages, and with the common defects in their conſtruction; he, with great propriety, has taken care to deſcribe the roads of the country, knowing that, in fact, more advantage is to be obtained by improving the road, than by improving the carriage that is to be employed upon it; I ſhall, therefore, make ſome obſervations upon the conſtruction of roads, before I ſpeak of carriages.

For many years I have had opportunities of trying experiments upon this ſubject;—facts thus acquired, form experience which ſhould not be confounded with practice; the latter means no more than mere facility, obtained by habit; the former teaches us what we can communicate to others.

On level ground, roads ſhould have no greater elevation in the centre, than what is neceſſary to carry off the rain which falls upon it; but on hills, the ridge, or trunk, of the road ſhould be higher in proportion to the declivity of the hill; this difference of form ſhould be obſerved, to prevent the effect of ſudden and violent rain, which ſometimes is ſo copious, as to ruſh acroſs the roads down hills, and which, ſtriking in torrents againſt an oppoſite bank, is driven backwards and forwards, in a zigzag direction, to the deſtruction of the road; by raiſing the road higher in the middle than is common, the water finds a paſſage to the channels, at each ſide, and paſſes no farther over the ſurface than is abſolutely neceſſary. Great care ſhould be taken to direct all mountain-ſtreams from roads; and ſuch ſtreams never ſhould be permitted to run in the drains at the ſides of the roads; but in other channels at a diſtance. In preparing the ground for a new road, or in repairing an old one, the firſt thing to be attended to is the ſolidity of the foundation; if any part of it be ſoft, that part will ſink, let the ſuperficies be what it may; the vicinity of ſmall ſprings is generally the cauſe of thoſe detached holes which we frequently meet with in roads; theſe ſpots muſt be dug till a firm bottom is found, and the neighbouring ſprings muſt be drained below the foundation of the road. Having obtained a firm ſubſtratum for a new road, or having filled up all inequalities in an old one with ſolid materials, we may proceed to make a good road with much leſs trouble and expence than is uſual.

The foundation muſt now be covered with ſtones of any ſize, not exceeding ſix or ſeven inches diameter; it is obvious, that if ſmaller ſtones can be had, they ſhould be preferred. The ſtones ſhould be ſpread equally over the ſurface, and ſettled firmly with a light ſledge; in this operation, ſuch ſtones as are too large, muſt either be broken or carried away; over this a layer of ſmall ſtones, not larger than eggs, ſhould be ſcattered, and ſettled with hammers between the interſtices of the largeſt. Over this a ſmall quantity of any hard clay, juſt ſufficient to cover the ſtones, ſhould be ſpread; if mixed with gravel it will be better; but if gravel alone were uſed, it would fall through the ſtones and

be

be waſted. It is taken for granted, that this work be done in dry weather; the road will, therefore, in this ſituation, be fit for cattle and carriages; in a month or two, the clay and gravel will be worn away, and the corners of the large ſtones will appear—men ſhould now be employed to break the ſtones with hammers, weighing about two pounds and a half; they ſhould ſtand up at this work, and the handles of their hammers ſhould be from four to five feet long, according to the ſize of the men. It will coſt about a penny per yard to break a road covered in this manner, to the breadth of fourteen feet. After another month or ſix weeks, the road muſt be broken, with care, in the ſame manner; and, with proper intervals, it ſhould be broken from time to time, as often as may be neceſſary—four times is, in general, ſufficient.—Whilſt this operation is performed, a boy, with a barrow of fine gravel, ſhould follow the workmen, and ſhould replace the ſplinters of the large ſtones in the holes that are made by their being broken, and ſhould fill the crevices with gravel; a ſmall quantity of gravel may be ſpread over the road, which will ſoon find its way into any hollow that may have been left in the preceding operations.

One caution muſt be ſtrictly adhered to; ſtones of different hardneſs muſt not be mixed; they may be uſed ſeparately, but if they are uſed together, the hard ſtones will ſoon wear through the ſofter, and the road will be unfit for repair, till the materials are picked up and ſorted. There may, at firſt view, appear but little difference between this and the common method of making roads with ſtone; but when the principles upon which theſe directions have been founded, are explained, a conſiderable difference, in labour and expence, will be diſcovered.

Two methods of breaking ſtones for roads, are generally practiſed; they are either laid upon the road and broken with long hammers, or they are broken in heaps by the ſide of the road, and then thrown upon the ſurface; in both caſes, the ſtone at which the man ſtrikes is liable to ſlip from the hammer, ſo that ſometimes five or ſix attempts are neceſſary to break one ſtone; but when the ſtones that are to be broken are cemented together by ſmaller ſtones, clay, and gravel, every blow that they receive upon their projecting ſurface, *tells*, and ſplits them frequently in perpendicular layers through their whole depth.

When gravel falls between theſe layers, it binds them together more ſolidly than can be well conceived without experiment. On the contrary, when looſe ſtones are thrown upon a road, they are diſperſed by horſes feet, and puſhed on either ſide by the wheels of carriages, as every perſon muſt have perceived who has attended to the ſubject.—Another principle muſt alſo be conſidered; if the ſubſtratum is not previouſly rendered equally hard and even, wherever one place is ſofter than another, that ſpot will ſubſide, and inequalities, that are at firſt imperceptible, will, in time, grow deeper; water will lodge in them, and the deſcent of wheels will wear them deeper and deeper, till they break into ruts and holes; beſides, where looſe ſtones, broken as ſmall as they ought to be in the common mode of making roads, are thrown together, they muſt be laid to a great depth,

depth, or they will ſcatter in ſuch a manner as to be uſeleſs; but, if they are managed in the manner that has been already deſcribed, ſeven or eight inches will be ſufficient.

Another caution muſt be obſerved in mending an old road: wherever a hole is to be filled, the edges of the hole ſhould be cut perpendicular; and the form of the hole ſhould be changed, from that of a bowl to the ſhape of a trough, whoſe ſides riſe at right-angles from the bottom; for, if ſmall ſtones are thrown into a bowl, any preſſure will force them over its ſides; but, in a trough they will be confined, and every preſſure will compreſs and grind them, by degrees, to a ſmooth and ſolid ſurface. When any ſtone appears above the ſurface, it ſhould immediately be broken, elſe, beſides the obſtruction which it oppoſes to carriages, it becomes an eminence, from which the whole weight that it ſuſtains muſt fall upon the road below it; repeated ſtrokes, of ſuch momentum, ſoon form a hole round even a ſmall ſtone, and the ſucceſſion of ſuch holes ſoon deſtroys the road.

Where roads are made entirely of gravel, after the foundation has been properly conſtructed, the gravel ſhould be ſkreened or ſeparated into two or three ſorts: a layer of the fineſt ſort, about two inches deep, ſhould be firſt laid on; over this the ſecond ſort; then the coarſeſt; and, by ſucceſſive layers in the ſame order, the foundation ſhould be covered to the depth that is neceſſary to ſuſtain the *wear* to which the road is ſubject: but in all caſes, where there is a good foundation, it is better to ſupply the road from time to time with freſh materials, than to bury at the bottom ſuch as might be uſeful at the ſurface. I ſhall defer what I have to ſay upon the conſtruction of carriages, to another opportunity: as road-making is heavy work, and ought not to load your uſeful and entertaining Miſcellany.

R. L. E.

To prevent Danger from Red Hot Pokers.

[*From the ſame.*]

Sir,

IT would do a valuable ſervice to the public, and to perſons who take out patents for uſeful inventions, if they were to confer amongſt themſelves, and open one or two houſes, where a ſpecimen of each invention might be ſeen, and orders be taken.

The following invention (perfectly ſimple) will doubtleſs prevent the melancholy accidents that frequently happen, from the common practice of leaving a poker in the fire. Immediately above that ſquare part of the poker (by blackſmiths called the bit) let a ſmall croſs of iron (about an inch and an half each way) be welded in.

The good conſequences of this ſimple contrivance will be:

1ſt. If the poker, by the fire giving way, ſhould ſlip out, it will probably catch on the edge of the fender.

2d. If it ſhould not, it cannot injure the hearth or carpet; as the hot part of the poker will be borne up ſome inches.

And 3d. The poker cannot be run into the fire further than the bit; which, in regard to a poliſhed poker, is alſo of ſome conſequence.

Your's, M.

Feb. 16, 1797.

ANTIQUITIES.

ANTIQUITIES.

Inveſtigation of the Site of Troy.

From DALLAWAY's Conſtantinople, *Ancient and Modern.*

"THE diſtance from the Grecian camp to the ſite of Troy, has ſupplied thoſe who contend againſt its exiſtence with many plauſible objections. It is, however, certain that the preſent village of Koum-kaleh is ſituate on a ſand bank of more than a mile in extent, which will reduce the diſtance, ſuppoſing it to be an accretion from the Helleſpont, to leſs than eight Engliſh miles from Bounàr-baſhi, where the Scæan gate once ſtood. The advanced works both of Greeks and Trojans leſſened the intermediate ſpace. If the Grecian camp was between the ſhore and the junction of the Simoeis and Scamander, then known only by the latter name, the united river will anſwer to all the epithets given to it by Homer.

"We began our ſurvey of the plain of Troy. Croſſing the Simoeis over a long wooden bridge near its embouchure, we paſſed over an extenſive level of ploughed fields, and Goulù-ſui, a brook which empties itſelf into the ſea near In-tepè, or the tomb of Ajax Telamonius. This tumulus is now irregularly ſhaped. Near the top is a ſmall arched way almoſt choaked up with earth, which was the entrance into the vault, and over it a broken wall, where was once a ſmall ſepulchral fane, called the Aiantèum. The whole ſeems to be of a much more modern date than the death of Ajax. Marc Antony removed his urn and aſhes into Egypt, which were afterwards reſtored with funeral honours by Auguſtus, when it is probable that the preſent vault was made, and the ſuperſtructure erected. This compliment was paid to his manes to gratify the Ilian citizens, who conſidered him as their tutelar. The city of Ilium was about two miles diſtant, near the junction of the Scamander and Simoeis, and owed its origin to Alexander and Lyſimachus, who repaired the temple of Minerva, and ſurrounded it with a wall. It is not improbable that when Alexander was enthuſiaſtically inveſtigating the ſite of ancient Troy, that the prieſts of Minerva ſhould attach him, from policy, to this ſpot for the foundation of a city which had likewiſe ſuperior maritime advantages. Mænætus, governor of Ilium, went out to meet Alexander in his Perſic expedition, and preſented him with a golden crown. It was firſt taken by Charidemus Orites; and ſubſequently beſieged by Fimbria, the general engaged in the cauſe of Marius, and levelled with the ground; this injury was afterwards ſeverely revenged by Sylla. They enjoyed the patronage of Julius Cæſar. It excites

excites no wonder, that after ſo long poſſeſſion of it by the Turks, not a ſtone ſhould remain, yet ſome contend againſt the exiſtence of Troy, becauſe no veſtiges were diſcoverable when Alexander founded the ſecond city, whilſt they admit the latter fact equally unauthoriſed by preſent appearances.

"From this ſpot we had a moſt intereſting proſpect independent of its local hiſtory; the magic of which, and its effects on the mind, are beautifully deſcribed by Lucan. The left ſkreen is a low ridge of hills; the middle diſtance is the great area, upon which the Greeks were encamped; beyond was the ſcene of many of the great events of the war; and the oſſkip and ſkirting line were compoſed of the promontory of Tenedos, Beſhiktepè, Sigèum, the village of Koum-kaleh, down to the water edge, and a broad winding reach of the Helleſpont, into which the oppoſite headland and caſtle were brought forward with conſiderable effect. The ſea then ſpreads very widely, and the view is cloſed by the blue mountains of Imbros. The length and extent of this iſland have been extremely miſtaken, as ſcarcely a map is extant which deſcribes it above half its real ſize. We rode about half an hour over heathy ground, much elevated, to Halyleli, near the village of Thimbrik-keuy, and at the inſtant of our paſſing, a Turkiſh wedding was celebrating among the villagers; the buſineſs is ſummary. The parents of both parties, or the bridegroom for himſelf, ſettle the contract, which implies what dower he ſhall give the bride. This arrangement made, the bridegroom aſſembles his friends; they mount horſes, and are accompanied by muſic, ſuch as a very rude hautboy, or pipe, and a drum, can make. The bride is demanded, and has likewiſe a cavalcade of her female relatives, when they return home animated with the ſame muſic. They feaſt ſeparately on pilav, and retire at an early hour, when the ceremony is concluded.

"The ſucceſſion of five tumuli, under the diſtant horizon, tends more than any other proof to aſcertain the Trojan war. About an hour and a half from Bournà-baſhi, on an eaſy eminence facing the weſt, we diſcovered veſtiges of an ancient city. On the right are ſtanding ſeven granite pillars ſeveral feet high but it rather appears that they are not placed in their original order. On the other ſide, we ſaw a ſmall block of marble with an inſcription, a few inches above the ground, which being dug up, we found to be of the date of the Roman emperors, and too much mutilated to be decyphered ſatisfactorily.

"From the detail of topographical notices given by Homer, and from a compariſon of the circumſtances he mentions, the ſtrongeſt aſſurances will follow, not only of the exiſtence, but the locality of Troy. To inſiſt that the poem ſhould be hiſtorically exact, would be to make no allowance for the liberty of a poet. That it is topographically ſo, an examination of the preſent face of the country will amply prove; and it is equally an object of claſſical curioſity, whether Troy exiſted or not, ſince the fable, if ſuch it muſt be, is invariably accommodated to the ſcene of action.

"With reſpectful deference to a name ſo long eſteemed in the republic of letters as that of Mr. Bryant, I humbly but totally diſſent from his

his ſcepticiſm on this ſubject. For it is not to the taſteleſs ſyſtem of Le Boſſu in his Eſſay on the Epic, who has preceded Mr. Bryant in a ſimilar hypotheſis, that the opinion of many ages, and the ſatisfaction of ocular inſpection, can be readily conceded. To eſtabliſh a conviction on the mind, that the tale of Troy divine is a mere invention, may require yet more than the moſt laborious learning can lend to conjecture, and could it avail, we might loſe in the pleaſures of the imagination, as much as we ſhould gain by truth, could his arguments eſtabliſh it, and lament with the enthuſiaſt in Horace,

"— demptus per vim mentis gratiſſimus error."

"As the ſetting ſun was more brilliant than for many days paſt, the village of Bounàr-baſhi opened upon us very pleaſantly from the ford of the Simoeis, which we paſſed within a furlong of the chiftlìk of Hadjì Mehmèt Aghà, the preſent proprietor of a domain producing near £.5000 ſterling per annum, and including little leſs ſpace than, and the identical ground of, the kingdom of old Priam. His houſe is mean, but many columns were diſperſed about it, which had been collected from the ſites of ancient cities.

"From the village the hill riſes rapidly, and ſoon becomes an inſulated mountain. In the front of the houſe, at a ſmall diſtance, is the firſt ſource of the Scamander, which is ſaid, by M. Chevalier, to be the hot ſpring, upon which he grounds the ſtrongeſt proof of his hypotheſis reſpecting the locality of the city of Troy. It is at leaſt tepid; and the agha told us, that in the winter months, eſpecially during froſt, it was hot, and ſmoked. Homer muſt be allowed the privilege of a hot ſpring, and a river full to the brink, if they happen once within the year. The lofty wall of Troy and the Scæan gate interſected the modern village of Bounàr-baſhi.

"Aſcending the hill, thickly ſtrewn with looſe ſtones for the ſpace of a mile, the firſt object on the brow is a ſtony hillock, which Chevalier, with no apparent reaſon, calls the tomb of Hector. It has been opened and examined, but we could not learn the reſult.

"There are others covered with graſs, appropriated likewiſe to Trojan heroes. Upon this area and the intermediate ground from the village, there is undoubtedly ſpace enough for ſuch a city as Troy is deſcribed to have been. The level falls abruptly on the ſouth, with a precipitate cliff, into a very deep ravine, forming a mural rock as compact and regular as the remaining walls of Conſtantinople, now almoſt covered at its baſe by the ſtream and ſands of the Simoeis, for the length of forty or fifty yards, and completing a fortification, rendered impregnable by nature, which will account for a ten years ſiege, and the ſuperlative epithet of walls conſtructed by the gods themſelves. Mr. Wood diſcovered no place, amongſt Ida, correſpondent to that deſcription; and Mr. Bryant would ſeek for it (did he purpoſe an actual inſpection) only in his favourite Egypt. This diviſion of rifted rock from the groupe of foreſt mountains, of which Ida is compoſed on the eaſt and north ſides, does not exceed a hundred and fifty yards, and is ſcarcely farther aſunder at the top, ſinking

as perpendicularly as an artificial channel. The face of the ground exhibits nothing worthy remark; buſhes and huge unhewn ſtones only are to be ſeen. The whole view of the plain of Troy, from the height ſaid to have been the citadel, is of uninterrupted extent, with the winding Simoeis, and the grand horizontal line marked by Uejek Tepee and the Sigean promontory, and turning to the left, by the two in the iſland of Tenedos. We then returned to the chiftlik, and bade adieu to the hoſpitable aghà, who poſſeſſed, in a great degree, that trait of a true muſulman, urbanity to ſtrangers.

"For ſeveral hours we traced with the utmoſt attention the courſe of the Scamander from the cold or ſecond ſource, which is a collection of ſmall ſprings, through the moraſs, where for ſome miles it is poſitively hid, till we reached the new canal, and ſaw plainly the ancient bed. The banks of this river, where expoſed, are verdant and beautiful, and watered to the brink. M. Chevalier's topography and general idea, after a fair inveſtigation, we acknowledged to be ingenious and plauſible.

"We then fixed ourſelves at Giawr-keuy, or cape Janiſſary, a poor village conſiſting entirely of Greeks, the ſite of the far-famed Sigæum, which has likewiſe the name of Yenì-cheyr. It is ſingular that Greeks ſhould ſtill occupy that ancient ſtation.

"From this eminence we looked over the plain, the whole ſcope of which we commanded; its broadeſt diameter may be five or ſix, and its longeſt twelve miles, to Atchè-keuy. It is naturally verdant and fertile, and now very generally cultivated, excepting near the marſh, which occupies a fifth part. Homer gives frequent evidence of his having perſonally viſited and examined this celebrated ſpot, of which he ſometimes enters into minute deſcriptions. The rivers are particularly characterized. Simoeis has broad ſands, with a ſudden and rapid current; Scamander is tranſparent, and regularly full, within a narrow channel, and ſo they continue to be till their junction, before they reach the ſea. Whatever change the former may have occaſioned in the preſent appearance of the plain, the analogy taken from thoſe of Epheſus and Miletus, upon which Mr. Wood has reſted his opinion that Troy was ſituated ſo much higher amongſt the hills of Ida, ſeems to be ill founded; for the Simoeis has, at no ſeaſon, either the ſize or declenſion from its ſource that the Cäyſter and Meander are known to have. The ſoil exhibits no marks of volcanic fire, nor can it be reaſonably preſumed, from any preſent appearance, that the face of the country could have been changed by an earthquake, upon which circumſtance as preſuppoſed another hypotheſis is built. Of all the proofs adduced by M. Chevalier, the tumuli, ſo connected with the Rhætean and Sigean promontories, and the outpoſts of the Grecian camp, are the moſt ſatisfactory. The ſite is likewiſe confirmed by four others, which, to whatever heroes they may be conjecturally attributed, with no additional weight to the argument, give a certain degree of internal evidence, and aſcertain the ſcene of great military tranſactions, or vicinity to a large city. In thoſe rude and primæval ages, heroes had no other monuments, nor

could any more laſting have been deviſed.

' Ingens
' Aggeritur tumulo tellus.'
VIRG. ÆN. l. iii. v. 62, 63.

" We found the bas relief, and the celebrated Sigean inſcription, written with the letters invented by Cadmus, and the lines written alternately backward and forward, a mode of the higheſt antiquity, and uſed likewiſe for the laws of Solon, according to Suidas. M. Choiſeul's attempt to remove it, ſanctioned by firhmans, and the intereſt of Haſsan Paſhà, could not prevail againſt the ancient prejudices of the villagers. It is accurately deſcribed by Chiſhul, Shuckford, and Chandler, and is now placed at the door of a low hut, conſecrated as a chapel. The letters are nearly worn out, having been ſo long uſed as a bench to ſit on. Advancing ſome furlongs over the promontory, we ſaw the barrow (beſhic tepèe) called the tomb of Antilochus by Strabo. On the other ſide of the village, under the brow of the hill, crowned by half a dozen windmills, near the ſea, are two ſmaller tumuli, generally ſuppoſed to be thoſe, one of which is attributed by the ancient geographers to the illuſtrious friends Achilles and Patroclus, and the other to Peneleus the Bœotian. Since the opening and diſcoveries made in the former, by order of the French embaſſador M. le compte de Choiſeul Gouffier, in 1787, ſome derviſhes have built their convent againſt it, and placed a clay cabin on the top. They now uſe the barrow as a cemetery.

" M. Chevalier has informed us, ' that towards the centre of the ' monument two large ſtones were ' found, leaning at an angle one a- ' gainſt the other, and forming a ' kind of tent, under which was pre- ' ſently diſcovered a ſmall ſtatue of ' Minerva ſeated in a chariot with ' four horſes, and an urn of metal ' filled with aſhes, charcoal, and ' human bones. This urn, now in the ' poſſeſſion of le Compte Choiſeul, ' is encircled in ſculpture with a ' vine branch, from which are ſuſ- ' pended bunches of grapes, done ' with exquiſite art.' Two pages of learned commentary ſucceed this aſſertion, which introduces a curious hypotheſis reſpecting early Grecian ſculpture.

" From information gained from the only perſon preſent at the opening of the barrow, whoſe ſimple detail the favour of a friend enables me to ſubjoin,* it is probable that nothing

* EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE DARDANELLES.

I had a very intereſting converſation with the ſon of the late French conſul, Sig. ' Solomon Ghormezano, relative to the opening of the tomb of Achilles, near the Sigean ' promontory. He ſaid that he had been employed by count Choiſeul Gouffier to examine ' the tumulus and to ſearch for remains, and that he worked at it by night, deceiving the ' aghà and people with the hopes of diſcovering a ſpring of water, ſo neceſſary to the ' inhabitants of Yeni-cheyr. Two months elapſed in this work, as no other perſon ſuper- ' intended. He frequently wiſhed to decline it in deſpair, but was directed to perſevere. ' At length he diſcovered the place where the reliques were depoſited. He immediate- ' ly collected the whole, and communicated his ſucceſs to his employer, filling a large ' cheſt with what he had found. Mr. Choiſeul enjoined him to bring them to him, and not

nothing was found which could juſtify ſuch an account. Extreme age, and the preſſure of the ground, had crumbled into atoms of ruſt all the metallic ſubſtances. The urn, or vaſe, M. Fauval, an ingenious artiſt now reſiding at Athens, received from M. Choiſeul in its decayed ſtate, and made a model from it, which has been exhibited to ſeveral connoiſſeurs, as much to their ſurpriſe as ſatisfaction; and 'the goddeſs with her chariot and four 'horſes' ſeem to prove that the Troad continues to be the land of invention. If Pococke's opinion be juſt, that Beſhic tepee, on the Sigean ridge, on account of being more conſpicuous at ſea, was the true ſepulchre of Achilles and Patroclus, and the two on the ſhore thoſe of Antilochus and another hero, Chevalier's account is deſcription inſtead of truth."

'not to truſt them out of his ſight; but he repaid his trouble with thanks only. He was 'induced to reſerve ſeveral ſmall ſpecimens, which he obligingly ſhowed and explained 'to us, as Mr. Choiſeul was no longer formidable.

'I ſubjoin a liſt of them.

'1. Pieces of burned bones. 2. Pieces of a metal vaſe. I enquired particularly con-'cerning the vaſe, and in what ſtate it was originally found. He replied, that it was 'broken, and had had a ſmall ornament only, round the rim; but that enough remained 'to determine the ſhape, and that it was of conſiderable ſize. What I ſaw was ſo en-'tirely deſtroyed by ruſt that no plauſible conjecture could be formed from it. 3. Char-'coal, made of vine branches. 4. A piece of mortar and ſtone, which appeared to have 'paſſed through fire. 5. A piece of metal of a triangular ſhape. 6. Pieces of very fine 'pottery, well painted, with wreaths of flowers of a dark olive colour. He obſerved that 'ſome of the pieces of pottery ſeemed to have compoſed large vaſes, beſide which were 'ſeveral ſmall cups, ſome of which were intire, and reſembled Etruſcan ware. It might 'have been a funeral ceremony to have emptied theſe to the memory of the deceaſed, and 'then to have placed them in the tomb.

'He delivered likewiſe to Mr. Choiſeul a fragment of braſs about a foot and a half 'long, and in the middle, being the thickeſt part, about the circumference of a quart 'bottle, and weighing ſeven or eight pounds. It was, at firſt, called the hilt of a ſword, 'but afterward M. Choiſeul declared it to be the ſtatue of a man, with a lion under each 'foot.

'7. A ſmall piece of a tranſparent ſubſtance, belonging, as he ſaid, to a kind of tube 'worked and cloſed at one end. It may not be eaſy to conjecture for what uſe this was 'intended. From his deſcription of it, I collect, that it was about a foot long and two 'inches in diameter, ornamented with branches in chaſed or emboſſed work, and of ſo 'tranſparent a nature, that objects might be clearly ſeen through it. It had received but 'ſlight injury, having only a ſmall fracture at the upper end.

'He then acquainted us with the different ſtrata of earth he had dug through in open-'ing the tomb. On the outſide was a kind of ſea ſand, the ſame as that near it; then 'yellowiſh ſoil, ſolid but light; coloured earths, black and yellow, each ſtratum being 'two feet deep, with large ſtones. On the foundation of the barrow apparently was a 'large ſlab, extending, as he ſuppoſed, over the whole, as wherever he dug he ſtill found 'it. In the middle was a hole twelve feet ſquare, around which was raiſed a wall three 'feet high, which was the ſepulchre containing the reliques. By the weight of the 'earth all was preſſed together, which accounts for the confuſed and broken ſtate in 'which the things were diſcovered. On the outſide of this ſtone was ſtrewed a quantity 'of lime, and then of charcoal, ſuppoſed to be the aſhes of the funeral pile.

'When the barrows were cloſed up, count Choiſeul placed a ſheet of lead on the bot-'tom inſcribed "Ouvrage fait par le Compte de Choiſeul Gouffier l'an 1787"!!! Mr. 'Chevalier's ignorance of modern Greek led him into a curious miſtake. The two con-'tiguous barrows are called "dthèo tepè," the two tombs. Mr. Chevalier hearing this 'name from the villagers, immediately conjectures away with his 'Διος τεφρα,' and puz-'zles himſelf with mythology.'

'October, 1795.'

On the Ancient and Modern Navigation of India.

[*From* DR. VINCENT'S *Voyage of Nearchus.*]

I CANNOT take a final leave of this coaſt without obſerving, that the whole diſtance from the Indus to Cape Jaſk comes out as near as may be, ſix hundred and twenty-five miles, equal to the eſtimation of Arrian on the coaſt of the Ichthyophagi alone; and this number of miles Nearchus was from ſeventy to ſeventy-five days in paſſing. If, however, with due allowance made for ſetting out againſt the monſoon, and twenty-four days loſt at Cape Monze, we reduce the whole to forty days, we may form a comparative view between ancient and modern navigation; for it appears from the journal of the Houghton Eaſt Indiaman, that ſhe made the ſame run in thirteen days; and upon her return was only five days from Gomeroon to Scindy Bar. But ſo far is this from diminiſhing the credit of the firſt navigators, that it is enhanced by every difficulty they had to ſurmount;—weak veſſels with inexperienced mariners; no proviſions but ſuch as an unknown coaſt might furniſh; no convenience for ſleeping on board; no pilot but ſuch as they might caſually pick up on their courſe; no certainty that this ſea was ever navigated before, or even navigable; and no reſources ſuch as the moderns have, without number, in their arms, their inſtruments, their experience, and the accumulated acquiſitions of knowledge, whether practical or theoretical. Under all theſe diſadvantages, if the object was attained, and the voyage completed, it is not the length of the courſe that ought to raiſe the name of Columbus higher than that of Nearchus; the conſequences derived from the diſcoveries of both are equally important, and the commerce with the Eaſt Indies upon a level with that of America: but if the communication fixed at Alexandria is the origin of the Portugueſe diſcoveries, and the circumnavigation of Africa, Nearchus is in fact the primary author of diſcovery in general, and the maſter both of Gama and Columbus.

There is one extraordinary circumſtance attending this expedition, which is, that we find no mention of mutiny or diſeaſe among the people. The former would be naturally checked by their ſituation, for they had no ſecond hope if they failed in the execution of their enterpriſe, and no chance of preſervation but by obedience to their commander; the latter was leſs likely to occur, from the circumſtances peculiar to the navigation; and the maladies ariſing from famine or bad proviſions, appear not to have had ſufficient time to exhibit their worſt effects. As far as can be collected from the journal, they were never without ſhell-fiſh till within a few days of their arrival; and ſcorbutic diſorders, which are the ſcourge of the mariner in the protracted voyages of the moderns, are never noticed by the ancients. The proximity of land, the frequency of ſleeping on ſhore, and the properties of their veſſels, which were not decked, ſeem to have operated to the excluſion of a diſeaſe, which two hundred years experience is only now teaching modern navigators to combat; and this experience nothing but the perſevering diſcipline of Cook could have reduced to practice.

It is not apparent that the paſſage from the Indus to the Gulph of Perſia

Perſia had ever been performed by the natives; for however great the commerce on that river was, and however extended, its progreſs naturally bent towards the coaſt of Malabar and the peninſula. The natives there were all Indians; while on the weſt, the name terminated at the Arabis, and all Indian manners with the boundary of the Oritæ at Malana. This appears to me a proof that no commerce from the Indus was carried farther by the Indians; the other natives, whether Oritæ or Ichthyophagi, had no embarkations even for fiſhing; and the Perſians were never navigators. If any veſſels, therefore, viſited theſe coaſts even in that early age, they were probably Arabian; but of this there can be no ſatisfactory evidence. That ſomething paſſed upon the ſea, and in all appearance from port to port, there ſeems to be ground for ſuppoſing; for Hydrakes could not have been worthy of employment without ſome ſort of experience; and there is a ſhadow of evidence that the pirates to the eaſtward of the Indus, who have been pirates in all ages, accidentally viſited the coaſt, either for the purpoſe of intercepting the traffic, or of plundering the property of the inhabitants; and yet what temptation could they preſent, unleſs ſlaves were a commodity? If ſo, their perſons might be ſeized, provided there were any record of a market to point out where they were diſpoſed of; but the whole teſtimony which can be collected, amounts in no degree to a proof of a navigation like that of Nearchus from India to Perſia; and as this is the principal link in the future chain of communication with Europe, the merit of examining it ſeems wholly due to him as the original undertaker. I am not ignorant of a much longer voyage in this very direction imputed to Scylax by Herodotus, from Pactya (the Pekeli of Rennell) into the Gulph of Arabia: but whether this voyage was performed by the Perſians, or that other round the Cape of Good Hope by the Phœnicians from Egypt, as recorded by him, is a point highly problematical in the opinion of every one who conſiders the ſtructure of ancient veſſels, and their whole method of navigation. I believe the record of both, as preſerved by Herodotus, to be evidence that the Perſians or Egyptians knew, from communication with the interior of the reſpective countries, that they were bounded by the ocean, and afforded the means of navigation; but that the voyages were actually performed requires more evidence, more particulars, and a clearer detail of facts, to enable us to form a judgment. The bare aſſertion that the thing had been done, might lead Alexander to think it practicable; but the Perſian voyage produced no conſequences whatever; and the Egyptian navigation led to nothing, unleſs we ſuppoſe the Portugueſe diſcoverers influenced by the aſſertion, that a paſſage round the Cape was practicable.

Scylax ought to be a Greek by the place of his nativity, Caryanda, or at leaſt an inhabitant of Aſia Minor; but we have no remains of his journal, and no other evidence of his voyage but the report of Herodotus, which is very deficient in circumſtances to confirm its own authority; and collateral evidence there is none. In regard to the

circumnavigation of Africa, there is one particular much inſiſted on by Larcher, Geſner, and other commentators; which is, the appearance of the ſun to the north: a phænomenon dependent on every navigation within the tropics. The reſerve of Herodotus, in ſaying that others may ſuppoſe this probable, though he doubts it himſelf, is a caution worthy of ſuch an hiſtorian, and more perſuaſive than the boldeſt aſſertion. I muſt, however, notice a peculiarity in this paſſage, which ſeems to have eſcaped the ſcrutiny of his commentators; for he informs us in another place, that he went up the Nile himſelf as far as Elephantine, in order to aſcertain ſome circumſtances relative to the head of that river, about which he thought himſelf impoſed upon by a ſecretary of the prieſts of Sais. Now, is it not extraordinary that if he reached Elephantine he ſhould not have viſited Syene, the very place at which he repreſents his doubts to exiſt?—Is it not ſtrange, that though he lived prior to the conſtruction of the well at Syene, he ſhould mention nothing of the ſituation of Syene itſelf under the tropic? Had he been there in ſummer, he muſt himſelf have ſeen the phænomenon he profeſſes to doubt, or at leaſt the ſun vertical; and if his viſit was at any other ſeaſon, is it not remarkable that he ſhould not have heard of this circumſtance? Elephantine is an iſland, or a city on an iſland, in the Nile, oppoſite to Syene; and yet Herodotus does not quite ſay he was actually at Syene. From his mention that the cataracts are four days ſail from the Elephantine he viſited, may we not ſuſpect that it was ſome iſland lower down (for there are many) or that the iſland called Elephantine by Pocock is not the Elephantine of Herodotus? and that the hiſtorian was not nearer Syene than within three days ſail? for it is in reality leſs than one day's ſail or journey by land from Syene to the cataracts. I mention theſe particulars, in order to ſhew the great obſcurity which attends all the diſcoveries whether real or pretended, in ages antecedent to hiſtory; and notwithſtanding all that Mr. Goſſelin has produced, to prove an early ſtate of navigation and geography, previous to the knowledge of the Greeks, and founded upon better principles; notwithſtanding the erudition diſplayed by Geſner in his Treatiſe on the Navigation of the Phœnicians in the Atlantic, there is nothing appears ſufficiently ſatisfactory to eſtabliſh the authenticity of any one prior voyage, of equal importance, upon a footing with this of Nearchus; or any certainty to be obtained where the evidence is all circumſtantial, and none poſitive. From a journal like the Periplus of Hanno, a knowledge of the coaſt of Africa will enable us to form a judgment of his progreſs: but a bare aſſertion of the performance of any voyage, without conſequences attendant or connected, without collateral or contemporary teſtimony, is too ſlight a foundation to ſupport any ſuperſtructure of importance. I ſhould think it time well employed to vindicate the honour of Columbus againſt the uſurpation of Veſpucius; but I would not beſtow a moment in annulling the claim of Madock and his Cambro-Britains to the diſcovery of America. The reader may conceive that this vindication of Nearchus

chus partakes more of the partiality of an editor than the inveſtigation of the truth: but I appeal to the ancient geographical fragments ſtill extant; the Periplus of Hanno, the ſurvey of the Euxine Sea by the real Arrian, and that of the Erythræan Sea, or Indian Ocean, by the fictitious one; and I ſay that all theſe, as well as the journal of Nearchus, though they have their errors, difficulties, or even abſurdities, ſtill contain internal evidence of veracity, and are well worthy of examination; while the expedition of the Argonauts, of Pytheas, or Scylax, is merely a ſpeculation of amuſement.

There is, however, another way of enquiry into the diſcoveries attributed to the earlieſt times; which is, by examining the commodities ſuch diſcoveries would produce.—Tin, the ſtaple of Britain, is mentioned in the moſt ancient authors neither as a rare nor a very precious metal; this muſt have been introduced to the nations on the Mediterranean, either by a tranſport over land (ſuch as is mentioned by Diodorus) or through the medium of a Phœnician navigation: the exiſtence of the metal, therefore, in Greece and Aſia is a proof that the voyage was performed, in ſome ſenſe or other. The influx of gold into Judæa is equally a proof of a commerce extended into the Indian or Æthiopic Ocean, beyond the limits of the Gulph of Arabia. The materials ſtill found in Egypt, that contributed to the preſervation of the mummies, are ſome of them ſuppoſed to be oriental; and if ſo, Egypt muſt have had, even antecedent to hiſtory, a communication with the eaſt, either directly by commerce of their own, or indirectly by means of intermediate nations, perhaps Arabian. In all theſe caſes we have a right to aſſume the navigation from the view of its effects; but the voyage of Scylax from India to Egypt, or that of the Phœnicians from Egypt round the continent of Africa, have neither produce nor conſequences; and though this is only a negative proof of their nonentity, it is as ſtrong as the nature of the caſe will admit: if no ſecond navigator had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, the diſcovery of Gama might have been deemed problematical. Were it poſſible to aſcribe theſe two voyages to the age of Herodotus, his teſtimony is ſuch, that it ought to preponderate againſt every argument of mere ſpeculation: but he probably records only the vanity of two nations, one the moſt proud of its empire, and the other of its ſcience; both capable of attributing to themſelves an action done, if it were poſſible to be done; and of this the poſſibility was perhaps known from internal information. My own opinion is decidedly againſt the reality of both theſe voyages; but whatever be my own judgment, it ſhall be ſubject to the deciſion of thoſe who profeſſedly conſider the queſtion in its full extent; it is here only incidental: but I muſt ſtill repeat, that it is the aſſertion of facts without circumſtances, while the voyage of Nearchus is detailed in all its parts, and is the earlieſt authentic journal extant. If, then, I am right, this is the firſt voyage of general importance to mankind; if I am miſtaken, it is ſtill the firſt of which any certain record is preſerved.

On the Roman Method of computing Time.

[*From Remarks on the Antiquities of Rome and its Environs. By* A. LUMISDEN, ESQ.]

ON the authority of Varro, Pliny informs us, that the firſt *ſun-dial* ſet up for public uſe at Rome, was brought from Catania in Sicily, by the conſul M. Valerius Meſſala, in the year U. C. 491, and was placed on a column near the *roſtra;* but as this dial had been projected for a more ſouthern latitude, it did not ſhow the hours with exactneſs. However, ſuch as it was, the Romans regulated their time by it for the ſpace of ninety-nine years, when Q. Marcus Philippus, who was cenſor with L. Paulus, cauſed another dial, conſtructed for the latitude of Rome, to be erected near the old one. But as a ſun-dial did not ſerve in cloudy weather, Scipio Naſica, five years after, remedied this defect, by introducing a method of dividing the night as well as the day into hours, by means of a water machine, a *clepſidra*, which Pliny calls an *horologium*.

I do not indeed conceive how a ſun-dial, or any other inſtrument, could point out the various hours, as time was computed by the ancient Romans. The time the earth takes to revolve once round its axis, or the ſpace between the riſing of the ſun till its next riſing, which makes a day and a night, divided into twenty-four equal parts, we call hours. Now, the Romans divided the day and the night into twenty-four hours. Twelve of theſe, from the riſing of the ſun to its ſetting, conſtituted their day; and the other twelve, from the ſetting of the ſun to its riſing, conſtituted their night. Thus as the ſeaſons changed, the length of their hours muſt have varied. In winter the twelve hours of the day were ſhort, and thoſe of the night long: in ſummer they were the reverſe. How then could theſe hours, of an unequal length, and which daily varied, be meaſured by an inſtrument? I have not been able to diſcover any method by which this could be done. However, they had two fixed points, viz. mid-day and mid-night, which they called the ſixth hour: ſo that a meridian line would always point out the ſixth hour, or mid-day.

Neither have I been able to diſcover when the modern Romans changed this method of computing time. In the courſe of the day and night they reckon twenty-four hours, which are all of an equal length in every ſeaſon of the year. No inconvenience can ariſe in reckoning twenty-four hours in place of twelve and twelve, as we do. Perhaps ſo far the modern Roman method is preferable to ours. But the difficulty is, that they do not begin to reckon their hours from a fixed point, viz. from mid-day, when the ſun croſſes the ſame meridian line every day in the year. Thus they call an hour after ſun-ſet the twenty-fourth hour; and an hour and a half after ſun-ſet the firſt hour, or one o'clock.* Hence the nominal hour of mid-day

* To reckon time from the ſetting of the ſun, was a very ancient cuſtom: it was practiſed particularly by the Germans and Gauls. It ſeems to be connected with the ideas which eſtabliſh the exiſtence of a chaos or night, before the world or day. See "Recherches ſur l'Origine et les Progrès des Arts de la Grèce, par M. d'Hancarville." l. 1. c. 2, p. 131.

day conſtantly changes with them: in June it is called ſixteen, and in December nineteen o'clock. To regulate, therefore, a time-piece by this method of computing, it muſt be daily altered.

Order paſſed by the Houſe of Commons in 1641, *rating every man according to his Eſtate for the King's Uſe.*

DUKES 100l.—Marquiſſes 80l.—Earls 60l.—Viſcounts 50l.—Lords 40l.—Baronets and Knights of the Bath 30l.—Knights 20l.—Eſquires 10l.—Gentlemen of 100l. per annum, 5lb.—Recuſants of all degrees to double Proteſtants.—Lord Mayor 40l.—Aldermen 20l.—Citizens fined for Sheriffs 20l.—Deputies of the Wards 15l.—Merchant ſtrangers, Knights 40l.—Common Council-men 5l.—Liverymen of the firſt twelve Companies 5l.—Liverymen of other Companies 2l. 10s.—Maſters and Wardens 5l.—Freemen 1l.—every Merchant of London 10l.—every Merchant ſtranger, trading within land, 5l.—every Engliſh Merchant, not free, 5l.—every Engliſh Factor, not free, 2l.—every ſtranger Proteſtant, Handicraft, or Tradeſman, or Artificer, 2s.—every Papiſt ſtranger, and Artificer, 4s.—every Widow, a third part, according to her huſband's degree—a Judge and Knight 20l.—King's Serjeant 25l.—Serjeant at Law 20l.—every one of the King's, Queen's, and Prince's council, 20l.—every Doctor of Civil Law and Doctor of Phyſic 10l.—every Biſhop 60l.—every Dean 40l.—every Canon 20l.—every Prebend 20l.—every Archdeacon 15l. every Chancellor and Commiſſary 15l.—every Parſon or Vicar of 100l. per annum, 5l.—every office worth above 100l. per annum, to be rated, every man who may ſpend 50l. per annum, 1l. 10s.—every man ſpending 20l. per annum, 5s.—every perſon who is above ſixteen years of age, and not receiving alms, nor formerly rated, 6d. per pole.

Form of a Permiſſion to ſolicit Aid for rebuilding a Houſe deſtroyed by Fire.

[*From the Gentleman's Magazine.*]

TO all Criſten peopill in Criſt to whome this p'ſent l'res ſhall come, ſee, or rede, we Thomas Clynton, Knyght, Lord Clynton, and Say, John Hobard, Mayre of the town and porte of Sandewiche, and Jurats of the ſame, Maſt^r Leonard Eglisfeld, parſon of Saint Peter's churche ther, Thomas Horden of the houſhold of O^r Souereign Lord the King, gentylman, Simon Gaſon, and Reymond, at Cheker, otherwiſe named Reymound Harflett, of the p'iſhe of Aſhe, next unto Sandwiche, foreſaid yoman, ſenden greating in O^r Lord God, Ev'laſting w^t due reverence appteyning. And foraſmoche as it is merytoryous, nedfull, and neceſſary, to every true Criſton creature to teſtify and record the truthe of ew'y matter doubtfull and uncertayn, and ineſpeciall when at th' inſtaunce of partie he therevnto ſhal be required: We therfor the ſaid Lord Clynton, Mayer, and Jurats, Leonard, Thomas Horden, Symon, and Reymound, at the eſpeciall inſtaunce and requeſt of Nicolas Yong, of the p'iſhe of Aſhe, foreſeid, teſtifie, and for truth do record, that wher as the ſeid Nicholas had and occupied a houſe

a houſe as a chafferyng-houſe, ſett in the King's highe wey in Aſhe, foreſaid, which was not onely for the refreſhing and harburing of ſuche parſons as that waye paſſid and repaſſid, but ineſpeciall refreſshed and harbured dyw's and meny of O^r Sou'eign Lord the King's ſubgietts, w^t his Grace going ouer in this his late moſt royall and victorious jo^rney in the p'ties beyonde the ſee. Whiche ſaid houſe in the evyn of Saint Frauncis, in the vith yere of the reign of O^r Sou'eign Lord the King, that now is, by misfortune, in great tempeſt of weder, in the night tyme, was ſodenly fyred and brent. The whiche houſe aft^r the diſceas of Johan, the wiff of the ſaid Nicholas, ſhall remayne unto oon Thomas Gardyner, ſonne of the ſaid Johan, by the laſt will of John Gardyner, of the p'iſhe of Aſhe, foreſaid, whill he levy'd. And the ſame houſe the ſaid Nicholas is not able to builde, oneles by the ayde and help of ſuche his good maſ^rs and ffrends that of thaire charitie ſhall geve him ayde and comforthe. Wherfore we hartelie deſire you and p^ry you that if it fortune the ſaid Nicholas to come emongs you, or any of you, that ye then do hym comforthe, towards the buylding of the ſaid houſe. So and in ſuch wiſe as we may do for you in like caſe, when ye or any of you ſhall require us. In witneſſe whereof, we the ſaid Lord Clynton, Mayor and Juratts, Leonard, Thom^s Horden, Symon, and Reymound, at the ſpeciall inſtaunce and requeſt of the foreſaid Nicholas Yong, to this p^ſents o^r ſeals we have putt the ſecound day of Januar, in the viith yere of the Reign of our Souereign Lord King Henry of England the Eight.

Ω

F. H. Clynton and Say (Seal) I.D.

No ſignature, Seal of Mayoralty only, the ſame now in uſe.

P' me Leonardu Eglysfeld, (Seal) J

No ſignature (Seal) T‡þ

Be me Simon Gaſon (Seal) a bird with a ſcroll iſſuing from its mouth, illegible.

Raymond, at Cheker (Seal broken and gone.)

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

A Memoir upon the Diſcovery of America. By M. Otto.

[*From the American Tranſactions, Vol. II.*]

IT has always been looked upon as a piece of injuſtice, not to have given the name of Columbus to that valuable part of the world which he diſcovered; and that Americanus Veſpucius, who did nothing but follow his footſteps, has had the good fortune of having his name handed down to the moſt diſtant poſterity, to the prejudice of his predeceſſor. What then will be ſaid, if it ſhall be proved that neither of thoſe celebrated navigators was the firſt diſcoverer of this immenſe country; and that this honour belongs to a man ſcarcely known in the republic of letters? This, however, is what I ſhall attempt in the following paper; and if the obſcurity of cotemporary writers, and the diſtance of time, do not afford arguments ſufficient for an abſolute demonſtration, there will, however, be enough to call in queſtion the pretenſions of Chriſtopher Columbus.

I ſhall not here enter into an examination of the reveries of ſome hiſtorians, on the voyages of the Carthaginians, the Atlantis of Plato, the bold expedition of Madoc Prince of Wales, and ſon of Owen Guinnedd, of which Hakluyt has preſerved ſome account, nor on the voyages of Bacchus, or the land Ophir of Solomon. Conjectures of this kind, whether true or falſe, cannot leſſen the glory of Columbus, were there not proof that he received, juſt before his expedition, the charts and journal of a learned aſtronomer who had been in America.

Garcilaſſo de la Vega, born at Cuſco in Peru, has given us an hiſtory of his country, in which, to take from Columbus the merit of the diſcovery of America, and to give the honour of it to the Spaniards, he aſſures us, that this navigator had been informed of the exiſtence of another continent by Alonzo Sanchez de Huelva, who, in his voyage to the Canaries, had been driven by a gale of wind to the Antilles; but that his chief information was procured from a celebrated geographer of the name of Martin Behenira. Garcilaſſo ſays nothing more of this Behenira: and ſince we know of no Spaniſh geographer of this name, Garcilaſſo has been ſuſpected of making a ſacrifice of truth to the deſire of wreſting from a Genoeſe the glory of diſcovering the New World.

On looking over with attention a liſt of all the learned men of the fifteenth century, I find the name of Martin Behem, a famous geographer

grapher and navigator. The chriſtian name is the ſame with that mentioned by Garcilaſſo, and I find that the ſyllables *ira* added to his name are owing to a particular circumſtance, namely, the honour conferred on him by John II. King of Portugal. It is then poſſible that this Martin Behem is the ſame perſon as Martin Behenira mentioned by Garcilaſſo; but this vague conjecture will receive the ſtamp of truth by the following detail:

The literary hiſtory of Germany gives an account of a Martin Behem, Beheim or Behin, who was born at Nuremberg, an Imperial city of the circle of Franconia, of a noble family, ſome branches of which are yet extant. He was much addicted to the ſtudy of geography, aſtronomy, and navigation from his infancy. At a more mature age, he often thought on the poſſibility of the exiſtence of the Antipodes, and of a weſtern continent. Filled with this great idea, he paid a viſit in 1459 to Iſabella, daughter of John I. King of Portugal, and Regent of the duchy of Burgundy and Flanders. Having informed her of his deſigns, he procured a veſſel, in which he made the diſcovery of the iſland of Fayal in 1460. He there eſtabliſhed a colony of Flemings, whoſe deſcendants yet exiſt in the Azores, which were for ſome time called the Flemiſh Iſlands. This circumſtance is proved, not only by the writings of contemporary authors, but alſo by the manuſcripts preſerved in the records of Nuremberg, from the Latin of which the following is tranſlated: "Martin Behem tendered his ſervices to the daughter of John king of Luſitania, who reigned after the death of Philip of Burgundy, ſurnamed the Good; and from her procured a ſhip, by means of which, having ſailed beyond all the then known limits of the Weſtern Ocean, he was the firſt who in the memory of man diſcovered the iſland of Fayal, abounding with beech trees, which the people of Luſitania call Faye; whence it derived its name. After this he diſcovered the neighbouring iſlands, called by one general name, the Azores, from the multitude of hawks which build their neſts there (for the Luſitanians uſe this term for hawks, and the French too uſe the word eſſos or eſores in their purſuit of this game); and left colonies of the Flemiſh on them, when they began to be called Flemiſh Iſlands, &c." Although this record is contrary to the generally received opinion that the Azores were diſcovered by Gonſalva Velho, a Portugueſe, yet its authenticity cannot be doubted; it is confirmed by ſeveral cotemporary writers, and eſpecially by Wagenſeil, one of the moſt learned men of the laſt century; who, after having travelled into Africa, and throughout all Europe, was made Doctor of Laws at Orleans, and choſen Fellow of the Academies of Turin and Padua, although he was a German by birth. The particulars are to be found in his Univerſal Hiſtory and Geography. I have moreover received from the records of Nuremberg a note written in German, on parchment, which contains the following facts: "Martin Beham, Eſquire, ſon of Mr. Martin Beham, of Scoperin, lived in the reign of John II. King of Portugal, in an iſland which he diſcovered, and called the Iſland of Fayal, one of the Azores, lying in the Weſtern Ocean."

After

After having obtained from the Regent Iſabella a grant of Fayal, and reſided there about twenty years, during which time he was buſied in making freſh diſcoveries in geography, by ſmall excurſions which need not be mentioned, Behem applied in 1484 (which was eight years before Columbus's expedition) to John II. King of Portugal, to procure the means of undertaking a great expedition towards the ſouth-weſt. This prince gave him ſome ſhips, with which he diſcovered that part of America which is now called Brazil; and he even ſailed to the Straits of Magellan, or to the country of ſome ſavage tribes whom he called Patagonians, from the extremities of their bodies being covered with a ſkin more like a bear's paws than human hands and feet. This fact is proved by authentic records, preſerved in the archives of Nuremberg, one of which in particular deſerves attention: "Martin Behem, traverſing the Atlantic Ocean for ſeveral years, examined the American iſlands, and diſcovered the Strait which bears the name of Magellan, before either Chriſtopher Columbus or Magellan ſailed thoſe ſeas; whence he mathematically delineated on a geographical chart, for the King of Luſitania, the ſituation of the coaſt around every part of that famous and renowned Strait long before Magellan thought of his expedition." This aſſertion is ſupported by Behem's own letters, written in German, and preſerved in the archives of Nuremberg, in a book which contains the birth and illuſtrious actions of the nobility of that city. Theſe letters are dated in 1486, that is, ſix years before the expedition of Columbus. This wonderful diſcovery has not eſcaped the notice of cotemporary writers. The following paſſage is tranſlated from the Latin chronicle of Hartman Schedl: "In the year 1485, John II. King of Portugal, a man of a magnanimous ſpirit, furniſhed ſome galleys with proviſions, and sent them to the ſouthward, beyond the Straits of Gibraltar. He gave the command of this ſquadron to James Canus, a Portugueſe, and Martin Behem, a German of Nuremberg in Upper Germany, deſcended of the family of Bonna: a man very well acquainted with the ſituation of the globe; bleſſed with a conſtitution able to bear the fatigues of the ſea; and who, by actual experiments and long ſailing, had made himſelf perfectly maſter with regard to the longitudes and latitudes of Ptolemy in the weſt. Theſe two, by the bounty of Heaven, coaſting along the Southern Ocean, and having croſſed the Equator, got into the other hemiſphere, where, facing to the eaſtward, their ſhadows projected towards the ſouth and right hand. Thus, by their induſtry, they have opened to us another world, hitherto unknown, and for many years attempted by none but the Genoeſe, and by them in vain. Having finiſhed this cruiſe in the ſpace of twenty-ſix months, they returned to Portugal with the loſs of many of their ſeamen by the violence of the climate."

This paſſage becomes more intereſting from being quoted in a book on the ſtate of Europe during the reign of the Emperor Frederick III. by the learned hiſtorian Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II. This hiſtorian died before the diſcoveries of Behem were made; but

but the publiſhers of his works thought the paſſage in Hartman Schedl ſo important, that they inſerted it in the hiſtory. We alſo find the following particulars in the remarks made by Petrus Mateus on the canon law, two years before the expedition of Columbus: "*Primæ navigationes, &c.*—The firſt Chriſtian voyages to the newly diſcovered iſlands became frequent under the reign of Henry, ſon of John, king of Luſitania. After his death Alphonſus V. proſecuted the deſign; and John, who ſucceeded him, followed the plan of Alphonſus, by the aſſiſtance of Martin Bohem, a very ſkilful navigator; ſo that in a ſhort time the name of Luſitania became famous over the whole world." Cellarius, one of the moſt learned men of his age, ſays expreſsly, "*Behaimeus non modo, &c.*— Bœhm did not think it enough to ſurvey the iſland of Fayal, which he firſt diſcovered, or the other adjacent iſlands which the Luſitanians call Azores, and we, after the example of Bœhm's companions, call Flemiſh iſlands, but advanced ſtill farther and farther ſouth, until he arrived at the remoteſt ſtrait, through which, Ferdinand Magellan, following his track, afterwards ſailed, and called it after his own name." All theſe quotations, which cannot be thought tedious, ſince they ſerve to prove a fact almoſt unknown, ſeem to demonſtrate, that the firſt diſcovery of America is due to the Portugueſe, and not to the Spaniards; and that the chief merit belongs to a German aſtronomer. The expedition of Ferdinand Magellan, which did not take place before the year 1519, aroſe from the following fortunate circumſtance: This perſon, being in the apartment of the king of Portugal, ſaw there a chart of the coaſt of America, drawn by Behem, and at once conceived the bold project of following the ſteps of this great navigator. Jerome Benzon, who publiſhed a deſcription of America in 1550, ſpeaks of this chart; a copy of which, ſent by Behem himſelf, is preſerved in the archives of Nuremberg. The celebrated aſtronomer Riccioli, though an Italian, yet does not ſeem willing to give his countryman the honour of this important diſcovery. In his Geographia Reformata, book iii. p. 90, he ſays, "Chriſtopher Columbus never thought of an expedition to the Weſt Indies until his arrival in the iſland of Madeira, where, amuſing himſelf in forming and delineating geographical charts, he obtained information from Martin Bœhm, or, as the Spaniards ſay, from Alphonſus Sanchez de Huelva, a pilot, who had chanced to fall in with the iſland afterwards called Dominica." And in another place: "Let Bœhm and Columbus have each their praiſe; they were both excellent navigators; but Columbus would never have thought of his expedition to America, had not Bœhm gone there before him. His name is not ſo much celebrated as that of Columbus, Americus, or Magellan, although he is ſuperior to them all."

But the moſt poſitive proof of the great ſervices rendered to the crown of Portugal by Behem, is the recompenſe beſtowed on him by King John, who in 1485 knighted him in the moſt ſolemn manner, in the preſence of all his court. I have before me a German paper, extracted from the archives of Nuremberg, to the following purport: "In the year 1485, on the 18th of February, in Portugal, in the city of Allaſavas,

and in the church of St. Salvador, after the maſs, Martin Behem of Nuremberg was made a knight, by the hands of the moſt puiſſant Lord John the ſecond, King of Portugal, Algarve, Africa, and Guinea; and his chief ſquire was the king himſelf, who put the ſword in his belt; and the Duke of Begia was his ſecond ſquire, who put on his right ſpur; and his third ſquire was Count Chriſtopher de Mela, the king's couſin, who put on his left ſpur; and his fourth ſquire was Count Martini Marbarinis, who put on his iron helmet; and the king himſelf gave him the blow on the ſhoulder; which was done in the preſence of all the princes, lords, and knights of the kingdom; and he eſpouſed the daughter of a great lord, in conſideration of the important ſervices he had performed; and he was made governor of the iſland of Fayal." Theſe marks of diſtinction, conferred on a ſtranger, could not be meant as a recompense for the diſcovery of the Azores, which was made twenty years before, but as a reward for the diſcovery of Congo, from whence the Chevalier Behem had brought gold and different kinds of precious wares. This diſcovery made much greater impreſſion than that of a weſtern world, made at the ſame time, but which neither increaſed the wealth of the royal treaſury, nor ſatisfied the avarice of the merchants.

In 1492, the Chevalier Behem, crowded with honours and riches, undertook a journey to Nuremberg, to viſit his native country and his family. He there made a terreſtrial globe, which is looked on as a maſter-piece for that time, and which is ſtill preſerved in the library of that city. The outline of his diſcoveries may there be ſeen, under the name of weſtern lands; and from their ſituation it cannot be doubted that they are the preſent Coaſts of Brazil, and the environs of the Straits of Magellan. This globe was made in the ſame year that Columbus ſet out on his expedition: therefore it is impoſſible that Behem could have profited by the works of this navigator, who beſides went a much more northerly courſe.

After having performed ſeveral other intereſting voyages, the Chevalier Behem died at Liſbon in July, 1506, regretted by every one, but leaving behind him no other work than the globe which we have juſt been ſpeaking of. It is made from the writings of Ptolemy, Pliny, Strabo, and eſpecially from the account of Mark Paul, the Venetian, a celebrated traveller of the thirteenth century; and of John Mandeville, an Engliſhman, who, about the middle of the fourteenth century, publiſhed an account of a journey of thirty-three years in Africa and Aſia. He has alſo added the important diſcoveries made by himſelf on the coaſts of Africa and America.

From theſe circumſtantial accounts, little known to modern writers, we muſt conclude that Martin Behenira, of whom Garcilaſſo makes mention, is the ſame Chevalier Behem, upon being the place of whoſe birth Nuremberg prides itſelf ſo much. It is probable that, as ſoon as he was knighted in Portugal, he thought it neceſſary to give a Portugueſe termination to his name, to make it more ſonorous and more conformable to the idiom of the country. Garcilaſſo, deceived by this reſemblance of ſound, has made

made him a Spaniard, in order to deprive Chriſtopher Columbus of the honour of having procured to his country ſo great an advantage. And what ought to confirm us in this opinion is, that we neither find in Mariana, nor any other Spaniſh hiſtorian, the name of this Martin Behenira, who was certainly a man of too much importance not to have had a diſtinguiſhed place in hiſtory. Beſides, the Spaniſh pride would have been flattered in giving to a native thoſe laurels with which it crowned Chriſtopher Columbus.

It is then very unlikely that this navigator was treated as an enthuſiaſt, when he offered to the court of Portugal to make diſcoveries in the weſt. The ſearch after unknown countries was at that time the reigning paſſion of this court; and even if the Chevalier Behem had not offered the intereſting ideas which he had procured, the novelty of the project would undoubtedly have engaged King John to ſupport the views of Columbus: but it appears that this prince declined it, becauſe all his thoughts were turned at that time to the coaſt of Africa, and the new paſſage to the Indies, from whence he procured great riches; whilſt the ſouthern coaſt of Brazil, and the territories of the Patagonians, ſeen by Behem, offered to him only barren lands inhabited by unconquerable ſavages. The refuſal of John II., very far from weakening the teſtimony of Behem's diſcoveries, is then rather a proof of the knowledge which this politic prince had already procured of the exiſtence of a new continent: and it was only in 1501, that is to ſay, three years after the voyage of Vaſco de Gama to the Indies, that Emanuel thought proper to take advantage of the diſcoveries of Behem, by ſending Albarez Cabral to Brazil; a meaſure which was perhaps rather owing to the jealouſy which has always exiſted between Portugal and Spain, than to a deſire of making advantageous eſtabliſhments, for which the Indies were much more proper than this part of America.

If any doubts yet remain reſpecting the important diſcovery made by the Chevalier Behem, it is particularly the authority of Dr. Robertſon which attacks the teſtimony of the different authors we have tranſcribed. This learned writer treats the hiſtory of Behem as a fiction of ſome German authors, who had an inclination to attribute to one of their countrymen a diſcovery which has produced ſo great a revolution in the commerce of Europe. But he acknowledges, nevertheleſs, after Herrera, that Behem had ſettled at the iſland of Fayal; that he was the intimate friend of Chriſtopher Columbus; and that Magellan had a globe made by Behem, by the help of which he undertook his voyage to the South Sea; a circumſtance which proves much in favour of our hypotheſis. He relates alſo, that in 1492 this aſtronomer paid a viſit to his family at Nuremberg, and left there a map drawn by himſelf, of which Dr. Forſter procured him a copy, and which, in his opinion, partakes of the imperfection of the coſmographical knowledge of the 15th century: that he found in it, indeed, under the name of the iſland of St. Brandon, land which appears to be the preſent coaſt of Guiana, and lies in the latitude of Cape-Verd; but that there is reaſon to believe that this fabulous iſland, which is found

in

in many ancient maps, merits no more attention than the childiſh legend of St. Brandon himſelf. Although Dr. Robertſon does not appear diſpoſed to grant to Behem the honour of having diſcovered the new continent, we find the means of refuting him in his own hiſtory. He allows that Behem was very intimate with Chriſtopher Columbus; that he was the greateſt geographer of his time, and ſcholar of the celebrated John Müller, or Regiomontanus; that he had diſcovered, in 1483, the kingdom of Congo upon the coaſt of Africa; that he made a globe which Magellan made uſe of; that he drew a map at Nuremberg, containing the particulars of his diſcoveries; and that he placed in this chart land which is found to be in the latitude of Guiana. Dr. Robertſon aſſerts, without any proof, that this land was but a fabulous iſland. We may ſuppoſe, upon the ſame foundation, that the Chevalier Behem, engaged in an expedition to the kingdom of Congo, was driven by the winds to Fernambouc, and from thence by the currents very common in thoſe latitudes towards the coaſt of Guiana; and that he took for an iſland the firſt land which he diſcovered. The courſe which Chriſtopher Columbus afterwards ſteered makes this ſuppoſition ſtill more probable; for if he knew only of the coaſt of Brazil, which they believe to have been diſcovered by Behem, he would have laid his courſe rather to the ſouth-weſt. The expedition to Congo took place in 1483: it is then poſſible that at his return Behem propoſed a voyage to the coaſts of Brazil and Patagonia; and that he requeſted the aſſiſtance of his ſovereign, which we have mentioned above. It is certain that we cannot have too much deference for the opinion of ſo eminent a writer as Robertſon; but this learned man not having it in his power to conſult the original German documents which we have quoted, we may be allowed to form a different opinion without being too preſumptuous.

But ſhould it be aſked, Why we take from Chriſtopher Columbus the reputation which all Europe has to this day allowed him?—why ſearch into the archives of an imperial city for the cauſes of an event which took place in the moſt weſtern extremity of Europe?—why the enemies of Chriſtopher Columbus, who were numerous, did not take advantage of the pretended Chevalier Behem to leſſen his conſequence at the Spaniſh Court?—why Portugal, jealous of the diſcovery of the New World, has not proteſted againſt the aſſertions of the Spaniards?—why Behem, who died only in 1506, had not left to poſterity any writing to confirm to himſelf ſo important a diſcovery?

To anſwer all theſe queſtions, I ſhall ſubmit to the impartial reader the following remarks:

1. Before Columbus, the great merit of a navigator conſiſted rather in conceiving the poſſibility of the exiſtence of a new continent, than in ſearching for lands in a region where he was ſure to find them. If it is then certain that Behem had conceived this bold idea before Columbus, the fame of the latter muſt be conſiderably diminiſhed.

2. The hiſtorical proofs which we have given above leaving us no doubt of the fact, we have only to explain the moral cauſes of the

ſilence of the Spaniſh and Portugueſe authors, of the enemies of Columbus, and of Behem himſelf.

3. It is well known that, previous to the reign of Charles V. there was little communication between the learned men of different nations. Writers were ſcarce, excepting ſome monks, who have related, well or ill, the events which came to their knowledge, in chronicles which are no longer read; or they had but little notion of what paſſed in foreign countries. Gazettes and journals were unknown, and the learned were obliged to travel, to inform themſelves of the progreſs of their neighbours. Italy was the centre of the arts, and what are called ſciences, at that time. The frequent journeys of the German emperors to Rome gave them an opportunity of knowing perſons of merit, and of placing them in the different univerſities of the empire. It is to this circumſtance that we ought to attribute the great progreſs which the Germans made, particularly in mathematics, from the fourteenth to the ſixteenth century; during which time they had the beſt geographers, the beſt hiſtorians, and the moſt enlightened politicians. They were particularly attentive to what paſſed in Europe; and the multiplied connections of different princes with foreign powers aſſiſted them greatly in collecting, in their archives, the original pieces of the moſt important events of Europe. It is to this ſpirit of criticiſm and enquiry that we are indebted for the reformation of Luther; and we cannot deny that, particularly in the fifteenth century, there was more hiſtorical and political knowledge in Germany than in all the reſt of Europe, Italy excepted. It is not then aſtoniſhing that we ſhould find, in the archives of one of the moſt ancient imperial cities, the particulars of an expedition planned upon the banks of the Tagus, by a German, a man of great repute in his own country, and whoſe every action became very intereſting.

4. It was different in Portugal, where the whole nation, except the king, was plunged in the moſt profound ignorance. Every one was either merchant, ſailor or ſoldier; and if this nation has made the moſt important diſcoveries, we muſt aſcribe them rather to avarice than to a deſire of knowledge. They were ſatisfied with ſcraping together gold in every quarter of the known world, whilſt the German and the Italian took up the pen to tranſmit to poſterity the remembrance of their riches and cruelties. The Spaniards were not much more informed before Charles V. introduced at Madrid the learned men of Flanders and Germany. It is then very poſſible that the Chevalier Behem made very intereſting diſcoveries in geography in 1485, without the public being acquainted with them. If he had brought back from his expedition gold or diamonds, the news would have been ſpread in a few weeks; but ſimple geographical knowledge was not of a nature to intereſt men of this turn of mind.

5. The long ſtay which Chriſtopher Columbus made at Madeira makes his interview with Behem more than probable. It is impoſſible that he ſhould have neglected ſeeing a man ſo intereſting, and who could give him every kind of information for the execution of the plan he had formed. The mariners who

who accompanied the Chevalier Behem might alſo have ſpread reports at Madeira and the Azores concerning the diſcovery which they had been witneſſes of. What ought to confirm us in this is, that Mariana ſays himſelf (book xxvi. ch. iii.) that a certain veſſel going to Africa was thrown by a gale of wind upon certain unknown lands; and that the ſailors, at their return to Madeira, had communicated to Chriſtopher Columbus the circumſtances of their voyage. All authors agree that this learned man had ſome information reſpecting the weſtern ſhores; but they ſpeak in a very vague manner. The expedition of the Chevalier Behem explains this myſtery.

6. This aſtronomer could not be jealous of the diſcoveries of Columbus, becauſe the laſt had been farther north, and that in a time when they did not know the whole extent of the New World; and when geographical knowledge was extremely bounded, it might be believed that the country diſcovered by Columbus had no connection with that diſcovered by Behem.

It appears however certain, that Behem diſcovered this continent before Columbus; and that this queſtion, which is only curious in Europe, becomes intereſting to the American patriot. The Grecians have carefully preſerved the fabulous hiſtory of their firſt founders, and have raiſed altars to them: Why are not Behem, Chriſtopher Columbus, and Veſpucius deſerving of ſtatues in the public ſquares of American cities? Theſe precious monuments would tranſmit to poſterity the gratitude which theſe benefactors of mankind ſhould inſpire. Without knowing it, they have laid the foundation of the happineſs of many millions of inhabitants; and Seſoſtris, Phul, Cyrus, Theſeus, and Romulus, the founders of the greateſt empires, will be forgotten before the ſervices rendered by theſe illuſtrious navigators can be effaced from the memory of man.

On the Coalition attempted by ſome Britiſh Artiſts, between Poetry and Painting.

[*From The* PHILANTHROPE; *after the Manner of a Periodical Paper.*]

"A COALITION of a very pleaſing nature has been attempted by ſome Britiſh artiſts, between poetry and painting. Poetry and painting are no doubt congenial arts. They have ſome principles or eſſential qualities in common, and denote ſimilar energies in the mind of the poet and painter.

"It is therefore exceedingly pleaſing to ſee the fine fancy of the poet, particularly the bold and ſtriking imagery of Shakeſpeare, as exhibited in the Shakeſpeare gallery, realized by the pencil, and diſplayed, as it were, not only to mental, but actual viſion.

"But the obſervation is no leſs juſt in criticiſm than in morals, that where we enjoy a great deal of pleaſure, we alſo encounter a good deal of danger. Pleaſing as on many occaſions may be the effects of this combination between two of the moſt elegant arts, it ought not to be attempted in any inſtance, without cautious deliberation and acute diſcernment. In particular, much diſcernment and good taſte are required for aſcertaining what paſſages in a poem are proper ſubjects for painting. Here the admirers

mirers of painting and the partisans of its alliance with poetry may be inclined to ask, are not all fine passages in a poem fit to be delineated by the painter; are not the arts congenial, and are they not produced by similar energies? They are admitted to be congenial; but some distinctions must be attended to. Let it be particularly attended to and remembered, that what is highly poetical is not always picturesque. Many fine thoughts of the poet, and many objects presented by him to the mind, cannot by all the creative power of lines, colours, and shades be rendered visible. Can any grief be more natural than that of Cordelia when she is informed how cruelly her sisters have treated their father? But who can pourtray the feelings that shrink from notice, as the sensitive plant from the touch; that veil themselves with reserve; that fly even from consolation, and hide themselves in the secret mazes and mysterious sanctuaries of the heart?

Kent. Did your letters pierce the queen
to any demonstration of grief?
Gent. I say she took 'em, read 'em in my
presence;
And now and then an ample tear trill'd
down
Her delicate cheek: it seem'd she was a
queen
Over her passion, which, most rebel like,
Sought to be king over her,
Kent. O, then it moved her.
Gent. But not to rage. Patience and
sorrow strove
Which should express her goodliest: You
have seen
Sun-shine and rain at once. Those hap-
piest smiles
That played on her ripe lip seem'd not to
know
What guests were in her eyes, which
parted thence,
As pearls from diamonds dropt.—In brief,
Sorrow would be a rarity most belov'd,
If all could so become it.
Kent. Made she no verbal question?
Gent. Once or twice,
She heav'd the name of father,
Pantingly forth, as if it prest her heart,
Cry'd, Sisters! Sisters! What! i' th' storm
of night
Let pity ne'er believe it! then she shook
The holy water from her heav'nly eyes,
And then retir'd to deal with grief alone.

"In like manner, the sublime and awful vision in the book of Job, the indistinct form of the spirit, the portentous silence, and the solemn voice, shake and appal the soul; but set at defiance all the skill and dexterity of the most ingenious artist.

"In thoughts from the visions of 'the night, when deep sleep falleth 'on men, fear came upon me, and 'trembling, which made all my 'bones to shake. Then a spirit 'passed before my face; the hair 'of my flesh stood up; it stood still, 'but I could not discern the form 'thereof; an image was before mine 'eyes; there was silence, and I 'heard a voice.'

"In fact, persons of real candour, who are capable of discerning, and of giving attention to the beauties of nature, will acknowledge the existence of many fine and striking landscapes which cannot be imitated or displayed by the painter. Exquisite scenery, without being picturesque, may be distinguished both for beauty and grandeur. Or shall we say, as I have heard asserted by some fashionable connoisseurs, that nothing in external nature, no combination whatever of water, trees, and verdure, can be accounted a beautiful object, unless it can be transferred to the canvass. Contrary to this, it may at least be doubted, whether many delightful passages, if I may so express myself, both at the Leasowes and among the Lakes in Cumberland,

Cumberland, though gazed at with tenderneſs, or contemplated with admiration, would not baffle all the power of the pencil. Though poetry ought to be like painting, yet the maxim or rule, like many other ſuch rules and maxims, is not to be received without due limitation.

" It is therefore the duty of the painter, who by his art would illuſtrate that of the poet, to conſider in every particular inſtance, whether the deſcription or image be really pictureſque. I am loth to blame where there is much to commend, and where the artiſt poſſeſſes high and deſerved reputation. But will it not be admitted that the picture by Reynolds, which repreſents the death of cardinal Beaufort as deſcribed by Shakeſpeare, is liable to the cenſure of injudicious ſelection in the choice of a ſubject? Or is it poſſible for any colouring or delineation to convey the horror of the ſituation ſo impreſſively as in the words of the poet?

Sal. Diſturb him not, let him paſs peaceably.
King. Peace to his ſoul, if God's good pleaſure be!—
Lord Cardinal, if thou thinkeſt on Heaven's bliſs,
Hold up thy hand, make ſignal of thy hope.—
He dies, and makes no ſign:—O God, forgive him!

" The ſubject is entitled to more particular conſideration.—Certain diſpoſitions of mind produce great effects on the body; agitate the whole frame; impreſs or diſtort the features. Others again, more latent, or more reſerved, ſuppreſs their external ſymptoms, ſcorn or reject, or are not ſo capable of external diſplay; and occaſion no remarkable, or no immediate change in limb, colour, or feature. Such peculiar feelings and affections, averſe to render themſelves viſible, are not fit ſubjects for that art which affects the mind, by preſenting to the eye the reſemblant ſigns of its objects. Deſpair is of this number: ſuch utter deſpair as that of Cardinal Beaufort. It will not complain, for it expects no redreſs; it will not lament, for it deſires no ſympathy; brooding upon its hopeleſs affliction, it neither weeps, nor ſpeaks, 'nor 'gives any ſign.' But, in the picture under review, the painter repreſents the chief character in violent and extreme agitation. Nor is even that agitation, if we allow deſpair to diſplay agitation, of a kind ſufficiently appropriated. Is it the ſullen anguiſh, the ſuppreſſed agony, the horrid gloom, the tortured ſoul of deſpair? No: It is the agitation of bodily pain. The poor abject ſufferer gnaſhes his teeth, and writhes his body, as under the torment of corporal ſuffering. The anguiſh is not that of the mind.—No doubt, at a preceding moment, before his deſpondency was completely ratified, the poet repreſents him as in great perturbation; but the affliction is from the pangs of death.

War. See how the pangs of death do make him grin.

" But after his deſpair receives full confirmation from the heart-ſearching ſpeech of Henry, his feelings are ſeared with horror, and his agony will 'give no ſign.' For the moment of the picture is not when Beaufort is ſaid to be grinning with mortal anguiſh; but the more awful moment, when having heard the requeſt of Henry, he ſinks, of conſe-

quence, into the deepeſt deſpondency. Before that, it would have been no other than the picture of a man, of any man whatever, expiring with bodily pain. If indeed the picture is to expreſs any thing peculiar or characteriſtic, it muſt be deſpair formerly excited, but now ratified and confirmed by the ſpeech of Henry.

King. Lord Cardinal, if thou thinkeſt on Heaven's bliſs,
Hold up thy hand, make ſignal of thy hope.—
He dies, and makes no ſign:—O God, forgive him!

"In ſhort, the paſſage, highly ſublime and affecting, as it muſt be acknowledged, is more poetical than pictureſque: and the artiſt has waſted, on an ill-choſen ſubject, his powers, rather of execution in this inſtance, than of invention. Surely we ſee no maſterly invention in the preternatural being placed behind or beſide the Cardinal; for though the poet has ſaid, in the character of Henry, that a 'buſy meddling fiend 'was laying ſiege to his ſoul;' yet as the ſpeaker did not actually ſee the fiend, there was no occaſion for introducing him, like the devil in a puppet-ſhow, by the ſide of his bed. Nor is there much invention in the ſtale artifice of concealing the countenance of the king, becauſe his feelings could not be painted. In fact, the affectionate aſtoniſhment and pious horror of Henry were fitter for delineation, than the ſilent, ſullen, and uncommunicative deſpair of Beaufort.

"The rage of delineating to the eye all that is reckoned fine in writing may be illuſtrated alſo, in the performances of other able and famous artiſts. In Gray's Ode on the Spring, we have the following allegorical deſcription:

Lo! where the roſy-boſom'd hours,
Fair Venus' train, appear,
Diſcloſe the long expecting flowers,
And wake the purple year.

"The hours accordingly, adorned with roſes diſpoſed as the poet deſcribes them, are repreſented on canvaſs, as a company of jolly damſels, twiching or pulling another very beautiful and buxom female, who is repreſented as ſleeping on a bank, and clothed with a purple petticoat. Seeing ſuch things, it is impoſſible not to think of Quarles's or Hugo's emblems. The thought, 'who ſhall deliver me from this 'body of ſin and death,' is preſented to the eye, in one of them, by the figure of a man encloſed within the ribs of a monſtrous and hideous ſkeleton. In truth, the inventor of the prints in ſome editions of the Pilgrim's Progreſs (where, among others, Chriſtian is repreſented as trudging along like a pedlar, with a burden on his back) is entitled to the merit of priority in the extravagance of ſuch inventions; for let it be remembered, that it is only againſt extravagancies and miſapplications, and not againſt the invention itſelf, that I have ventured to remonſtrate."

Character of a Wife.

[*From the Monthly Magazine.*]

Sir,

SOME very wiſe men have doubted whether—no—I beg their pardon—very wiſe men, in our days, are averſe to the ſlow proceſs of doubting—and therefore find it eaſier

to *aſſert*—that all our vices are the exceſſes of ſome virtue; though, I believe, they have not gone ſo far as to offer the converſe of this propoſition, and maintain, that all our virtues muſt be the ſuperfluous part of our vices. Whether they are right in eſtabliſhing this barter, is not for me to determine; but I cannot help being ſomewhat inclined to think, that very good ſort of people have ſtrange whims and habits, which, though it would neither be polite nor juſt to call vices, yet muſt be accounted very troubleſome and inconvenient things. Such is the caſe, perhaps, with your outrageously virtuous people, in whoſe opinion, a ſmile is a criminal overture, and the touch of a finger an impulſe of Satan—or with your violently ſentimental people, who exult in the proſpect of a long dreary aiſle, terminated by a dungeon, who converſe in ſobs and ſhrieks; and whoſe daily bread is a kind of fermentation, excited by the clanking of chains, and the report of piſtols.—But let me not wander from my intended ſubject. Let me not plunge into the abyſs of romance, when I ought to relate a plain tale, nor wander abroad in ſearch of terrors, when I may remain at home in purſuit only of inconveniences.

My misfortune, Sir, is to poſſeſs the whole and ſole property, perſonal and mental, of a WIFE, who is, without all exception (except what is to follow) one of the beſt of human beings. That ſhe is ſo, I ſhould be diſpoſed to allow voluntarily, even if I were not obliged to aſſent to it, as atteſted and ſworn by every one who knows her, that is, who occaſionally pays us a viſit, beholds her good deeds, and profits by them. To contradict people, who muſt be the beſt judges, becauſe they think ſo, and in a matter, too, which muſt be very gratifying to the feelings of a huſband, would be at once very unpolite and very unwiſe. But writing, as I am now, to you, and in a Miſcellany which is intended to anſwer the purpoſes of a Committee of Public Safety, I may, perhaps, take greater freedoms than domeſtic good manners will allow; and in my fictitious character, advance ſome things, which, in *propria perſona*, I find it quite as prudent to let paſs without animadverſion.

Sir, this angel of a woman—that is a very fine epithet from a man who has been married above twenty years—would deſerve more praiſes than you have leiſure or patience to read, had ſhe not hit, in early life, upon a *ſyſtem of happineſs*, which ſhe is never likely to complete, which perhaps never was completed, and which, if it could be brought to a termination, would probably make her very unhappy. You are to know, that ſhe reſolves all happineſs into two paſſions, hope and fear, and a mind continually vibrating between theſe, is, in her opinion, a mind of perfect felicity. Now, I know that ſome people would call this *reſtleſſneſs*, and an eminent phyſician, of my acquaintance, has aſſured me, that it is nothing but the *fidgets*, a diſorder, peculiar, as he ſays, to females, eſpecially to thoſe who are called your *mighty good kind* of women: but this, with ſubmiſſion to his medical ſkill, muſt, I think, be a miſtake; for I have perceived ſymptoms of the *fidgets* in women, who could not, in any ſenſe of the words, be termed mighty good, or mighty evil. A learned lady aſſured me, that my

wife's diſorder was *irritability* of *locomotion.*

Be this as it may, for doctors will differ, my wife purſues her ſyſtem with unabated aſſiduity, continually finding out ſchemes to exerciſe her mind in hope and fear, to raiſe expectation, prove ingenuity, gratify curioſity, and, as Bayes ſays, in the Rehearſal, "to elevate and ſurpriſe." You may, therefore, ſuppoſe, that in order to carry on this plan of happineſs, ſomewhat of a romantic turn is neceſſary. You are not miſtaken. She poſſeſſes very much of that turn, but is much better pleaſed with the romances of real life, than with thoſe of fiction, and would much rather ſummon a hackney-coachman, than call up hobgoblins in an old caſtle. And it is very remarkable, that not a day paſſes without her meeting, by the *mereſt accident in the world,* with the ſtrangeſt perſons, the moſt unlooked-for incidents, or the oddeſt ſpeeches and expreſſions, that ever occurred in the hiſtory of the world. —N. B. I never found a perſon of an *adventurous* turn of mind, who did not meet with *adventures*; and I don't know, but that, in ſkilful hands, a journey to Hampſtead might be made as ſurpriſing, as a voyage round the globe. But this by the bye.

You will alſo readily imagine, that my wife is a woman of a very active turn of mind.—Ah! ſir, there it is— She is of ſo active a diſpoſition, that reſt is unknown at our houſe. We have always ſomething to hope, or ſomething to fear; ſome ſcheme to execute, ſome alteration to make, or ſomething to illuſtrate the deſiderated doctrine of perpetual motion. But I muſt deſcend to particulars.

Soon after our marriage, it was found out by my wife, that the houſe we lived in was inconvenient, the ſtair-caſe was narrow, the wainſcoting was impaired by time, and the floors were damaged.—There was much to be done, and much to be undone. Having little of the ſpirit of contradiction in me, I had no difficulty in admitting, that the hand of the carpenter might relieve us in theſe reſpects; and ſent for a couple of truſty fellows, to whom I explained our wants, and only hinted, that I could wiſh the job finiſhed with expedition; which they, as is their cuſtom, promiſed ſhould certainly be the caſe. But this was neither my wife's wiſh nor intention. *Finiſhing* is no part of her ſyſtem, and the word *complete* is, I believe, not in her vocabulary. She had ſketched out improvements of a higher kind, and probably dreading the ſhallowneſs of my capacity to underſtand the whole, choſe to develope the plan in ſuch fragments as might ſuit my comprehenſion. Little, however, as I knew of her intentions, I ſoon diſcovered, that her ſole pleaſure was in *buſtle*, and that ſhe had cut out this work, neither for the benefit of the houſe, nor of the workmen, but purely to divert her mind, and keep her invention in motion. Within a month, our houſe was nearly quite demoliſhed, a ſmall reſerve only having been made for preſent accommodation, the ſite of which, to prevent interruption from viſitors, was the garret, and the only acceſs to it, by means of ladders, the laſt of which, it was my buſineſs to pull up after me, with the care and circumſpection of Robinſon Cruſoe, when he dreaded a viſit from the ſavages.

To interpoſe now, I ſaw was in vain, for I did not wiſh to demoliſh all my comforts together, and there-

fore

fore let the lady directreſs order every thing in her own taſte, hoping, that the whole would ſoon be completed, and that there could not be a pretence for farther alterations, for ſome years at leaſt. But in this we were mutually diſappointed. I was diſappointed, becauſe my wife was not ſatisfied; and ſhe was diſappointed, becauſe every thing having been done according to her own plan, and nothing done as ſhe liked, ſhe had no perſon to blame but herſelf—and that is a trouble, which my wife never takes, even when moſt at leiſure from other avocations.

We had not been ſeated in our improved manſion many months, when my wife diſcovered, that although no fault could reaſonably be found with the houſe itſelf (except as aforeſaid, that ſhe diſliked her own improvements) there was a misfortune attending it, which baffled even *her* contriving genius.—This was ſimply its being placed juſt where it was, and not about a mile off, in a genteeler part of the town. Of this I had repeated hints, and knowing the intimate connexion between a hint and a requiſition, I aſſented with good grace; in conſequence of which, our preſent houſe was taken. Its principal recommendation, I thought had been its ſituation, but that was not the only one. It had, beſides, every poſſible negative requiſite for a lady of my wife's diſpoſition. It had not been tenanted for years, and therefore wanted many repairs. *We* had never lived in it at all, and therefore it wanted as many improvements as her utmoſt ſtretch of fancy could reach, which, to her, preſented a glorious proſpect. Carpenters, bricklayers, painters, glaziers, and cabinet-makers, went to work; and as theſe gentlemen are not very expeditious, even though they aſſiſt each other wonderfully, my wife was the happieſt creature in the univerſe, for near five months—and I can't ſay but that I enjoyed a comparative ſtate of happineſs during this time, and that for two reaſons: firſt, I was not upon the ſpot, nor within hearing; and, ſecondly, madam inſiſted, that I ſhould not enter the doors of it until all was finiſhed, that I might be ſurpriſed and aſtounded at the ſkill and taſte diſplayed by her.

Well, ſir, behold us now ſeated here, in a capital manſion, almoſt new, and apparently excepted from the repairing act for many years. What was there to interrupt our quiet?—Even that which has ever produced the ſame effect—my wife's averſion to a life of eaſe. Faults appeared to her critical eye, which eſcaped my penetration. The fly on the pillar could not be more faſtidious; hence we relapſed gradually into the repairing ſyſtem, and devoted at leaſt ſix weeks every year to this animating and lively buſineſs; when a new circumſtance occurred. One day, as my wife was reading the newſpaper, ſhe obſerved that our houſe was advertiſed to be ſold, and a hint, which to any body elſe, would have been as dark as the explanations of a ſtateſman, produced a firm conviction in my mind, that ſhe would not be ſatisfied without making it our freehold. I aſſented, as uſual, but from another motive than ſhe ſuſpected; for while ſhe was expatiating on the advantage of having "a houſe of one's own, no rent to pay, the low price of eſtates," and other prevailing inducements, I hugged myſelf in the idea,

idea, that when the houſe became our own, it would put an end to all future ſchemes of removal. This being agreed upon, "ſhe would make the purchaſe herſelf in perſon;" and why? becauſe ſhe has often declared that the happieſt moments of her life are thoſe during which her heart flutters in uniſon with the vibrations of an auctioneer's hammer, and that ſhe would rather be out of pocket, at a ſale, than not out of breath when the laſt ſtroke falls.

We were now, I thought, beyond the reach of removal, and I thought right; but that the mind ſhould not ſtagnate in inactivity, many ſubſtantial alterations have been ſince carried into execution, becauſe, my wife ſays, we may do what we will with the houſe, "now it is our own." For all the above conſiderations, ſhe has univerſally obtained the character of a WOMAN of TASTE, although ſome have given her the more familiar name of a NOTABLE WOMAN.

But, ſir, even repairs and alterations muſt be ſometimes interrupted. There muſt be times when no partition requires to be pulled down, and no ſhelves want to be put up; when hinges and locks do their duty in ſilence, and ſcouring may ſupply the place of paint; when every chair is in its place, and every tub ſtands on its own bottom. To fill up theſe interſtices, and keep the mind in exerciſe, when no affairs of her own demand her attention, my wife has acquired a very happy knack at managing the affairs of other people. Her acquaintance being pretty extenſive, and her opinion looked up to, as the opinion of a woman living in a great houſe ought to be, ſhe is never without opportunities of making other people's cares her own. If there is a purchaſe to be made, a child to be born, a diſeaſe to be cured, a patient to be ſent to the diſpenſary, an election to be gained, a dreſs to be made up, a writer to be ſent to India, or a ſervant's place to be filled, ſhe is in perpetual motion, and never quits her purpoſe until her endeavours end in final ſucceſs or diſappointment.—By the bye, it is a very remarkable circumſtance, and which I cannot otherwiſe account for, than by ſaying that it is part of her ſyſtem, that whether ſhe loſes or wins, ſhe ſeems equally pleaſed. From her eagerneſs in theſe various purſuits, ſhe has been miſtaken by ſtrangers, ſometimes for a mantuamaker, a puffer at ſales, a phyſician in petticoats, the lady of a director, the matron of an hoſpital, and ſometimes for a nurſe, a midwife, and the keeper of a regiſter office. Such is the verſatility of her talents, that nothing is intolerable which ſerves to make her anxious, and nothing ſeems troubleſome that is attended with a great deal of plague. On account of all theſe good deeds, ſhe has obtained the reputation of a moſt BENEVOLENT WOMAN.

One conſequence of intermeddling in the affairs of other people would to many be an object of terror; I mean the chance of getting into ſcrapes; but with my lady, that ſeems to be a recommendation. It is not unfrequently that ſhe is under the neceſſity of applying to my lawyer to extricate her out of what other people would call difficulties, but which ſhe deems the pleaſing conſequence of knowing more about natural juſtice than artificial quibbles. She is, indeed, very fond of law: you may naturally ſuppoſe that

that its delays and uncertainty are highly in favour of her ſyſtem. She has had a few trials about ſome property ſhe brought me at our union, but they were ſhort, and therefore not very ſatisfactory.—Were ſhe not extremely fertile in deviſing exerciſes for her hopes and fears, and, conſequently, not ſtanding in need of my aſſiſtance, or if I had any great point to gain with her, I don't know but I might be prevailed upon to gratify her with a chancery ſuit, and ſecure her happineſs on a laſting foundation.

To all the above expedients may be added the purchaſe of lottery tickets, and of bargains, the arrangement of diſputes in families, &c. But life is longer than we commonly imagine. We cannot always be concerning ourſelves in the affairs even of other people. There are times when invention muſt be employed to deviſe ſchemes of action, and to open ſources of hope and fear, independent of foreign aid.—And here likewiſe, my wife is entitled to the praiſe of great fertility. After a day paſſed in action, buſtle, expectation, and diſappointment, the night brings with it domeſtic comfort of another kind. The alarm of fire and of thieves forms a perpetual ſource of watchfulneſs and contrivance; and as, for reaſons already aſſigned, ſhe is a great reader of newſpapers, theſe are ſubjects which are never allowed to ſlip out of our memory. Joined to theſe are the pleaſing poſſibilities of being robbed by our ſervants, of our houſe in the country being burnt, of the banker failing, and of our ſteward proving a rogue. And as ſome part of my property lies in the Weſt Indies, we occaſionally ſpeculate, with a degree of comfort, on an earthquake for my lands, or the yellow fever for my tenants.—As to ſervants, a perpetual change of them is one of my wife's chief pleaſures. If we have good ſervants, they are no better for us; and if they are bad, we are not worſe for them. This procures madam the reputation of GREAT DISCERNMENT.

Such, ſir, are ſome of the ingredients in my wife's practical ſyſtem of happineſs. It is remarkable, however, that I tolerate it, becauſe I am of a quite different way of thinking, and really allow of buſtle and confuſion, merely becauſe I am a lover of peace. If this appear inconſiſtent, it can appear ſo only to an inveterate old bachelor. To be ſure, I could wiſh the time were come when we could ſit down quietly, and conſider all around us as perfect in its kind, and without ſtirring from our chairs, make allowance for imperfections which impatience and motion cannot remove. And, of late, I ſuſpect my wife has been ſtudying the new doctrine of *perfectibility*, which to ſuit herſelf, ſhe transfers from mind to matter.—Were I to examine her cloſely on the ſubject, I have little doubt that ſhe looks forward with earneſt hope to that happy day when the furniture of a houſe ſhall arrive at perfection, when wainſcoat ſhall be impregnable to duſt, when plate ſhall ſhine in perpetual brightneſs, and the voice of ſcourers ſhall be heard no more—when property ſhall no longer change its maſter, the conditions of ſale become a dead letter, and the eloquence of Chriſtie ſolicit the laſt bid!

I am, ſir, your's, &c.

HUMPHREY PLACID.

March 4, 1797.

Conſolation

Conſolation for Ideal Calamities.

[*From the ſame.*]

Sir,

WHILE I acknowledge with gratitude the very great obligations we owe to divines and philoſophers, for the valuable precepts they have laid down, to guard us againſt thoſe vices which are followed by great calamities, and for the no leſs important conſolation they afford us againſt ſuch evils as we can neither foreſee nor prevent; I regret much that they have narrowed their labours by addreſſing themſelves to mankind in general. This may ſeem an extraordinary objection, but it will appear very juſtifiable, when you conſider that the advice which is given to all is ſeldom accepted by any, and that it is individual application only which can give it effect. Theſe ſages of ancient and modern times deſerve great praiſe for what they have done, for cheering the hearts of men in the hour of anxiety, for affording conſolation in the hour of diſtreſs, and for ſuggeſting a lively hope even on the brink of deſpair. But theſe are things in which man, *as man* only is concerned. It is much, but it is not all; and where they have, in my opinion, fallen ſhort, is in handing down no advice, no precepts, no comfort, adapted to the caſe of men of faſhion, women of ton, and perſons of diſtinction; nor have they been more attentive to the diſtreſſes which befall us as members of the corporation, as chairmen of clubs, and as gueſts at a table.

Now, ſir, theſe and other diſtreſſes of a like kind, which I ſhall enumerate, although uſually ſet down among the "little things" which are, or ought to be, beneath our attention, are really among the greateſt misfortunes of life: firſt, becauſe they are perpetually recurring, and add, therefore, to the general maſs of unhappineſs; and, ſecondly, becauſe not one of thoſe philoſophers and divines who have made the afflictions of human life their ſtudy, have condeſcended to ſay one word about them, or have mentioned them with indifference and contempt.—All this appears to me very extraordinary, and to detract much from the utility of their labours. You will permit me, therefore, to enter a little minutely into a ſubject which is highly intereſting and for aught I know, hitherto untouched.

I believe, ſir, that if we will ſet about analyzing and decompounding our reſpective portions of happineſs and unhappineſs, we ſhall find that each is made up of an infinite ſeries of "little things." Little things, then, "being great to little men," ought not to be beneath the attention of thoſe who aſſume the chair of authority, direct our judgment, preſcribe our ſentiments, and regulate our hopes and fears. Theſe have given us admirable counſel againſt exceſſive grief for the loſs of relatives, and the loſs of fortune: but are theſe the only loſſes that require a healing balm? How many are every night made miſerable in this metropolis, by the loſs of an odd trick! How many have their ſenſibility deeply wounded by the death of a parrot! How many are cut to the heart to reflect that the ball they miſſed yeſterday will no more return; or that the brilliant aſſemblage of perſons of faſhion which they were prevented from joining, may never meet again! Nay, with all due reſpect to philoſophers

ſophers be it ſpoken, is the miſplacing of a cane, or a pair of gloves, no misfortune? Is not the inſolence of a box-keeper, who refuſes us places on the night the king viſits the theatre, a calamity, aggravated by rudeneſs, and incurable by its being, perhaps, the laſt night of the ſeaſon?

Yet for theſe evils we have no remedy. What avails it to fortify the mind againſt covetouſneſs, againſt ambition, againſt the fears of death, when amidſt our ſpeculations on ſuch abſtract and diſtant ſubjects a viſit remains unreturned, or a mantua-maker has forgotten her orders? We may bear up againſt the pangs of deſpiſed love, and the oppreſſor's wrongs, but it requires no ſmall ſhare of philoſophy to behold the china in ruins, and the canary-bird a prey to the undiſtinguiſhing ferocity of a cat. How many have we ſeen bury a wife, in "all the decent manlineſs of grief," who have been tortured almoſt to madneſs when they beheld the meat ſpoiled, the butter rancid, or the pie over-baked! How many, who can ſubmit with patience to the diſorders attendant on a late period of life, are mere children in philoſophy, ſhould they come late into the theatre, their favourite ſong paſt, and their places taken!

He, therefore, who would preſcribe for ſuch calamities, would be a general benefactor. It would require, however, that he ſhould not merely poſſeſs the auſterity of an ancient philoſopher; that he ſhould be able to harangue like Socrates, or epiſtolize like Seneca: it would require that he ſhould be a man of the world, and apply his remedies where the diſorder was contracted. In my laſt excurſion to the watering places, I had many melancholy inſtances of the great need the viſitors of thoſe places ſtand in for ſuch a philoſopher. Of what avail would it be to preach there about the common and vulgar aſperities of human life, and omit the more important and trying circumſtances of a cruel rain, a perverſe raffle, and a morbid *ennui*? to have a party of pleaſure broke up juſt as the ſet is made up; to be within one of the lucky number; and to be tormented, perhaps for a day, with *dont-know-howiſhneſs*? theſe, indeed, are calamities; they wring the heart, they put the temper to a ſevere trial, ſpoil the appetite, cover the countenance with a deadly pale, and drive ſleep from the eye-lids. Muſt they not, therefore, be greatly aggravated, when no aſſiſtance is at hand, no ſoothing conſolation nigh, nor friend to ſympathize, no kindred boſom to ſhare the grief with?

But we need not leave this epitome of the world, the metropolis, for inſtances of calamity for which we ſeek in vain after conſolation. Men of callous minds, who have not learned the ſweet luxury of ſympathy with the diſtreſſes of others, may view the ſtock-liſt "in the calm lights of mild philoſophy." Ah! little do they know the infelicity which a fraction gives, nor the miſery that hangs upon a half per cent.: nor how much eaſier it is to put off the thoughts of eternity than to diſpel the fears of a bargain for time.—In the higher ranks, let us behold the diſtreſs of lady A. when ſhe finds that lady B. has two more card-tables at her rout, and, perhaps, ſix more perſons of faſhion on her liſt. No leſs afflictive is it to be outdone in the ſplendour of one's

equipage

equipage, the richneſs of one's liveries, the number of footmen, or of horſes.

Such, ſir, are a few of the calamities of human life, for which I can find no ſources of conſolation among divines and philoſophers. Whether they thought ſuch matters too much above, or too much beneath their concern, I know not; but certain it is, all our *Solamina miſeris* are very deficient in ſuch important matters. This is a want which I hope to ſee ſpeedily ſupplied. The circulation of your Magazine is ſuch as entitles me to expect with certainty that this paper will meet the eye of ſome perſon qualified for the taſk. It would be an expenſive work, in all probability, becauſe it muſt neceſſarily be a voluminous one, but the expence would be more than defrayed by a general ſubſcription among the unhappy ſufferers.

I have already hinted that the frequency of theſe calamities renders ſuch a work more neceſſary than all our other ſyſtems of philoſophy. A man cannot loſe above two or three affectionate wives in his whole life; but he may loſe a ſplendid dinner every week; and a lady of rank may weep over the grave of twenty lap-dogs, before ſhe has an opportunity to pay the laſt duties of friendſhip to a much-lamented huſband. We may not be ambitious of a place at court, but it is inſupportable not to have a place at a new play. We may not be deſirous to make a fortune rapidly, but not to make a party rapidly when "Ranelagh" ſtrikes upon the ear, is one of the moſt trying "calamities that fleſh is heir to."

I am, ſir, your's,

SOLOMON SYMPATHY.

Feb. 10.

Outlines of a Hiſtory of Snuff and Tobacco.

[*From the ſame.*]

Sir,

IN your Magazine for February, a query was propoſed by INQUISITIVE, to the following purpoſe:—"How far back can the practice of ſmoking and taking ſnuff, whether of tobacco or any other ſubſtance, be traced; and to what part of the world?" I have as yet ſeen no anſwer to this query, which I am ſurpriſed at, becauſe we live in an age, the wiſdom of which is very *queſtionable*, and we abound with antiquaries whoſe reſearches are generally directed to objects of far leſs importance.

I muſt confeſs, however, that the queſtion alarmed me not a little. I confeſs, at the ſame time, that I am a ſnuff-taker, both upon principle and practice; and were I diſpoſed to flatter my brown companion, I ſhould ſay as much in its favour as ever Dr. Johnſon ſaid of his tea, or Dr. —— can ſay of his pipe. I was, therefore, alarmed leſt my favourite ſhould ſink under the weight of inveſtigation invited by your correſpondent, and I had prepared anſwers of all kinds to whatever objections might be brought forward. No perſon, however, has yet ſtept forward to curb the luxurious cravings of a noſe, and I am hopeful that the preſent alarm will end, as the ſubject of it frequently does, in ſmoke.

I have no doubt that a very good hiſtory might be made of ſnuff, and to a *hiſtory* I have no objection.—We have very voluminous hiſtories of things of far leſs conſequence than ſnuff, which brings more than half a million of money to the Exchequer,

chequer, and comforts the harmleſs propenſities of many millions of good and wiſe men. I have often thought that a clever antiquary might make a couple of very handſome folios on this ſubject, written quite after the new manner; and having myſelf often meditated on it, eſpecially when at a pinch, I beg leave to offer you the outlines of my plan.

I have ſaid that this hiſtory might extend to two folios;—perhaps, if encouragement followed the undertaking, as no doubt it would, another folio might be added, by way of Appendix. The outline is as follows:

HISTORY OF SNUFF AND TOBACCO, *from the earlieſt period to the preſent day.*

VOL. I. BOOK 1. Preliminary obſervations. Deſcription of the noſe, with anatomical plates. Size of noſes. Digreſſion on Roman noſes. *Query*, Whether long noſes are ſymptomatic, or *per ſe?* Diſeaſes of the noſe. Origin of tobacco—plates of the plant—a map of Virginia, with a hiſtory of the country, from the firſt planting of puritans and tobacco there. Origin of the name, from Virgin, the epithet of queen Elizabeth.

BOOK 2. Hiſtory of the reign of queen Elizabeth. Introduction of tobacco—manufactured firſt into ſnuff—view of a ſnuff mill of the year 1560. Enquiry who took the firſt pinch? Eſſay on ſneezing.—Whether the ancients ſneezed, and at what? A tranſlation of Strada's book on ſneezing, with a life of the author, in the manner of Mr. Boſwell. Why pray to God to bleſs people who ſneeze?

BOOK 3. Connection of ſneezing with good manners—origin of handkerchiefs—full-width views of ſeveral handkerchiefs, proving that they were marked with the owners' names at full length, and that initials is a modern invention. Diſſertation on ſempſtreſſes; high origin of men-milliners and men-mantua-makers—quotations from Shakſpeare—derivation of the word ſnuff, and accurate diſcriminations between ſnuffing and taking ſnuff; the former applied only to candles.

BOOK 4. Whether it was uſual to take ſnuff in parliament?—Debates on the queen's marriage with the duke D'Alençon—perſecutions of the puritans—ſnuff-boxes made of wood—dendrological diſquiſitions on Engliſh trees—Sir Francis Drake's fleet, and proofs that the ſailors' allowance of tobacco was not ſo great then as now—origin of navigation—firſt principles of naval architecture—Appendix, on the uſe of ſnuff in the pulpit.

VOL. II. BOOK 1. Acceſſion of James II.—Particular account of all the branches of the Stuart family—troubles in the time of Charles I. as connected with ſmoking—portraits of ſeveral eminent ſnuff-takers in the parliament army—oval ſnuff-boxes firſt uſed by the round-heads—manufacture of tobacco-pipes—natural hiſtory of clays—with a digreſſion on making of bricks—Roman bricks—account of the building of London Wall.

BOOK 2. State of ſnuff during the commonwealth—reſtoration of Charles II—hiſtorical proofs that the nation muſt have been at a pinch.

BOOK 3. Fire of London—quantity of ſnuff conſumed—ſome calculation on the number of pipes broke, burnt, or otherwiſe damaged—an enquiry into the part the papiſts took

took in this calamity—origin of whiffs—the *whiffs* originally came from Wales—topographical deſcription of Wales, with maps of the counties—Teſt and corporation acts paſſed—ſnuff taken upon that occaſion.

Book 4. Continuation of the hiſtory of ſnuff to the Union—introduction of Scotch ſnuff—found to be very pungent and penetrating—got a footing in London, which it has kept ever ſince. Plate of the ſign of the Highlander, from an original drawing in the year 1715.—Acceſſion of George II.—Snuff-boxes made of gold and ſilver—account of the firſt ſnuff-box that was ſtolen—diſſertation on the police—number of thieves in London—hints for new laws—diſmiſſion of ſir Robert Walpole, and the introduction of *Macaba*.

Book 5. The reign of George III.—Scotch ſnuff introduced at court—Straſburgh and other German ſnuffs in faſhion—anecdotes of John Wilkes—biographical notices of Mr. Hardham—invention of *thirty-ſeven*—plan of the ſtreets thirty yards round Hardham's ſhop—national reflections on Iriſh blackguard—ſucceſs of Wilkes—calculation of the conſumption of tobacco during the American war—hiſtory of that war, from the origin—on female ſnuff-takers, with an appendix on clean tuckers—debates on the tobacco exciſe bill—preſent ſtate of ſnuff, and its influence on morals—introduction of French boxes—great tumults therefrom—concluſion—index—and liſt of ſubſcribers.

The whole to be embelliſhed with portraits of the moſt eminent ſnuff-takers, from the time of queen Elizabeth, with biographical notices—views of remarkable ſnuff-ſhops—ruins of famous tobacco-pipes, and other ſubjects, engraved by the moſt eminent artiſts.

Such, ſir, is the outline of my ſcheme. You will perceive, that in my arrangement, I exactly copy the cuſtom of the moſt famous *voluminous* writers, and a work thus executed could not fail to have a rapid circulation, eſpecially among the venders of the article which it commemorates.

I am, ſir, your's, &c.

STERNUTATORIUS.

Miſcellaneous Calculations, relative to Man, and other Animals.

[*From the German.*]

NATURAL HISTORY.

A TABLE of the duration of life in certain animals:

	Years.
The Cricket	10
The Spider (ſometimes more than)	1
The Scorpion, generally (and ſometimes more than)	1
The River Crayfiſh	20
The Carp	100 to 150
The Pike (ſometimes more than)	40
The Crocodile	100
The Tortoiſe	100
The Hen	10
The Peacock	24
The Nightingale and Stork	16 to 18
The Canary, if it does not couple	24
——— if it breeds annually	10
The Sparrow-hawk	40
The Gooſe	50
The Swan	100
The Eagle	100
The Parrot	110
The Rabbit, from	8 to 9
The Goat	10
The Sheep	10
The Hog	20
The Cat	18
The Squirrel	7
The Hare, from	7 to 8
The Dog, from	23 to 28
The Wolf	30
The Bear	20
The Fox	15

The

	Years.
The Lion	60
The Cow (fometimes more than)	20
The Bull	30
The Ox, employed in agriculture	19
The Deer	20
The Horfe, from	25 to 30
The Afs, from	25 to 50
The Camel, from	50 to 60
The Elephant, from	150 to 200

MAN.—POLITICAL ARITHMETIC.

Suppoſing the earth peopled with 100,000,000 inhabitants, and allowing 35 years for a generation, it has been computed, that the deaths of each year amount to 30,000,000

Of each day, to 82,135

Of each hour, to 3,442 7/24

But as the number of deaths is to the number of births, as 10 to 12, there are born, every year, 36,000,000

Every day 98,569

Every hour 4,107 1/24

If mankind had not been doomed to die, there would have been, at preſent, about 173,000 billions of mortals on the earth; and in this caſe, there would ſtill have been 9,110 ſquare feet of earth remaining for each man.

Reckoning only three generations during a century, and ſuppoſing, at the ſame time, that the world has only exiſted 5,700 years, there have been only 171 generations from the creation to our own time, 124 ſince the deluge, and 53 ſince the Chriſtian æra: now, as no family in Europe can trace its origin to the time of Charlemagne, it follows, that the moſt ancient houſes cannot reckon more than 30 generations, and very few, if any, can go ſo far back; but ſuppoſing it to be the caſe, what is this, but 1,000 years illuſtration, againſt 4,800 years of obſcurity?

On an equal ſpace, where there exiſts,

In Iceland	1 Man
There is in Norway	3
Sweden	14
Turkey	36
Poland	52
Spain	63
Ireland	99
Switzerland	114
Great Britain	119
Germany	127
England	152
France	153
Italy	172
Naples	192
Venice	196
Holland	224
And in Malta	1,103

Out of every thouſand men, 28 die off annually.

The number of inhabitants of a city or country, is renewed nearly every thirty years.

Of 200 children, no more than one dies in the birth.

Of 100, one does not die during the mother's lying-in.

Of 1,000 infants, fed by means of the mother's milk, not above 300 die; but of the ſame number reared by wet nurſes, 500 die. The mortality of children has augmented greatly during the preſent luxurious age; convulſions and teething kill the greater number of them.

The natural ſmall-pox uſually carries off eight in every hundred attacked by it; but of 300 inoculated, no more than one dies.

Among 3,125 who die, it appears, by the regiſters, that there is only one perſon of 100 years of age.

More old men are to be found on elevated ſituations, than on plains and vallies.

The proportion between the deaths of women, and that of men, is as 100 to 108. The probable duration of female lives is 60; but after that

period, the calculation is more favourable to them, than to the males,

Married women live longer than maidens.

In the country, the ſpring is the moſt fatal period; but in great cities, it is the winter.

One half of thoſe who are born, die before they attain the age of 17: thus, they who ſurvive that period, enjoy a degree of happineſs, which a moiety of the human race is unable to attain.

The number of old men, who die in cold weather, is to the number of thoſe who die in warm weather, as 7 to 4.

According to the obſervation of Boerhaave, the moſt healthy children are born in the months of January, February, and March.

The married women are to the unmarried, in the ratio of 1 to 3; and the married to the unmarried men, as 3 to 5. The number of twins born, is to that of ſingle children, as 1 to 65 or 70.

The number of marriages is to that of the inhabitants of a country, as 175 to 1,000.

In the country, there are about four children produced by every marriage; in cities, there are but 35 to 10 marriages.

The men able to bear arms, form the fourth part of the inhabitants of a country.

Number of inhabitants in all the great cities and towns of the world:

Amſterdam	220,000	Baſtia (in Corſica)	5,000
Aſtracan	70,000	Batavia	144,000
Avignon	10,000	Bergen	16,000
Bagdad	500,000	Berlin	151,000
Barcelona	63,000	Berne	10,000
Bâle, Baſle, or Baſil	15,000	Birmingham	60,000
Bologna	70,000	Madrid	154,000
Bonne	11,000	Manchester	65,000
Boſton	25,000	Manheim	22,000
Bourdeaux	150,000	Mantua	28,000
Bremen	40,000	Marſeilles	30,000
Breſlaw	60,000	Mentz	27,000
Breſt	24,000	Mexico	160,000
Briſtol	60,000	Milan	132,000
Brunſwick	28,000	Modena	30,000
Bruſſels	80,000	Moſcow	500,000
Buda	21,000	Nantes	80,000
Cadiz	30,000	Naples	440,000
Cairo	200,000	Newcaſtle	40,000
Calcutta	600,000	Nice	12,000
Charleſton	11,000	Norwich	40,000
Coblentz	12,000	Oſtend	16,000
Conſtantinople	1,000,000	Padua	38,000
Copenhagen	90,000	Palermo	120,000
Cork	87,000	Paris	600,000
Dantzig	48,000	Pekin	2,000,000
Dreſden	50,000	Peterſburgh	220,000
Dublin	150,000	Philadelphia	35,000
Edinburgh	85,000	Piſa	20,000
Embden	7,500	Potſdam	28,000
Florence	84,000	Ratiſbon	22,000
Franckfort	43,000	Rome	165,000
Ghent	60,000	Rotterdam	50,000
Genoa	110,000	Seville	120,000
Geneva	27,000	Stockholm	80,000
Glaſgow	30,000	Shalmud	13,000
Gottingen	7,600	Straſbourg	47,000
Gotha	11,000	Stutgard	23,000
Gottenburg	20,000	Thorn	10,000
Hamburgh	120,000	Tiboli	18,000
Hanover	16,400	Tobolſk	15,000
Haerlem	20,000	Toledo	20,000
The Hague	37,000	Zanguebar	15,000
Lauſanne	8,000	Trieſte	18,000
Leyden	48,000	Turin	80,000
Leipſic	32,000	Venice	150,000
Liverpool	60,000	Verona	57,000
Liege	82,000	Verſailles	40,000
Limeric	32,000	Vienna	270,000
Liſbon	200,000	Ulm	15,000
Leghorn	45,000	Utrecht	32,000
London	1,000,000	Warſaw	120,000
Loretto	4,000	Weſlar	4,600
Lubec	30,000	Wittenberg	7,000
Lucerne	6,394	Wurzeburg	20,000
Lucca	3,000	York	12,700
Lyons	150,000	Yverdon	2,200
Madras	300,000	Zittau	10,000
		Zuric	12,000

POETRY.

POETRY.

ODE FOR THE NEW YEAR, 1797.

BY HENRY JAMES PYE, ESQ. POET-LAUREAT.

I.

O'ER the vex'd boſom of the deep,
When ruſhing wild, with frantic haſte,
The winds with angry pinions ſweep
The ſurface of the wat'ry waſte,
Though the firm veſſel proudly brave
The inroad of the giant wave,
Though the bold ſeaman's firmer ſoul
Views unappall'd the billowy mountains roll,
Yet ſtill along the murky ſky
Anxious he throws th' enquiring eye,
If haply through the gloom that round him low'rs
Shoots one refulgent ray, prelude of happier hours.

II.

So Albion, round her rocky coaſt,
While loud the rage of battle roars,
Derides Invaſion's haughty boaſt;
Safe in her wave-encircled ſhores,
Still ſafer in her dauntless band,
Lords of her ſeas, or guardians of her land,
Whoſe patriot zeal, whoſe bold emprize,
Riſe as the ſtorms of danger riſe;
Yet, temp'ring glory's ardent flame
With gentle mercy's milder claim,
She bends from ſcenes of blood th' averted eye,
And courts the ſmiles of peace 'mid ſhouts of victory.

III.

She courts in vain!—The ruthless foe,
Deep drench'd in blood, yet thirſting ſtill for more;
Deaf to the ſhrieks of agonizing woe,
Views with rapacious eye each neighbouring ſhore.
Mine be th' eternal ſway, aloud he cries;
Where'er my ſword prevails, my conqu'ring banner flies.

IV.

Genius of Albion, hear;
Graſp the ſtrong ſhield, and ſhake th' avenging ſpear.
By wreaths thy hardy ſons of yore
From Gallia's creſt victorious tore;
By Edward's lily-blazon'd ſhield;
By Agincourt's high-trophy'd field;
By raſh Iberia's naval pride,
Whelm'd by Eliza's barks beneath the ſtormy tide;
Call forth thy warrior race again,
Breathing to ancient mood the ſoul-inſpiring ſtrain,—
* " To arms! your enſigns ſtraight display!
" Now ſet the battle in array!
" The oracle for war declares,
" Succeſs depends upon our hearts and ſpears.
" Britons, ſtrike home! revenge your country's wrongs;
" Fight, and record yourſelves in Druid ſongs!"

ODE FOR HIS MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY, 1797.

BY HENRY JAMES PYE, ESQ. POET-LAUREAT.

Set to Muſic by Sir W. Parſons, Muſ. D.

AWHILE the frowning Lord of arms
Shall yield to gentler pow'rs the plain;
Lo! Britain greets the milder charms
Of Cytherea's reign.
Mute is the trumpet's brazen throat,
And the ſweet flute's melodious note
Floats on the ſoft ambroſial gale;
The ſportive Loves and Graces round,
Beating with jocund ſtep the ground,
Th' auſpicious nuptials hail!
The Muſes ceaſe to weave the wreath of war,
But hang their roſeate flow'rs on Hymen's golden car!

When o'er Creation's blotted face
Drear Night her ſable banner rears,
And veils fair Nature's vernal grace,
Encircled round by doubts and fears,
Through darkſome miſts and chilling dews
His path the wand'rer's foot purſues,
Till, ſhining clear in orient ſkies,
He views the ſtar of Venus riſe,

* Theſe laſt lines were inſerted at the deſire of the King.

And

And joys to ſee the genial pow'r:
Bright harbinger of morning's hour!
And now a flood of radiance ſtreams
From young Aurora's bluſhing beams,
Till rob'd in gorgeous ſtate, the orb of day
Spreads o'er the laughing earth his full refulgent ray!

Bleſt be the omen, royal pair!
O may the hymeneal rite,
That joins the valiant and the fair,
Shed on the nations round its placid light!
Her fertile plain though Albion ſee
From ſavage deveſtation free;
Though with triumphant ſail ſhe reign
Sole Empreſs of the ſubject main,
She longs to bid the thunders ſleep
Which ſhake the regions of the deep,
That crowding nations far and wide,
Borne peaceful o'er the ambient tide,
May ſhare the bleſſings that endear the day
Which gave a patriot king a patriot race to ſway!

CHARACTER OF THE BARD.

[*From Purſuits of Literature. Part IV.*]

AUTHOR.

HEAR yet awhile:—the dread reſiſtleſs pow'r,
That works deep-felt, at inſpiration's hour,
He claims alone—

OCTAVIUS.

Who claims?

AUTHOR.

The favour'd BARD,
Who nobly conſcious of his juſt reward,
With loftier ſoul and undecaying might,
Paints what he feels in characters of light.
Hears in each blaſt ſome conſecrated rhyme,
Trac'd by the ſpirit of the troublous clime.
He turns: and inſtantaneous all around
Cliffs whiten, waters murmur, voices ſound,
Portentous forms in heav'ns aërial hall
Appear, as at ſome great ſupernal call.
Thence oft in thought his ſteps ideal haſte
To rocks and groves, the wilderness or waſte;
To where old Tadmor's regal ruins lie
In deſolation's ſullen majeſty;

Or where Carthuſian tow'rs the pilgrim draw,
And bow the ſoul with unreſiſted awe,
Where Bruno from the mountain's pine-clad brow,
Survey'd the world's inglorious toil below;
Then as down rugged cliffs the torrent roar'd,
Proſtrate great Nature's preſent God ador'd,
And bade, in ſolitude's extremeſt bourn,
Religion hallow the ſevere ſojourn.

To Him the Painter gives his pencil's might;
No gloom too dreadful, and no blaze too bright;
What time to mortal ken he dares unveil
The inexpreſſive form, in ſemblance frail,
To the ſtrain'd view preſents the yawning tomb,
Subſtantial horrors, and eternal doom.

To Him the pow'rs of harmony reſort,
And as with random glance and fiercer port,
He ſcans th' ætherial wilderneſs around,
Pour on his ear the thrilling ſtream of ſound,
Strains that from full-ſtrung chords at diſtance ſwell,
Notes, breathing ſoft from muſic's inmoſt cell,
While to their numerous pauſe or accent deep,
His wond'rous paſſions dread accordance keep.

Thence muſing, lo, he bends his weary eyes
On life, and all its ſad realities;
Marks how the proſpect darkens in the rear,
Shade blends with ſhade, and fear ſucceeds to fear,
Mid forms that flit through the malignant gloom,
Till death unbar the cold ſepulchral room.

Such is the Poet: bold, without confine,
Imagination's "charter'd libertine."
He ſcorns in apathy to float or dream
On liſtleſs ſatisfaction's torpid ſtream,
But dares alone in vent'rous bark to ride,
Down turbulent delight's tempeſtuous tide;
Where thoughts encountering thoughts in conflict fierce,
Tumultuous ruſh, and labour into verſe,
Then as the ſwelling numbers round him roll,
Stamps on th' immortal page the viſions of his ſoul.

PALINODIA.

[*From Poems, by* WILLIAM MASON, M. A. *Vol. III.*]

I. 1.

SAY did I err, chaſte Liberty!
When, warm with youthful fire,
I gave the vernal fruits to thee
That ripen'd on my lyre?

When, round thy twin-born ſiſter's ſhrine,
I taught the flowers of verſe to twine
And blend in one their freſh perfume;
Forbade them, vagrant and disjoin'd,
To give to ev'ry wanton wind
Their fragrance and their bloom?

I. 2.

Or did I err, when, free to chuſe
Mid fabling Fancy's themes,
I led my voluntary Muſe
To groves and haunted ſtreams;
Diſdain'd to take that gainful road,
Which many a courtly bard had trod,
And aim'd but at ſelf-planted bays?
I ſwept my lyre, enough for me,
If what that lyre might warble free
My free-born friends might praiſe.

I. 3.

And art thou mute? or does the fiend that rides
Yon ſulphurous tube, by tigers drawn,
Where ſeas of blood roll their increaſing tides
Beneath his wheels while myriads groan,
Does he with voice of thunder make reply;
"I am the genius of ſtern Liberty,
Adore me as thy genuine choice;
Know, where I hang with wreaths my ſacred tree,
Power undivided, juſt Equality
Are born at my creative voice?"

II. 1.

Avaunt, abhorr'd Democracy!
O for Ithuriel's ſpear!
To ſhew to Party's jaundic'd eye
The fiend ſhe moſt ſhould fear,
To turn her from th' infernal ſight,
To where array'd in robes of light
True Liberty on ſeraph wing
Deſcends to ſhed that bleſſing rare,
Of equal rights an equal ſhare
To people, peers, and king.

II. 2.

To her alone I rais'd my ſtrain,
On her centennial day,
Fearleſs that age ſhould chill the vein
She nouriſh'd with her ray.

And what, if glowing at the theme,
Humanity in vivid dream,
Gave to my mind impatient Gaul
(Ah! flattering dream, diſmiſs'd by fate
Too quickly thro' the ivory gate)
Freed from deſpotic thrall?

II. 3.

When Ruin, heaving his gigantic mace,
(Call'd to the deed by Reaſon's voice,)
Cruſh'd, proud Baſtile! thy turrets to their baſe,
Was it not virtue to rejoice?
That power alone, whoſe all combining eye
Beholds, what he ordains, futurity?
Could that tremendous truth reveal,
That, ere ſix ſuns had round the zodiac roll'd
Their beams, aſtoniſhed Europe ſhould behold
All Gallia, one immenſe Baſtile?

III. 1.

Is it not virtue to repine
When thus transform'd the ſcene?
" Ah! no," replied, in ſtrain divine,
The heav'n-deſcending queen.
And, as ſhe ſung, ſhe ſhot a ray,
Mild as the orient dawn of May,
Enlight'ning while it calm'd my brain:
" Now purg'd, my ſon! from error, own
My bleſſings ne'er were meant to crown
The vicious, or the vain.

III. 2.

" Tis only thoſe, of purer clay
From ſenſual droſs refin'd,
In whom the paſſions pleas'd obey
The God within the mind,
Who ſhare my delegated aid,
Thro' wiſdom's golden mean convey'd
From the firſt ſource of ſov'reign good;
All elſe to horrid licence tends,
Springs from vindictive pride, and ends
In anarchy and blood.

III. 3.

" Had France poſſeſt a ſober patriot band,
True to their own, and nation's weal,
Such as fair Albion bleſt thy favor'd land,
When Naſſau came thy rights to ſeal;

She might—but why compare ſuch wide extremes,
Why ſeek for Reaſon in delirious dreams?
Rather conſign to exile and to ſhame
Her coward princes, her luxurious peers,
Who fed the hell-born hydra with their fears,
That now uſurps my hallow'd name."

SONG.

[*From the ſame.*]

WHEN firſt I dared by ſoft ſurpriſe
To breathe my love in FLAVIA'S ear,
I ſaw the mixt ſenſations rise
Of trembling joy and pleaſing fear;
Her cheek forgot its roſy hue,
For what has Art with Love to do?

But ſoon the crimſon glow returned,
Ere half my paſſion was expreſt,
The eye that closed, the cheek that burn'd,
The quivering lip, the panting breaſt,
Shewed that ſhe wiſhed, or thought me true,
For what has Art with Love to do?

Ah! ſpeak, I cryed, thy ſoft aſſent:
She ſtrove to ſpeak, ſhe could but ſigh;
A glance, more heavenly eloquent
Left language nothing to ſupply.
She preſt my hand with fervour new;
For what has Art with Love to do?

Ye practiſed Nymphs, who form your charms
By Faſhion's rules, enjoy your ſkill;
Torment your Swains with falſe alarms,
And, ere you cure, pretend to kill:
Still, ſtill your ſex's wiles purſue;
Such tricks ſhe leaves to Art and You.

Secure of native powers to pleaſe,
My FLAVIA ſcorns all mean pretence;
Her form is elegance and eaſe,
Her ſoul is truth and innocence;
And theſe, O heartfelt ecſtacy!
She gives to Honour, Love, and Me.

THE

THE EXILE.—By M. G. Lewis, Esq.

FAREWELL, oh native Spain! farewell for ever!
Theſe baniſhed eyes ſhall view thy coaſts no more:
A mournful preſage tells my heart, that never
Gonzalvo's ſteps again ſhall preſs thy ſhore.

Huſhed are the winds; while ſoft the veſſel ſailing
With gentle motion plows the unruffled main,
I feel my boſom's boaſted courage failing,
And curſe the waves which bear me far from Spain.

I ſee it yet! Beneath yon blue clear heaven
Still do the ſpires, ſo well-beloved, appear.
From yonder craggy point the gale of even
Still wafts my native accents to mine ear.

Propped on ſome moſs-crowned rock, and gaily ſinging,
There in the ſun his nets the fiſher dries;
Oft have I heard the plaintive ballad, bringing
Scenes of paſt joys before my ſorrowing eyes.

Ah! happy ſwain! he waits the accuſtomed hour,
When twilight-gloom obſcures the cloſing ſky;
Then gladly ſeeks his loved paternal bower,
And ſhares the feaſt his native fields ſupply.

Friendſhip and Love, his cottage gueſts, receive him
With honeſt welcome and with ſmile ſincere:
No threatening woes of preſent joys bereave him;
No ſigh his boſom owns, his cheek no tear.

Ah! happy ſwain! ſuch bliſs to me denying,
Fortune thy lot with envy bids me view;
Me, who, from home and Spain an exile flying,
Bid all I value, all I love, adieu!

No more mine ear ſhall lift the well-known ditty
Sung by ſome mountain-girl, who tends her goats,
Some village-ſwain imploring amorous pity,
Or ſhepherd chanting wild his ruſtic notes.

No more my arms a parent's fond embraces,
No more my heart domeſtic calm muſt know;
Far from theſe joys, with ſighs which memory traces,
To ſultry ſkies and diſtant climes I go.

Where Indian ſuns engender new diſeaſes,
Where ſnakes and tigers breed, I bend my way,
To brave the feveriſh thirſt no art appeaſes,
The yellow plague, and madding blaze of day.

But

But not to feel ſlow pangs conſume my liver,
To die by piece-meal in the bloom of age,
My boiling blood drank by inſatiate fever,
And brain delirious with the day-ſtar's rage,

Can make me know ſuch grief, as thus to ſever,
With many a bitter ſigh, dear land! from thee;
To feel this heart muſt dote on thee for ever,
And feel that all thy joys are torn from me!

Ah me! how oft will fancy's ſpells, in ſlumber,
Recall my native country to my mind!
How oft regret will bid me ſadly number
Each loſt delight, and dear friend left behind!

Wild Murcia's vales and loved romantic bowers,
The river on whoſe banks a child I played,
My caſtle's antient halls, its frowning towers,
Each much-regretted wood, and well-known glade;

Dreams of the land where all my wiſhes centre,
Thy ſcenes, which I am doomed no more to know,
Full oft ſhall memory trace, my ſoul's tormentor,
And turn each pleaſure paſt to preſent woe.

But, lo! the ſun beneath the waves retires;
Night ſpeeds apace her empire to reſtore!
Clouds from my ſight obſcure the village-ſpires,
Now ſeen but faintly, and now ſeen no more.

Oh! breathe not, winds! Still be the water's motion!
Sleep, ſleep, my bark, in ſilence on the main!
So, when to-morrow's light ſhall gild the ocean,
Once more mine eyes ſhall ſee the coaſt of Spain.

Vain is the wiſh! My laſt petition ſcorning,
Freſh blows the gale, and high the billows ſwell:
Far ſhall we be before the break of morning:
Oh! then, for ever, native Spain, farewell!

LOVE AND AGE.

[*By the ſame.*]

THE night was dark; the wind blew cold;
Anacreon, grown moroſe and old,
Sat by his fire, and fed the cheerful flame:
Sudden the cottage-door expands,
And, lo! before him Cupid ſtands,
Caſts round a friendly glance, and greets him by his name.

" What! is it thou?" the ſtartled ſire
In ſullen tone exclaimed, while ire
With crimſon ſluſhed his pale and wrinkled cheek:
" Wouldſt thou again with amorous rage
Inflame my boſom? Steeled by age,
Vain boy, to pierce my breaſt thine arrows are too weak.

" What ſeek you in this deſert drear?
No ſmiles or ſports inhabit here;
Ne'er did theſe valleys witneſs dalliance ſweet:
Eternal winter binds the plains;
Age in my houſe deſpotic reigns;
My garden boaſts no flower, my boſom boaſts no heat.

" Begone, and ſeek the blooming bower,
Where ſome ripe virgin courts thy power,
Or bid provoking dreams flit round her bed;
On Damon's amorous breaſt repoſe;
Wanton on Chloe's lip of roſe,
Or make her bluſhing cheek a pillow for thy head.

" Be ſuch thy haunts! Theſe regions cold
Avoid! Nor think grown wiſe and old
This hoary head again thy yoke ſhall bear:
Remembering that my faireſt years
By thee were marked with ſighs and tears,
I think thy friendſhip falſe, and ſhun the guileful ſnare.

" I have not yet forgot the pains
I felt, while bound in Julia's chains:
The ardent flames with which my boſom burned;
The nights I paſſed deprived of reſt;
The jealous pangs which racked my breaſt;
My diſappointed hopes, and paſſion unreturned.

" Then fly, and curſe mine eyes no more!
Fly from my peaceful cottage-door!
No day, no hour, no moment ſhalt thou ſtay.
I know thy falſehood, ſcorn thy arts,
Diſtruſt thy ſmiles, and fear thy darts:
Traitor, begone, and ſeek ſome other to betray!"—

" Does age, old man, your wits confound?"
Replied the offended god, and frowned:
(His frown was ſweet as is the virgin's ſmile!)
" Do you to me theſe words addreſs?
To me, who do not love you leſs,
Though you my friendſhip ſcorn, and pleaſures paſt revile!

" If

" If one proud fair you chanced to find,
An hundred other nymphs were kind,
Whoſe ſmiles might well for Julia's frowns atone:
But ſuch is man! his partial hand
Unnumbered favours writes on ſand,
But ſtamps one little fault on ſolid laſting ſtone.

" Ingrate! Who led you to the wave,
At noon where Leſbia loved to lave?
Who named the bower alone where Daphne lay?
And who, when Celia ſhriek'd for aid,
Bade you with kiſſes huſh the maid?
What other was't than Love, oh! falſe Anacreon, ſay?

" Then you could call me—' Gentle boy!
' My only bliſs! my ſource of joy!'
Then you could prize me dearer than your ſoul!
Could kiſs, and dance me on your knees;
And ſwear, not wine itſelf would pleaſe,
Had not the lip of Love firſt touched the flowing bowl!

" Muſt thoſe ſweet days return no more?
Muſt I for aye your loſs deplore,
Baniſhed your heart, and from your favour driven?
Ah! no; my fears that ſmile denies;
That heaving breaſt, thoſe ſparkling eyes
Declare me ever dear, and all my faults forgiven.

" Again beloved, eſteemed, careſſed,
Cupid ſhall in thine arms be preſſed,
Sport on thy knees, or on thy boſom ſleep:
My torch thine age-ſtruck heart ſhall warm;
My hand pale winter's rage diſarm,
And Youth and Spring ſhall here once more their revels keep."

A feather now of golden hue
He ſmiling from his pinion drew:
This to the poet's hand the boy commits;
And ſtraight before Anacreon's eyes
The faireſt dreams of fancy riſe,
And round his favoured head wild inſpiration flits.

His boſom glows with amorous fire;
Eager he graſps the magic lyre;
Swift o'er the tuneful chords his fingers move:
The feather plucked from Cupid's wing
Sweeps the too-long neglected ſtring,
While ſoft Anacreon ſings the power and praiſe of Love.

Soon

Soon as that name was heard, the woods
Shook off their ſnows; the melting floods
Broke their cold chains, and winter fled away.
Once more the earth was decked with flowers;
Mild zephyrs breathed through blooming bowers;
High towered the glorious ſun, and poured the blaze of day.

Attracted by the harmonious ſound,
Sylvans and fauns the cot ſurround,
And curious crowd the minſtrel to behold:
The wood-nymphs haſte the ſpell to prove;
Eager they run; they liſt, they love,
And, while they hear the ſtrain, forget the man is old.

Cupid, to nothing conſtant long,
Perched on the harp attends the ſong,
Or ſtifles with a kiſs the dulcet notes:
Now on the poet's breaſt repoſes,
Now twines his hoary locks with roſes,
Or borne on wings of gold in wanton circle floats.

Then thus Anacreon—"I no more
At other ſhrines my vows will pour,
Since Cupid deigns my numbers to inſpire:
From Phœbus or the blue-eyed maid
Now ſhall my verſe requeſt no aid,
For Love alone ſhall be the patron of my lyre.

"In lofty ſtrain, of earlier days,
I ſpread the king's or hero's praiſe,
And ſtruck the martial chords with epic fire:
But farewell, hero! farewell, king!
Your deeds my lips no more ſhall ſing,
For love alone ſhall be the ſubject of my lyre."

APRIL.

From Elegiac Sonnets, and other Poems, by CHARLOTTE SMITH.

GREEN o'er the copſes Spring's ſoft hues are ſpreading,
High wave the reeds in the tranſparent floods;
The oak its ſear and ſallow foliage ſhedding,
From their moſs'd cradles ſtart its infant buds.

Pale as the tranquil tide of Summer's ocean,
The willow now its ſlender leaf unveils;
And thro' the ſky, with ſwiftly fleeting motion,
Driven by the wind, the rack of April ſails.

Then,

Then, as the guſt declines, the ſtealing ſhowers
Fall freſh and noiſeleſs; while, at cloſe of day,
The low ſun gleams on moiſt and half-blown flowers,
That promiſe garlands for approaching May.

Bleſt are yon peaſant children, ſimply ſinging,
Who thro' the new-ſprung graſs rejoicing rove;
More bleſt! to whom the *time* fond thought is bringing
Of friends expected, or returning love.

The penſive wanderer bleſt, to whom reflection
Points out ſome future views that ſooth his mind;
Me how unlike!—whom cruel recollection
But tells of comfort I ſhall never find!

Hope, that on Nature's youth is ſtill attending,
No more to me her ſyren ſong ſhall ſing;
Never to me her influence extending,
Shall I again enjoy the days of ſpring!

Yet, how I loved them once theſe ſcenes remind me,
When light of heart, in childhood's thoughtleſs mirth,
I reck'd not that the cruel lot aſſign'd me
Should make me curſe the hour that gave me birth.

Then, from thy wild-wood banks, Aruna! roving,
Thy thymy downs with ſportive ſteps I ſought;
And Nature's charms, with artleſs tranſport loving,
Sung like the birds, unheeded and untaught.

But now the ſpring-tide's pleaſant hours returning,
Serve to awaken me to ſharper pain;
Recalling ſcenes of agony and mourning,
Of baffled hopes and prayers preferr'd in vain,

Thus ſhone the Sun, his vernal rays diſplaying,
Thus did the woods in early verdure wave;
While dire diſeaſe on all I loved was preying,
And flowers ſeemed riſing but to ſtrew her grave.

Now, 'mid reviving blooms, I coldly languiſh,
Spring ſeems devoid of joy to me alone;
Each ſound of pleaſure aggravates my anguiſh,
And ſpeaks of beauty, youth, and ſweetneſs gone!

Yet, as ſtern duty bids, with faint endeavour
I drag on life, contending with my woe;
Tho' conſcious miſery ſtill repeats, that never
My ſoul one pleaſurable moment know.

Loſt

Loſt in the tomb, when Hope no more appeaſes
The feſtered wounds that prompt the eternal ſigh,
Grief, the moſt fatal of the heart's diſeaſes,
Soon teaches, whom it faſtens on, to die.

The wretch undone, for pain alone exiſting,
The abject dread of Death ſhall ſure ſubdue;
And far from his deciſive hand reſiſting,
Rejoice to bid a world like this, adieu!

A DESCRIPTIVE ODE,

Suppoſed to have been written under the Ruins of Rufus's Caſtle, among the Remains of the ancient Church, on the Iſle of Portland.

[*From the ſame.*]

CHAOTIC pile of barren ſtone,
That Nature's hurrying hand has thrown,
Half finiſh'd, from the troubled waves;
On whoſe rude brow the rifted tower
Has frown'd thro' many a ſtormy hour,
On this drear ſite of tempeſt-beaten graves.

Sure Deſolation loves to ſhroud
His giant form, within the cloud
That hovers round thy rugged head;
And as thro' broken vaults beneath,
The future ſtorms, low muttering, breathe,
Hears the complaining voices of the dead.

Here marks the fiend, with eager eyes,
Far out at ſea the fogs ariſe,
That dimly ſhade the beacon'd ſtrand;
And liſtens the portentous roar
Of ſullen waves, as on the ſhore,
Monotonous, they burſt, and tell the ſtorm at hand.

Northward the Demon's eyes are caſt,
O'er yonder bare and ſterile waſte;
Where, born to hew and heave the block,
Man, loſt in ignorance and toil,
Becomes aſſociate to the ſoil,
And his heart hardens, like his native rock.

On the bleak hills, with flint o'erſpread,
No bloſſoms rear the purple head;
No ſhrub perfumes the Zephyr's breath;
But o'er the cold and cheerleſs down,
Grim Deſolation ſeems to frown,
Blaſting the ungrateful ſoil with partial death.

Here

Here the ſcathed trees, with leaves half dreſt,
Shade no ſoft ſongſter's ſecret neſt,
Whoſe ſpring-notes ſoothe the penſive ear;
But high the croaking cormorant flies,
And mews and hawks, with clamorous cries,
Tire the lone echo of theſe caverns drear.

Perchance among the ruins grey,
Some widow'd mourner loves to ſtray,
Marking the melancholy main,
Where once, afar ſhe could diſcern,
O'er the white waves *his* ſail return,
Who never, never now, returns again!

On theſe lone tombs, by ſtorms up-torn,
The hopeleſs wretch may lingering mourn,
Till from the ocean, riſing red,
The miſty moon, with lurid ray,
Lights her, reluctant, on her way,
To ſteep in tears her ſolitary bed.

Hence the dire ſpirit oft ſurveys
The ſhip, that to the weſtern bays,
With favouring gales purſues its courſe;
Then calls the vapour dark, that blinds
The pilot—calls the felon winds,
That heaves the billows with reſiſtleſs force.

Commixing with the blotted ſkies,
High and more high the wild waves riſe,
Till, as impetuous torrents urge,
Driven on yon fatal bank accurſt,
The veſſel's maſſy timbers burſt,
And the crew ſinks beneath the infuriate ſurge.

There finds the weak an early grave,
While youthful ſtrength the whelming wave
Repels; and labouring for the land,
With ſhorten'd breath and upturn'd eyes,
Sees the rough ſhore above him riſe,
Nor dreams that rapine meets him on the ſtrand.

And are there, then, in human form,
Monſters more ſavage than the ſtorm,
Who from the gaſping ſufferer tear
The dripping weed; who dare to reap
The inhuman harveſt of the deep,
From half-drowned victims, whom the tempeſts ſpare?

Ah! yes, by avarice once oppreſt,
No pity moves the ruſtic breaſt;
Callous he proves—as thoſe who haply wait,
Till I (a pilgrim weary worn)
To my own native land return,
With legal toils to drag me to my fate!

OCCASIONAL ADDRESS,

Written for the Benefit of a diſtreſſed Player, detained at Brighthelmſtone for Debt, November, 1792.

[*From the ſame.*]

WHEN in a thouſand ſwarms, the ſummer o'er,
The birds of paſſage quit our Engliſh ſhore,
By various routes the feather'd myriad moves;
The *Becca-fica* ſeeks Italian groves,
No more a *Wheat ear;* while the ſoaring files
Of ſea-fowl gather round the Hebrid-iſles.
But if by bird-lime touch'd, unplum'd, confin'd,
Some poor ill-fated ſtraggler ſtays behind,
Driven from his tranſient perch, beneath your eaves
On his unſhelter'd head the tempeſt raves,
While drooping round, redoubling every pain,
His mate and neſtlings aſk his help in vain.
So we, the buſkin and the ſock who wear,
And "ſtrut and fret" our little ſeaſon here,
Diſmiſs'd at length, as Fortune bids divide—
Some (lucky rogues!) ſit down on Thames's ſide;
Others to Liffey's weſtern banks proceed,
And ſome—driven far a-field, acroſs the Tweed:
But, pinion'd here, alas! I cannot fly:
The hapleſs, unplum'd, lingering ſtraggler I!
Unleſs the healing pity you beſtow,
Shall imp my ſhatter'd wings, and let me go.
Hard is his fate, whom evil ſtars have led
To ſeek in ſcenic art precarious bread,
While ſtill, thro' wild viciſſitudes afloat,
An hero now, and now a Sans Culotte!
That eleemoſynary bread he gains
Mingling—with real diſtreſſes—mimic pains.
See in our group, a pale, lank Falſtaff ſtare!
Much needs he ſtuffing:—while young Ammon there
Rehearſes—in a garret—ten feet ſquare!
And as his ſoft Statira ſighs conſent,
Roxana comes not—but a dun for rent!

Here

Here ſhiv'ring Edgar, in his blanket roll'd,
Exclaims—with too much reaſon, "Tom's a-cold!"
And vainly tries his ſorrows to divert,
While Goneril or Regan—waſh his ſhirt!
Lo! freſh from Calais, Edward! mighty king!
Revolves—a mutton chop upon a ſtring!
And Hotſpur, plucking "honour from the moon,"
Feeds a ſick infant with a pewter ſpoon!
More bleſt the fiſher, who undaunted braves
In his ſmall bark, the impetuous winds and waves;
For though he plough the ſea when others ſleep,
He draws, like Glendower, ſpirits from the deep!
And while the ſtorm howls round, amidſt his trouble,
Bright moonſhine ſtill illuminates the cobble!
Pale with her fears for him, ſome fair *poiſſarde*
Watches his nearing boat; with fond regard
Smiles when ſhe ſees his little canvaſs handing,
And claſps her dripping lover on his landing.
More bleſt the peaſant, who, with nervous toil,
Hews the rough oak, or breaks the ſtubborn ſoil:
Weary, indeed, he ſees the evening come,
But then, the rude, yet tranquil hut, his home,
Receives its ruſtic inmate; then are his
Secure repoſe, and dear domeſtic bliſs!
The orchard's bluſhing fruit, the garden's ſtore,
The pendant hop, that mantles round the door,
Are his:—and while the cheerful faggots burn,
"His liſping children hail their ſire's return!"
But wandering players, "unhouſel'd, unanneal'd,"
And unappointed, ſcour life's common field,
A flying ſquadron!—diſappointments croſs 'em,
And the campaign concludes, perhaps, at Horſham!
Oh! ye, whoſe timely bounty deigns to ſhed
Compaſſion's balm upon my luckleſs head,
Benevolence, with warm and glowing breaſt,
And ſoft, celeſtial mercy, doubly bleſt!
Smile on the generous act!—where means are given,
To aid the wretched—is to merit heaven.

ELINOR.—A Botany-Bay Eclogue.

[*From Poems by* Robert Southey.]

ONCE more to daily toil, once more to wear
The weeds of infamy, from every joy
The heart can feel excluded, I ariſe
Worn out and faint with unremitting woe;

And once again with wearied ſteps I trace
The hollow-ſounding ſhore. The ſwelling waves
Gleam to the morning ſun, and dazzle o'er
With many a ſplendid hue the breezy ſtrand.
Oh, there was once a time when Elinor
Gazed on thy opening beam with joyous eye
Undimm'd by guilt and grief! when her full ſoul
Felt thy mild radiance, and the riſing day
Waked but to pleaſure! on thy ſea-girt verge
Oft England! have my evening ſteps ſtole on,
Oft have mine eyes ſurveyed the blue expanſe,
And mark'd the wild wind ſwell the ruffled ſurge,
And ſeen the upheaved billows' boſomed rage
Ruſh on the rock; and then my timid ſoul
Shrunk at the perils of the boundleſs deep,
And heaved a ſigh for ſuffering mariners.
Ah! little deeming I myſelf was doom'd
To tempt the perils of the boundleſs deep,
An Outcaſt—unbeloved and unbewail'd.

Why, ſtern Remembrance! muſt thine iron hand
Harrow my ſoul? why calls thy cruel power
The fields of England to my exil'd eyes,
The joys which once were mine? even now I ſee
The lowly lovely dwelling! even now
Behold the woodbine claſping its white walls,
And hear the fearleſs red-breaſts chirp around
To aſk their morning meal:—for I was wont
With friendly hand to give their morning meal,
Was wont to love their ſong, when lingering morn
Streak'd o'er the chilly landſcape the dim light,
And thro' the open'd lattice hung my head
To view the ſnow-drop's bud: and thence at eve,
When mildly fading ſunk the ſummer ſun,
Oft have I loved to mark the rook's ſlow courſe,
And hear his hollow croak, what time he ſought
The church-yard elm, whoſe wide-embowering boughs
Full foliaged, half conceal'd the houſe of God.
There, my dead father! often have I heard
Thy hallowed voice explain the wond'rous works
Of Heaven to ſinful man. Ah! little deem'd
Thy virtuous boſom, that thy ſhameleſs child
So ſoon ſhould ſpurn the leſſon! ſink the ſlave
Of Vice and Infamy! the hireling prey
Of brutal appetite! at length worn out
With famine, and the avenging ſcourge of guilt,
Should dare diſhoneſty—yet dread to die!

Welcome

Welcome ye ſavage lands, ye barbarous climes,
Where angry England ſends her outcaſt ſons—
I hail your joyleſs ſhores! my weary bark
Long tempeſt-toſt on Life's inclement ſea,
Here hails her haven! welcomes the drear ſcene,
The marſhy plain, the briar-entangled wood,
And all the perils of a world unknown.
For Elinor has nothing new to fear
From fickle Fortune! all her rankling ſhafts
Barb'd with diſgrace, and venom'd with diſeaſe,
Have pierc'd my boſom, and the dart of death
Has loſt its terrors to a wretch like me.

Welcome ye marſhy heaths! ye pathleſs woods,
Where the rude native reſts his wearied frame
Beneath the ſheltering ſhade; where, when the ſtorm,
As rough and bleak it rolls along the ſky,
Benumbs his naked limbs, he flies to ſeek
The dripping ſhelter. Welcome ye wild plains
Unbroken by the plough, undelv'd by hand
Of patient ruſtic; where for lowing herds,
And for the muſic of the bleating flocks,
Alone is heard the kangaroo's ſad note
Deepening in diſtance. Welcome ye rude climes,
The realm of Nature! for as yet unknown
The crimes and comforts of luxurious life,
Nature benignly gives to all enough,
Denies to all a ſuperfluity.
What tho' the garb of infamy I wear,
Tho' day by day along the echoing beach
I cull the wave-worn ſhells, yet day by day
I earn in honeſty my frugal food,
And lay me down at night to calm repoſe,
No more condemn'd the mercenary tool
Of brutal luſt, while heaves the indignant heart
With Virtue's ſtifled ſigh, to fold my arms
Round the rank felon, and for daily bread
To hug contagion to my poiſon'd breaſt;
On theſe wild ſhores Repentance' ſaviour hand
Shall probe my ſecret ſoul, ſhall cleanſe its wounds,
And fit the faithful penitent for Heaven.

STANZAS,

From the Spaniſh of George of Montemayor.

[*From* SOUTHEY's *Letters from Spain and Portugal.*]

* AH me! thou Relic of that faithleſs fair!
Sad changes have I ſuffered ſince that day,
When, in this valley, from her long looſe hair
I bore thee, Relic of my Love! away.
Well did I then believe DIANA's truth,
For ſoon true Love each jealous care repreſſes;
And fondly thought that never other youth
Should wanton with the maiden's unbound treſſes.

Here on the cold clear Ezla's breezy ſide
My hand amid her ringlets wont to rove,
She proffer'd now the lock, and now denied,
With all the baby playfulneſs of love.
Here the falſe maid, with many an artful tear,
Made me each riſing thought of doubt diſcover,
And vow'd and wept—till Hope had ceas'd to fear,
Ah me! beguiling like a child her lover.

Witneſs thou how that fondeſt falſeſt fair
Has ſigh'd and wept on Ezla's ſhelter'd ſhore,
And vow'd eternal truth, and made me ſwear,
My heart no jealouſy ſhould harbour more.
Ah! tell me! could I but believe thoſe eyes?
Thoſe lovely eyes with tears my cheek bedewing,
When the mute eloquence of tears and ſighs
I felt, and truſted, and embraced my ruin.

So

* The firſt ſtanza of the original alludes to a Spaniſh peculiarity. The hair of Diana was kept in green ſilk.

Sad changes have I ſuffered ſince that day,
When here reclining on this graſſy ſlope,
I bore thee, Relic of my Love! away,
And faded are thy tints, green hue of Hope!

The love language of colours is given at large in the following extract from the "Hiſtoria de las Guerras civiles de Granada."

"Mudava trages y veſtidos conforme la paſſion que ſentia. Unas vezes veſtia negro ſolo, otras vezes negro y pardo, otras de morado y blanco por moſtrar ſu fe; lo pardo y negro por monſtrar ſa trajabo. Otras vezes veſtia azul moſtrando diviſa de rabioſos celos; otras de verde por ſignificar ſu eſperanza; otras vezes de amarillo por moſtrar desconfianza, y el dia que hablava con ſu Zayda ſe ponia de encarnado y blanco, ſenal de alegria y contento."

"He altered his dreſs according to the emotions he felt. Sometimes he wore black alone, ſometimes black and grey. At other times he was in purple and white, to ſhew his conſtancy, or black and grey, to expreſs his grief; ſometimes in blue, denoting that he was tormented by jealouſy; ſometimes in green, to ſignify hope; ſometimes he was in yellow, to ſhew doubt; and on the day on which he ſpoke to Zayda, he clad himſelf in red and white, to expreſs his joy and ſatisfaction.

So falſe and yet ſo fair! ſo fair a mien
Veiling ſo falſe a mind who ever knew?
So true and yet ſo wretched! who has ſeen
A man like me, ſo wretched and ſo true?
Fly from me on the wind, for you have ſeen
How kind ſhe was, how lov'd by her you knew me;
Fly, fly vain witneſs what I once have been,
Nor dare, all wretched as I am, to view me!

One evening on the river's pleaſant ſtrand,
The Maid too well beloved ſat with me,
And with her finger trac'd upon the ſand,
"Death for DIANA—not Inconſtancy!"
And Love beheld us from his ſecret ſtand,
And mark'd his triumph, laughing to behold me,
To ſee me truſt a writing trac'd in ſand,
To ſee me credit what a woman told me!

VERSES

To a Robin Red-breaſt who viſits the windows of my priſon every day.

[*From Priſon Amuſements, and other Trifles; principally written during nine months' Confinement in the Caſtle of York.*]

By PAUL POSITIVE.

WELCOME, pretty little ſtranger!
Welcome to my lone retreat!
Here, ſecure from every danger,
Hop about, and chirp, and eat.
Robin! how I envy thee,
Happy child of liberty!

Now though tyrant Winter howling
Shakes the world with tempeſts round;
Heaven above with vapours ſcowling,
Froſt impriſons all the ground;—
Robin, what are theſe to thee?
Thou art bleſt with liberty.

Though yon fair majeſtic river*
Mourns in ſolid icy chains;
Though yon flocks and cattle ſhiver,
On the deſolated plains.
Robin, thou art gay and free,
Happy in thy liberty.

* The Ouſe.

Hunger never ſhall diſtreſs thee,
While my cates one crumb afford;
Colds nor cramps ſhall ne'er oppreſs thee;
Come and ſhare my humble board.
Robin! come and live with me,
Live—yet ſtill at liberty.

Soon ſhall ſpring, in ſmiles and bluſhes,
Steal upon the blooming year;
Then, amid th'enamour'd buſhes,
Thy ſweet ſong ſhall warble clear;—
Then ſhall I too, join'd with thee,
Swell the hymn of liberty.

Should ſome rough unfeeling Dobbin,
In this iron-hearted age,
Seize thee on thy neſt, my Robin!
And confine the in a cage;
Then, poor Robin! think of me,
Think—and ſigh for liberty.

Liberty, the brighteſt jewel
In the crown of earthly joys!
All ſenſations elſe are cruel,
All delights beſides are toys.
None but captives—ſuch as *me*—
Know the want of liberty. J. M.

ARISTODEMUS.

A MONODRAMA.

[*From the Monthly Magazine.*]

ARGUMENT.

"The oracle had demanded a virgin victim of the blood-royal, as the price of Meſſenia's ſafety. The lot had fallen on the daughter of Lycurgus, who fled with her. Stimulated by ambition, Ariſtodemus voluntarily offered his child: her betrothed huſband, to ſave her life, aſſerted that ſhe was pregnant; Ariſtodemus immediately ſtabbed her, and bade the prieſt convince himſelf of the falſehood of this evaſion. He obtained the crown; but the reflection, how he had obtained it, never could be obliterated; and, at length, he ſlew himſelf upon his daughter's tomb."

A Sepulchre. Time—Night.

YET once again—again at this dread hour,
When Nature ſlumbers in ſerene repoſe,
And only murderers wake:—I come to pauſe
O'er thy cold grave, my child! Again I come,

Worn

Worn out with anguiſh, and the keeneſt pangs
That frenzying Memory knows. Ye dreadful ſhades!
Ye ſullen monumental groves of Death!
To you I come; eſcap'd the wearying cares
Of empire, and its loathſome pageantry—
Sunk to the father, comes the wretched king.

O thou cold clay—once moulded by the hand
Of laviſh Nature to perfection's form—
Once animate with life, and youth, and love;
Once my Earine! Again I come
To pour my ſorrows forth, and call to view
What this curſed hand deſtroyed; when, wild with rage,
With ſavage ſuperſtition, and the luſt
Of empire, I deſtroy'd the faireſt work
Of bounteous heaven—blaſted the opening bud
Of beauty—caſt away the ties of man—
And murdered my dear child!

Oh, ſhe was dear!
I loved her—how I loved her witneſs heaven!
Witneſs the eternal grief that gnaws my heart;
Witneſs the days in fruitleſs efforts worn,
To check the bitter thoughts that ſtill will riſe;
Witneſs the nights, when Memory—ſleepleſs fiend—
Fevers my throbbing brain. Oh, ſhe was dear!
For ſhe was all a father's heart could wiſh:
Health bloſſom'd in her cheek, and in her voice
The ſoul of muſic breath'd; her ſparkling eye
Spoke each emotion of her gentle ſoul,
Moſt eloquent. Meſſenia never ſaw
A maid more lovely than Earine—
A happier father, than her barbarous ſire.

Now I can praiſe thy falſehood, when too late,
Androcles!—I had ſanction'd all his hopes.
He ſaw her eye beam love; he heard her voice
Breathe tenderneſs; and Nature bade him urge
The fond, falſe plea. Some fury, at that hour
Poſſeſs'd me—in her breaſt I plung'd the ſword,
Gor'd her white boſom, though her fearful eyes
Look'd up to me for aid, though her claſp'd hands
Clung round my knees for ſafety. I beheld
Her livid cheek convulſe—I felt her graſp
My knees, in life's laſt ſtruggle—I beheld
Her ſtarting eye-balls;—calm, when thouſands round
Rais'd one inſtinctive cry; when even the prieſt
Started, and ſhriek'd with horror—I was calm—
I only—I—her father!

But the hand
Of Heaven lies heavy on the murderer now!
Earine! Androcles! look on me!
Behold me in the autumn of my days,
When had I known to feel a father's love,
My daughter's care had ſmooth'd the path of age,
Behold me, withering like the blaſted oak,
Struck by the wrath of Heaven. Nor ever night
Deſcends, but round my couch the furies throng,
Dreadful they ſmile, and in their red eyes glares
Horrible expectation!—

Light'nings come—
Ruſh round my head—annihilate my woes!
Thou fearful ſpectre, wherefore doſt thou come?
Where doſt thou beckon? Spirit of my child,
Why bare that bleeding breaſt? Earine,
Spare me! Earine! my murder'd child,
Spare thy poor father—though he ſpar'd not thee!
Thou pointeſt to the ſword—this impious ſword—
There is no hope—no mercy; I obey
The dreadful call—accurſt, abandon'd wretch,
Down to perdition! *(He ſtabs himſelf.)*

LINES

Found in a Bower facing the South.

[*From Engliſh Lyrics.*]

SOFT cherub of the ſouthern breeze,
Oh! thou whoſe voice I love to hear
When ling'ring thro' the ruſtling trees,
With lengthen'd ſighs it ſoothes mine ear:

Oh! thou whoſe fond embrace to meet,
The young Spring all enamour'd flies,
And robs thee of thy kiſſes ſweet,
And on thee pours her laughing eyes.

Thou at whoſe call the light Fays ſtart,
That ſilent in their hidden bower
Lie penciling with tendereſt art,
The bloſſom thin and infant flower!

Soft Cherub of the ſouthern breeze,
Oh! if aright I tune the reed,
Which thus thine ear would hope to pleaſe,
By ſimple lay, and humble meed;

And

And if aright, with anxious zeal,
My willing hands this bower have made,
Still let this bower thine influence feel,
And be its gloom thy favourite ſhade!

For thee of all the cherub train,
Alone my votive muſe would woo;
Of all that ſkim along the main,
Or walk at dawn yon mountains blue;

Of all that ſlumber'd in the grove,
Or playful urge the goſſamer's flight,
Or down the vale or ſtreamlet move,
With whiſper ſoft, and pinion light.

I court thee, thro' the glimmering air,
When morning ſprings from ſlumbers ſtill,
And waving bright his golden hair,
Stands tiptoe on yon eaſtern hill.

I court thee, when at noon reclined,
I watch the murmuring inſect throng
In many an airy ſpiral wind,
Or ſilent climb the leaf along.

I court thee, when the flow'rets cloſe,
And drink no more receding light,
And when calm eve to ſoft repoſe,
Sinks on the boſom of the night.

And when beneath the moon's pale beam,
Alone mid ſhadowy rocks I roam,
And waking viſions round me gleam,
Of beings, and of worlds to come.

Smooth glides with thee my penſive hour,
Thou warm'ſt to life my languid mind;
Thou cheer'ſt a frame with genial power,
That droops in every ruder wind.

Breathe Cherub! breathe! once ſoft and warm,
Like thine, the gale of Fortune blew,
How has the deſolating ſtorm
Swept all I gazed on from my view!

Unſeen, unknown, I wait my doom,
The haunts of men indignant flee,
Hold to my heart a liſtleſs gloom,
And joy but in the muſe and thee.

FOR

FOR THE BLIND ASYLUM, LIVERPOOL.

[*From the ſame.*]

Stranger, pauſe—for thee the day
Smiling pours its cheerful ray,
Spreads the lawn, and rears the bower,
Lights the ſtream, and paints the flower.

Stranger, pauſe—with ſoften'd mind
Learn the ſorrows of the Blind;
Earth and ſeas, and varying ſkies,
Viſit not their cheerleſs eyes.

Not for them the bliſs to trace
The chiſel's animating grace;
Nor on the glowing canvas find
The poet's ſoul, the ſage's mind.

Not for them the heart is ſeen,
Speaking through the expreſſive mien;
Not for them are pictur'd there
Friendſhip, pity, love ſincere.

Helpleſs, as they ſlowly ſtray,
Childhood points their cheerleſs way,
Or the wand exploring guides
Fault'ring ſteps, where fear preſides.

Yet for them has Genius kind
Humble pleaſures here aſſign'd;
Here with unexpected ray,
Reach'd the ſoul that felt no day.

Lonely blindness here can meet
Kindred woes, and converſe ſweet;
Torpid once, can learn to ſmile
Proudly o'er its uſeful toil.

He, who deign'd for man to die,
Op'd on day the darken'd eye;
Humbly copy—thou canſt feel—
Give thine alms—thou canſt not heal.

THE DREAM.

[*From the ſame.*]

Stay, gentle ſpirit of the night,
Oh! fly not thus—in pity ſtay!
I ſicken at returning light;
Prolong my dream, forbid the day!

Sleeping

Sleeping, I thought, my Myra fair
Hung fondly on my arm reclin'd,
Nor felt the while my heart aware,
The maid had ever been unkind.

Still ſeems her form my ſight to bleſs,
To ſmile and linger on my view—
Still ſeems her gentle hand to preſs;
Still ſpeak her eyes of liquid blue.

Still vibrate on my liſtening ears,
The murmurs that confeſs'd her kind;
Still in mine eyes, the trembling tears,
Wak'd by her tenderness, I find.

The ſighs that from her boſom ſtole,
Even now my raviſh'd ſenſes fire;
My pulſes throb, and all my ſoul
Aches with regret, and fond deſire—

Hear, ſpirit kind! thy ſuppliant hear,
Again, my longing eyes I cloſe;
Oh! prompt again the viſion dear,
And let me ever thus repoſe.

Ah! know, that to thy ſhadowy aid,
Thy mimic power, my breaſt muſt owe
The only joy the cruel maid
Will ever on my love beſtow.

LINES ADDRESSED TO A FOUNTAIN.

[*From Lyric Poems.*]

Sequester'd Fountain! ever pure,
Whoſe placid ſtreamlet flows,
In ſilent lapſe, through glens obſcure,
Where timid flocks repoſe:
Tired and diſabled in the race,
I quit ambition's fruitleſs chace,
To ſhape my courſe by thine;
And, pleas'd, from ſerious trifles turn,
As thus, around thy little urn,
A votive wreath I twine.

Fair Fountain! on thy margin green,
May tufted trees ariſe,
And ſpreading boughs thy boſom ſkreen
From ſummer's fervent ſkies;—
Here may the ſpring her flow'rets ſtrew,
And morning ſhed her pearly dew,

May

May health infuſe her balm;
And ſome ſoft virtue in thee flow,
To mitigate the pangs of woe,
And bid the heart be calm.

O! may thy ſalutary ſtreams,
Like thoſe of Lethe's ſpring,
That bathe the ſilent land of dreams,
Some drops oblivious bring—
With that bleſt opiate in my bowl,
Far ſhall I from my wounded ſoul
The thorns of ſpleen remove—
Forget how there at firſt they grew,
And, once again, with man renew
The cordial ties of love.

For what avails the wretch to bear
Imprinted on his mind,
The leſſons of diſtruſt and fear,
Injurious to mankind?—
Hopeleſs in his diſaſtrous hour,
He ſees the gath'ring tempeſt lower,
The burſting cloud impend—
Tow'rds the wild waſte he turns his eye,
Nor can that happy port deſcry,
The boſom of a friend.

How chang'd ſince that propitious time,
When woo'd by fortune's gale,
Fearleſs in youth's advent'rous prime,
He crowded ev'ry ſail!—
The ſwelling tide, the ſportive breeze,
Lightly along the halcyon ſeas
His bounding pinnace bore—
In ſearch of happiness, the while,
He ſteer'd by ev'ry fragrant iſle,
And touch'd at ev'ry ſhore.

Ah me! to Youth's ingenuous eye
What charms the proſpect wears!
Bright as the portals of the ſky
The op'ning world appears;
There every figure ſtands confeſt,
In all the ſweet advantage dreſt
Of Candour's radiant robe—
There no mean cares admiſſion find,
Love is the buſineſs of mankind,
And Honour rules the globe.

But if thoſe gleams fallacious prove
That paint the world ſo fair;
If Heav'n has plac'd for gen'rous love
No ſoft aſylum there;
If men fair faith, fair fame deride,
Bent on the crooked paths that guide
To Int'reſt's ſordid ſhrine;
Be yours, ye gloomy ſons of Woe!
That melancholy truth to know,
The dream of bliſs be mine.

HOME. TO ——.

[*From the ſame.*]

The Bandit whom the laws purſue,
The Soldier, and the Gipſy crew,
Arabs, and Tartars, ever doom'd to roam—
Whate'er their place of ſhelter be,
A tent, a cave, or hollow tree,
Thither they hie with joy, and call it *Home.*

There if a doxy, or a wife,
Receive the wretch eſcap'd from ſtrife;
If there his tatter'd brood around him cling—
His features catch a bright'ning ſmile,
He reſts him from his ſordid toil,
And in his narrow confines reigns a king.

While thus the poor and wretched find
Th' aſylum for a wounded mind—
Diſtemper'd men there are, eſtrang'd from home,
Cold to an angel's kind embrace,
Cheerleſs amid a blooming race,
And dead to comforts in a princely dome:

Men in the lap of Fortune nurſt,
With all her froward humours curſt,
And teased by wiſhes ever on the wing;
Who wand'ring ſtill thro' Folly's maze,
In ſearch of bliſs conſume their days,
Nor taſte her genuine draught at Nature's spring.

Yet ſuch the men who lead the gay,
The pride and patterns of the day,
Whose high-priz'd friendſhip fools and ſtrangers boaſt;
Bluſh, thou! to court their barren fame;
Let *Home*, *ſweet Home*, thy preſence claim,
And thoſe enjoy thy ſmiles who love thee moſt!

STANZAS.

STANZAS.

[*From Sonnets, and other ſmall Poems. By* T. PARK.]

THE bard who paints from rural plains,
Muſt oft himſelf the void ſupply
Of damſels pure, and artleſs ſwains,
Of innocence and induſtry.

For ſad experience ſhews the heart
Of human beings much the ſame;
Or poliſh'd by inſidious art,
Or rude as from the clod it came.

And he who roams the village round,
Or ſtrays amid the harveſt ſere,
Will hear, as now, too many a ſound
Quiet would never wiſh to hear.

The wrangling ruſtic's loud abuſe,
The coarſe, unfeeling, witleſs jeſt;
The threat obſcene, the oath profuſe,
And all that cultur'd minds deteſt.

Hence, let thoſe ſylvan poets glean,
Who picture life without a flaw;—
Nature may form a perfect ſcene,
But Fancy muſt the figures draw.

DESCRIPTION OF A COUNTRY PARSON'S GARDEN.

[*From* Mr. BIDLAKE'S *Country Parſon, a Poem.*]

A GARDEN trim he owns, with ſilver rill,
That ceaſeleſs ſports to muſic all its own;
Where nodding flowrets ſtooping drink their fill,
And ope gay eyes, refreſh'd, fantaſtick grown.
And there the gaudy tulip's pomp is known;
The bluſhing roſe, mentor of virgin pride;
Woodbines with cumb'rous wealth hung cluſt'ring down;
The jaſmine meek and pure; and more beſide,
That make a paradiſe and ſcent the ſummer tide.

But moſt his luſcious fruits with gliſtering eye,
That clothe the ſunny wall he will commend,
The while he ſhews, how they all fruits outvie,
He prunes them all, their growth his cares attend,
There bids them ſprucely ſpread, here bids them bend.

How

How glows the bluſhing peach at his command;
The nectarine rich, where ſummer's bounties blend,
The conſcious plumb that from the ſpoiler's hand
Loſt bloom bemoans, like worth ſad-ſtain'd by ſlander's brand.

Securely there the painted goldfinch breeds,
Securely ſhelter'd trills the mellow lay;
All on their downy couch his offspring feeds,
And warbles thankfulness his rent to pay.
For, happy gueſts! from thence no ſongſters ſtray;
For there compaſſion, nature's friend, they meet;
Their emulative tuneful pow'rs diſplay;
The conſcious maſter's daily viſits greet,
And fill with grateful melody his bleſt retreat.

Not all for pleaſure, herbs for uſe deſign'd,
Within the garden's cultur'd precinct grow,
To the main chance looks forth the thrifty mind,
And ſubſtance holds above mere empty ſhew,
"For penny ſav'd," a proverb well ſuch know.
And there, with heart compact, the cabbage ſtands,
With trickling drops begem'd that brightly glow.
There nodding onions rang'd like marſhall'd bands;
And apples dropping down that aſk the gatherer's hands.

Uprears aſparagus his ſpiry head;
Child of the ſea, ſnug cole in native ſand;
The ſluggard carrot ſleeps his days in bed;
The cripple pea, alone that cannot ſtand,
With vegetable marrow rich and bland;
The bean, whoſe tempting ſweets the bees invite;
The artichoke in ſcaly armour grand;
With more, that may nice epicure delight,
And dainties yield to glad the fickle appetite.

There ſtretch'd upon his bed of ſalts, ſupine,
Cool cucumber his creeping arms extends,
Rough-coated melon ſhoots his tender vine,
Like worth, whom aſpect rude, ill recommends.
In jeſtful mood the maſter tells his friends,
How cauliflower, like doctor's wig ſo white,
All flower exceeds: a joke much mirth that lends.
For never jeſt ſo ſtale, or wit ſo trite,
In little minds that cannot raiſe ſupreme delight.

There too the currant hangs its loaded head;
Pomona's pearls and crimſon gems all bright.
Plethoric gooſeberries, amber, green, or red,
Whoſe giant ſize may rivalſhip excite,

With

With harmleſs pride nice culture's care requite.
And there the ſtrawberry, 'mid her veil of green,
Baſhful with modeſt face ſhrinks back from ſight,
True virgin beauty bluſhing to be ſeen:
And what ſo ſweet as chaſtity in beauty's mein?

SONNETS,

ATTEMPTED IN THE MANNER OF 'CONTEMPORARY WRITERS.'

By NEHEMIAH HIGGINBOTTOM.

[*From the Monthly Magazine.*]

SONNET I.

PENSIVE, at eve, on the hard world I mus'd,
And my poor heart was ſad: ſo at the moon
I gaz'd,—and ſigh'd, and ſigh'd!—For ah! how ſoon
Eve darkens into night. Mine eye perus'd
With tearful vacancy, the *dampy* graſs,
Which wept and glitter'd in the paly ray:
And I did pauſe me on my lonely way,
And mus'd me on thoſe wretched ones who paſs
O'er the black heath of SORROW. But, alas!
Moſt of MYSELF I thought: when it befell,
That the ſooth SPIRIT of the breezy wood
Breath'd in mine ear, 'All this is very well;
But much of *one* thing is for *no* thing good.'
Ah! my poor heart's inexplicable ſwell!

SONNET II.—TO SIMPLICITY.

O! I do love thee, meek *Simplicity!*
For of thy lays the lulling ſimpleneſs
Goes to my heart, and ſoothes each ſmall diſtreſs;
Diſtreſs though ſmall, yet haply great to me!
'Tis true on lady Fortune's gentleſt pad
I amble on! yet, though I know not why,
So ſad I am! But ſhould a friend and I
Grow cool and *miff*, O! I am *very* ſad!
And then with ſonnets and with ſympathy
My dreamy boſom's myſtic woes I pall;
Now of my falſe friend plaining plaintively,
Now raving at mankind in general;
But whether ſad or fierce, 'tis ſimple all,
All very ſimple, meek SIMPLICITY!

SONNET

SONNET III.—ON A RUINED HOUSE IN A ROMANTIC COUNTRY.

AND this reft houſe is that the which he built,
Lamented Jack! and here his malt he pil'd,
Cautious in vain! Theſe rats that ſqueak ſo wild,
Squeak not unconſcious of their father's guilt.
Did ye not ſee her gleaming through the glade!
Belike 'twas ſhe, the maiden all forlorn;
What though ſhe milk no cow with crumpled horn,
Yet aye ſhe haunts the dale where erſt ſhe ſtray'd;
And aye beſide her ſtalks her amorous knight!
Still on his thighs their wonted brogues are worn,
And through thoſe brogues ſtill tatter'd and betorn,
His hindward charms gleam an unearthly white;
As when thro' broken clouds, at night's high noon,
Peeps in fair fragments forth the full-orb'd harveſt-moon!

LODGINGS FOR SINGLE GENTLEMEN.

[*From* COLMAN's *Night-gown and Slippers; or, Tales in Verſe.*]

WHO has e'er been in London, that overgrown place,
Has ſeen "*Lodgings to let*" ſtare him full in the face;
Some are good, and let dearly; while ſome, 'tis well known,
Are ſo dear, and ſo bad, they are beſt let alone.
Derry down.

Will Waddle, whoſe temper was ſtudious and lonely,
Hired lodgings that took Single Gentlemen, only;
But Will was ſo fat he appear'd like a ton,
Or like two Single Gentlemen roll'd into One.

He entered his rooms, and to bed he retreated,
But, all the night long he felt fever'd and heated;
And, though heavy to weigh, as a ſcore of fat ſheep,
He was not, by any means, heavy to ſleep.

Next night 'twas the ſame;—and the next;—and the next;
He perſpired like an ox; he was nervous, and vex'd;
Week paſſed after week; till, by weekly ſucceſſion,
His weakly condition was paſt all expreſſion.

In ſix months his acquaintance began much to doubt him,
For his ſkin "like a lady's looſe gown," hung about him;
He ſent for a Doctor, and cried, like a ninny,
"I have loſt many pounds;—make me well—there's a guinea."

The Doctor look'd wiſe:—" a ſlow fever," he ſaid:
Preſcrib'd ſudorifics,—and going to bed.
" Sudorifics in bed," exclaimed Will, " are humbugs;
I've enough of them there, without paying for drugs."

Will kick'd out the Doctor;—but when ill indeed,
E'en diſmiſſing the Doctor don't always ſucceed;
So, calling his hoſt, he ſaid—" Sir, do you know,
I'm the fat Single Gentleman, ſix months ago?

" Look'e, landlord, I think," argued Will, with a grin,
" That with honeſt intentions you firſt *took me in*;
But from the firſt night—and to ſay it I'm bold—
I have been ſo damn'd hot, that I'm ſure I caught cold."

Quoth the landlord—" Till now, I ne'er had a diſpute;
I've let lodgings ten years;—I'm a Baker to boot;
In airing your ſheets, Sir, my wife is no ſloven,
And your bed is immediately—over my Oven."

" The Oven!!!" ſays Will—ſays the hoſt, " why this paſſion?
In that excellent bed died three people of faſhion.
Why ſo cruſty, good Sir?" " Zounds!" cries Will, in a taking—
" Who wouldn't be cruſty, with half a year's baking?"

Will paid for his rooms; cried the hoſt, with a ſneer,
" Well, I ſee you've been *going away* half a year,"
" Friend, we can't well agree"—" yet no quarrel"—Will ſaid,
" For one man may die where another makes bread."

Account of Books, for 1797.

The Hiſtory of Scotland, from the acceſſion of the Houſe of Stuart to that of Mary. With Appendixes of Original Papers. By John Pinkerton. *4to. 2 vols.*

PREVIOUSLY to the appearance of theſe volumes, that portion of the hiſtory of Scotland to which they are devoted, had not engaged the attention of any writer of eminence. Yet it cannot be denied that the ſubject is, in many reſpects, worthy of the pen of an hiſtorian of talent. Living in the ſame iſland, being for centuries the inveterate and brave enemies to Engliſhmen, having much in common with them, in their government, language and cuſtoms, and now forming with them one community, and contributing largely to the glory of the kingdom, the Scotch and their concerns cannot but be an object of intereſt to an enlightened reader of the Britiſh annals. That the task of recording their achievements ſhould have been undertaken by one ſo capable as Mr. Pinkerton is, of performing it with ability, is a gratifying circumſtance to the Scottiſh people; nor is it of trivial importance to the lover of literature. Extenſive reading, patience in reſearch, and acuteness of intellect, are qualities indiſpenſable to an hiſtorian; and that Mr. Pinkerton poſſeſſes theſe qualities, no perſon has, we believe, ever been diſpoſed to deny. In compoſition, arrangement, and other requiſites, he is by no means deficient. That he ranks in the firſt class of hiſtorians, with Gibbon, Hume and Robertſon, it would be too much to affirm. In the ſecond claſs, however, he may boldly claim an honourable ſtation.

The plan of the work the author ſhall himſelf explain. "It being in ſome reſpects new," ſays he, "it may not be unneceſſary to indicate the cauſes of the arrangement. The characters of the monarchs are delineated at the commencement, not at the cloſe of their reigns; becauſe in the moſt eminent hiſtorical productions, when other perſonages aſcend the ſcene, they are thus introduced, and recommended to the reader's attention, as he becomes more intereſted in the events by a previous acquaintance with the actors. In the other mode, the mind ſeems to feel ſome defect in gratification, ſome deſire to re-peruſe the reign, in order to mark its correſpondence with the character: nor can any juſt cauſe be aſſigned, why the princes ſhould, in this reſpect, be diſtinguiſhed from the other chief perſonages. Nor is the private perſonal character of a monarch always to be diſcerned in the public fortunes of his ſovereignty, often the machinations of miniſters and

parties, though it doubtleſs has such influence as to deſerve great attention: and modern hiſtory not permitting ſuch variety of rhetoric and digreſſion, as the ancient claſſical models afford, it becomes the more important to preſerve its legal wealth unviolated, and to diverſify the chronicle of wars and treaties by ethic portraiture, by delineations of men and manners. Yet in this arrangement of the characters, it becomes indiſpenſable that the reign be firſt compoſed with complete candour, from the moſt genuine and unbiaſſed ſources, and meditated in all its relations of time, place, and circumſtances, before a juſt eſtimate can be prefixed.

"Another novelty is the retroſpect, interpoſed at appropriated epochs, of the ſtate of the country in civilization, government, laws, tactics, agriculture, commerce, literature, and the arts, during a preceding period. The claſſical page of hiſtory, from the age of Herodotus to the lateſt voice of expiring Rome, is illuminated with ſuch reſearches, though commonly preſented in the form of digreſſions; but they are certainly deſerving of a ſeparate and peculiar nich in the temple of memory. At the ſame time it would be raſh too far to depart from the models venerated by the wiſdom of ages, or to forget that the preſervation of national events is the allotted province of hiſtory. Theſe ſketches muſt therefore be kept in due ſubſervience to the main deſign, leaſt by an injudicious exuberance of extraneous matter, the very nature and name of hiſtory periſh; and the grandeſt records of human inſtruction, the moſt pleaſing pages of general entertainment, become cumbrous volumes of reference, chained to the groaning ſhelves of libraries. Sufficiently difficult, if performed with due ſenſe of its importance, is the taſk of the hiſtorian; and he needs little to encroach on other departments of ſcience, upon which for him to dilate, would be as abſurd as if he were to give the natural hiſtory of the animals and plants of a kingdom. But when reſtricted within proper bounds, and in ſome imitation of claſſical practice, theſe ſketches may be regarded as not only among the moſt inſtructive and intereſting parts of hiſtory, but as an agreeable variety and relief from the leſs diverſified ſeries of modern events. The author was happy to find that his ideas on this topic correſponded with thoſe of the late Mr. Gibbon, who was pleaſed warmly to expreſs his approbation of this part of the plan, of its arrangement, and of the ſpace allotted to it, as calculated, not to encumber and oppreſs the genuine province of hiſtory, but to variegate, enliven, and adorn."

There is another and ſtill more important point, that of impartiality, on which Mr. Pinkerton gives the moſt ſatisfactory aſſurances. "It is," ſays he, "a trite remark that an hiſtorian ſhould belong to no ſect, and no party: with whatever ſeverity and modeſty he may eſtimate his efforts, ſtill his labours, however humble, muſt in their very nature appeal to poſterity; and to pollute his pages with the faction of the day, would be to violate his own dignity, and reject his beſt reward. This work, begun long before that change which produced the preſent opinions and commotions in Europe, was completed in a ſilent inattention to them; and every

every ſentiment would have been the ſame, had the publication taken place ten years ago."

The copious references which appear in the notes, bear teſtimony to the diligence and care with which Mr. Pinkerton has ſought out, and availed himſelf of, every document that could throw light upon his ſubject. He complains, and we know the complaint to be founded on truth, that "ſcarce a ſtep could be advanced, without ſome doubt ariſing in fact, or in chronology, ſo that the information of a paragraph is often the labour of a diſſertation." He has, however, been ſucceſsful in removing the numerous obſtacles that impeded his progreſs. In noticing the authorities upon which he grounds his work, he ſtates that, "not to mention the innumerable new materials uſed in the various reigns, that of James V, in particular, is almoſt wholly compoſed from the original letters of the chief actors, and is perhaps the firſt attempt of the kind in any language, a few references to ſuch documents having hitherto ſatisfied the ambition of truth and accuracy. On a compariſon with preceding accounts, the reader will judge how much the modern hiſtory of all ſtates might be verified and improved, by ſuch a plan; and how many groſs errors remain in the moſt celebrated pages of hiſtory. The taſk is indeed laborious, but what is temporary labour, when compared with eternal truth?" The noble ſentiment of the laſt ſentence does honour to the feelings of Mr. Pinkerton, and ought to be conſtantly borne in mind by every hiſtorian.

The firſt four books of the History contain the reigns of Robert the ſecond and third, the regencies of Robert, and Murdoc, dukes of Albany, and the reign of James the firſt. The fifth book is devoted to the retroſpect, which is divided into ſix ſections. 1. State of the people, and of civilization. 2. Government, laws, tactics. 3. Agriculture, uſeful arts. 4. Commerce, money, navigation. 5. Eccleſiaſtic hiſtory, literature, language. 6. Ornamental arts, manners, and dreſs.

To attempt an analyſis of a work like this would be nothing ſhort of an abſurdity. We ſhall, therefore, confine ourſelves to the ſelection of ſuch extracts as will at once amuſe the reader, and give him an idea of Mr. Pinkerton's fitneſs for the taſk which he has performed. The account of the battle of Otterburn ſhall be our firſt extract; the two leading heroes of that battle being familiar to every reader. It is needleſs to ſay that the narrative is chiefly derived from that delightful writer, the chivalrous-hearted Froiſſart. The combat was fought in 1388.

"At the head of three hundred men at arms, and of two thouſand choſen infantry, Douglas proceeded, without pillaging the country or attacking any place; paſſed the Tine three miles above Newcaſtle; and, with the ſuddenneſs and deſtructiveneſs of lightning, darted on the county of Durham. When the diſtant flames, and ſmoke, of burning villages, had given the firſt tidings of the Scotiſh arrival, the earl of Northumberland, then at Alnwick, ſent his two ſons, Henry and Ralph, to Newcaſtle, to aſſemble a force in purſuit of the enemy, while he ſhould gather another on the north, and preclude their retreat. All the country being pil-

laged to the gates of York, and the unfortified towns and villages deſtroyed, Douglas returned with the ſpoil, repaſſed the Tine at the ſame place, and came before Newcaſtle, whither the chief people of the neighbouring counties had crouded, to gain the protection of a walled city, and of the two gallant Percies, Henry, ſurnamed Hotſpur, and Ralph, his brother in birth and arms. Many ſkirmiſhes enſuing, at one of them Douglas won the pennon of Henry Percy, to the great mortification of that undaunted leader, and of his followers: and to add to the diſgrace, Douglas vaunted, "this I ſhall carry as a ſign of thy proweſs to Scotland, and ſhall place it on the pinnacle of my caſtle to be known by all." Percy retorted with an oath, "Thou ſhalt never bear it out of Northumberland; and in the end ſhalt have little cauſe to boaſt;" to which Douglas replied, "Then thou muſt come this night, and take it from before my tent." Next morning the Scots purſued their march; and, aſſailing a caſtle without ſucceſs, wiſhed to proceed, but Douglas commanded them to encamp, in order to ſee if Percy would advance to recover his pennon, and that, being refreſhed, they ſhould again attack the fortreſs in the morning. They accordingly fortified their ſtation with felled trees, to prevent a ſurpriſe; and next day captured the caſtle, and purſued their journey towards the main army, till they came to Otterburn, a hamlet amid the wilds of the pariſh of Elſdon, about thirty miles north-weſt of Newcaſtle, and about twenty from the Scotiſh borders, which was to be a ſcene of celebrity to the bard and to the hiſtorian.

"Meanwhile Percy wiſhed to purſue the Scotiſh detachment, but was reſtrained by the tidings that the main army was near, and ready to ſupport Douglas; till the couriers brought certain intelligence that they were far diſtant, and incapable of effecting a junction for ſome days. Percy, with his uſual impetuoſity, inſtantly cried, "To horſe!" it being early in the morning; and left Newcaſtle attended by ſix hundred lances, or knights and ſquires, and eight thouſand infantry, accoutred with the dreadful long bows of England. After a forced march, they reached the Scotiſh camp at Otterburn, late in the evening. The Scots had ſupped, ſome had even retired to reſt, fatigued with various exertion; and the Engliſh began to enter the outer entrenchment, where the ſervants were ſtationed, ſhouting "Percy! Percy!" but they found it well fortified. Some infantry were ordered to ſupport the ſervants, by the Scotiſh chiefs, who in the mean time armed in haſte, and arrayed their men under their banners. Night was now advanced; but the moon ſhone clear in a ſerene ſky of the month of Auguſt.

"The Scots, armed and arranged, proceeded, not towards the aſſailants, but around an eminence; and attacking the enemy in the rear, raiſed all at once the cry of battle, upon which the Engliſh, in ſurprize, turned, ſtrengthened their ranks, and reſounded "Percy!" in anſwer to the Scotiſh acclaim of "Douglas!" After a ſevere conteſt, the Scots were on the point of yielding to numbers, when the earl of Douglas ardently puſhed forward his banner; and both the Percies advanced againſt him, with equal impetuoſity,

petuoſity, ſo that the Scots recoiled, and, had not the valour of the two Hepburns been oppoſed, the banner of Douglas had been taken. Douglas, irritated by the apprehenſion of diſgrace, rouſed all his ſtrength and courage; and, brandiſhing a two-handed battle-axe, opened the thick files of the foe, as with a long avenue, deſpiſing numerous blows, and committing his life to the temper of his armour. He had advanced far from his battalions, when he fell under three mortal wounds. But ignorance of his fate forbad the Engliſh to triumph, and the Scots to deſpair. The former only ſaw that ſome valiant man at arms had fallen: and the latter were inſpirited by the earls of March and Moray to follow a tract, which they knew not had conducted their leader to death. Fortune now began to favour the Scots. Ralph Percy, advancing too far, in returning was ſeverely wounded, and taken priſoner by Maxwell, a knight who followed Moray: and the Engliſh, exhauſted with a fatiguing march, and an obſtinate conteſt, began to exhibit ſymptoms of depreſſion and defeat.

Douglas, faint with the loſs of blood, and ſenſible of the approaches of death, was defended by his valiant chaplain, William of North Berwick. His banner lay on the ground, not far from him, the bearer being ſlain, when Lindſay, Sinclair, and ſome other knights, preſſed through the now yielding foe, and reached the ſpot, and beſpoke their general. Even trifles in ſuch a converſation are intereſting—"Couſin, how goes it?" ſaid Sinclair. Douglas anſwered, "But ſo, ſo. Praiſed be God, few of my anceſtors have died in chambers or beds.—Avenge me, for I die—my heart faints too repeatedly. Raiſe again my banner, and ſhout Douglas! But tell neither friend nor foe how it fares with me, for my enemies would exult, and my friends be diſconſolate." The banner was erected; the whole field reſounded with the animating cry of "Douglas!" and the Scots, excited as with the voice of victory, inſtantly formed one phalanx, and with levelled ſpears puſhed the enemy to flight.

Henry Percy was taken priſoner by Montgomery; and the defeat was complete. Radman, the governor of Berwick, was almoſt the only Engliſhman of note who eſcaped: and the Scots purſued the chase for five miles. The number of the Engliſh ſlain is computed at twelve hundred. Such was the battle at Otterburn, which Froiſſart repreſents as the moſt eminent fought in his time, for heroic bravery on both ſides, and the real ſpirit of war. He alſo highly applauds the courteſy ſhewn by the Scots to their priſoner; and obſerves that both nations were not leſs laudable for their benevolence after a battle, than for their courage during its rage. Douglas was carried to his tent, where he ſoon expired."

This defeat was ſeverely avenged at the battle of Homildon Hill, in 1402, when Henry Percy was encountered by another Douglas, but with different ſucceſs. The ſtory of this battle contains ſuch a beautiful trait of the manners of the times, and alſo of nobleneſs of mind, that it deſerves to be quoted. After having made an inroad into England, "Douglas had reached Wooler in his return; and perceiving the enemy, ſeized a ſtrong poſt between the two armies, called Homildon

don Hill. In this method he rivalled his predeceſſor at the battle of Otterburn, but not with like ſucceſs. The Engliſh advanced to the aſſault, and Henry Percy was about to lead them up the hill, when March caught his bridle, and adviſed him to advance no further, but to pour the dreadful ſhower of Engliſh arrows into the enemy. This advice was followed with the uſual fortune; for in all ages the bow was the Engliſh inſtrument of victory, and though the Scots, and perhaps the French, were ſuperior in the uſe of the ſpear, yet this weapon was uſeleſs after the diſtant bow had decided the combat. Robert the Great, ſenſible of this, at the battle of Banocburn, ordered a prepared detachment of cavalry, to ruſh among the Engliſh archers at the commencement, totally to diſperſe them, and ſtop the deadly effuſion. But Douglas now uſed no ſuch precaution, and the conſequence was, that his people, drawn up on the face of a hill, preſented one general mark to the enemy, none of whoſe arrows deſcended in vain. The Scots fell without fight, and unrevenged, till a ſpirited knight, Swinton, exclaimed aloud, "My brave countrymen! what faſcination has ſeized you to-day, that you ſtand like deer to be ſhot, inſtead of indulging your ancient courage, and meeting your enemies hand to hand? Let thoſe who will, deſcend with me, that we gain victory, or life, or fall like men." This being heard by Adam Gordon, between whom and Swinton there exiſted an ancient and deadly feud, attended with the mutual ſlaughter of many followers, he inſtantly fell on his knees before Swinton, begged his pardon, and deſired to be dubbed a knight by him whom he muſt now regard as the wiſeſt, and boldeſt of that order in Britain. The ceremony performed, Swinton and Gordon deſcended the hill, accompanied only by one hundred men; and a deſperate valour led the whole body to death. Had a ſimilar ſpirit been ſhewn by the Scotiſh army, it is probable that the event of the day would have been difficult. Douglas, who was certainly deficient in the moſt important qualities of a general, ſeeing his army begin to diſperſe, at length attempted to deſcend the hill; but the Engliſh archers, retiring a little, ſent a flight of arrows ſo ſharp and ſtrong that no armour could withſtand; and the Scotiſh leader himſelf, whoſe panoply was of remarkable temper, fell under five wounds, though not mortal. The Engliſh men of arms, knights or ſquires, did not ſtrike one blow, but remained ſpectators of the rout, which was now complete. Great numbers of the Scots were ſlain, and near five hundred periſhed in the river Tweed upon their flight. Among the illuſtrious captives were Douglas, whose chief wound deprived him of an eye; Murdoc, ſon of Albany; the earls of Moray and Angus; and about twenty-four gentlemen of eminent rank and power. The chief ſlain were Swinton, Gordon, Livingſtone of Cullendar, Ramſay of Dalhouſie, Walter Sinclair, Roger Gordon, Walter Scot, and others. Such was the iſſue of the unfortunate battle of Homildon."

It is a curious circumſtance that, as if this battle had been fated to be the Engliſh revenge for that of Otterburn, the ſuperiority of numbers was, this time, in the ſame proportion on the ſide of the Scots; the

the Scots' army conſiſting of 16,000 men, while the Engliſh was not more than 4,500 men. In one point the reſemblance was not perfect: the Engliſh general was not ſlain. Better, however, had it been that he had fallen, than lived, as he did, to diſgrace his victory by an act of cruelty. "Among the captives was Sir William Stuart of Foreſt; and Percy inſiſted that he, being a native of Tividale, when under the Engliſh power, ſhould be regarded as a traitor. Stuart, a man of wiſdom and eloquence, defended himſelf ſo well that he was acquitted by three ſucceſſive juries; but the malice of Percy led him to appoint a new jury of his followers, and Stuart was drawn and quartered, amidſt the murmurs of the Engliſh, who knew that his merit was the only cauſe of his death." A ſquire, named Thomas Ker, was put to death in the ſame illegal manner. The quarters of theſe two unfortunate men were expoſed on the gates of York, an atrocity which, as Winton, with a pardonable bitterneſs obſerves, was ſoon retaliated on Percy himſelf."

The ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth books contain the reigns of James the ſecond and third; and the ninth book conſiſts of a copious retroſpect, arranged, as the whole are, under ſix ſections.

There is ſomething exceedingly touching in the following account of the deep grief which was felt by Margaret of Scotland, and her conſequent untimely death, in conſequence of ſome aſperſions which had been thrown upon her character by a deſpicable courtier. She was the ſiſter of James the ſecond of Scotland, and was married to the dauphin, afterwards the deteſtable Lewis the eleventh. At the time of her death ſhe was only in her twenty-ſecond year. Hers was indeed the ſenſibility of honour which felt a ſtain like a wound. An old French writer ſays of her, with much ſimplicity, that "elle etoit belle et bonne donne."

"The ſingular fate of this princeſs may excuſe a digreſſive note, from the original materials furniſhed by Duclos, being the informations taken in October 1445 and in 1446, concerning the cauſe of her death. Theſe informations purport that certain words, ſpoken by the malicious Jamet de Tillay, an officer of the dauphin, had penetrated ſo deeply the tender and melancholy heart of Margaret, as to occaſion her death. Their truth ſhe denied on the perdition of her ſoul; but ſhe would recline on her ſofa, and exclaim, Oh Jamet! Jamet! you have gained your purpoſe. If I die it is on your account, on account of the fair words you have ſpoken of me, without cauſe or reaſon. At other times ſhe would ſay, May I die if I ever wronged my huſband! The ſeneſchal of Poitou, preſent when the latter expreſſion eſcaped, exclaimed, Falſe and wicked ſcoundrel, ſhe dies by your malice! On her death bed, her confeſſor could hardly perſuade her to pardon Jamet: and ſhe cried out, Now he has gained his purpoſe. The words, ſhe ſaid, were the worſt that could be pronounced of a woman, and tended to ruin her in the opinion of the dauphin. Almoſt her laſt expreſſion was, Were it not for my conjugal faith, I ſhould repent that I ever came to France.

"On the ſecond examination in 1446, May—Aug. Jamet de Tillay was twice queſtioned; and the queen of

of France herſelf gave a depoſition. Tillay confeſſed that, on entering the chamber of the dauphineſs in the duſk of the evening, and perceiving no lights, he ſaid it was *grande paillardie* in the officers to ſhew ſuch negligence; denied that he accuſed lady Pregente of managing Margaret's amours, as he would not wiſh more chaſtity in his own wife, than he was perſuaded belonged to the dauphineſs; and he offered the duel to any man who would ſay that he had arraigned her honour: denied that he aſſerted that Margaret's illneſs aroſe from love, while he only ſaid that it proceeded from her ſitting up all night, making rondeaux and ballads, and that ſhe would never have a child while ſhe was ſo fond of ſour apples and vinegar. He denied that he ſaid the dauphin did not love his wife becauſe ' les baſſes marches ne se portoient pas bien.' The queen's depoſition proves Tillay to have been a malicious meddling fellow, capable of any falſehood. His ſecond examination bears that Margaret would compoſe twelve rondeaux in a day; that ſhe ſometimes was laced too tight, at other times too looſe. The fatal words at length appear to have been ' Avez vous point vue cette dame la? Elle a mieux maniere d'une paillarde que d'une grande maitreſſe.' ' Have you ſeen that lady? ſhe has more the appearance of a harlot than of a great princeſs.' He denied that he had ſaid them, and offered the duel; aſſerting that no lady could have more of the appearance of high birth. But the words were confirmed by another witneſs."

With the haughty, powerful and turbulent ariſtocracy, the monarchs of Scotland were engaged in perpetual conteſts, and were often its victims. The family of Douglas were long the moſt formidable and the moſt inſolent of the nobles. With what unbounded contempt the royal authority was treated, a ſingle anecdote will evince.

After having entered, with the two moſt potent nobles of the north of Scotland, into a league, "obliging all the parties to mutual defence againſt every injury," and the ſlighteſt aſſertion of the laws was conſidered, in ſuch caſes, as an inexpiable injury, "Douglas had perſuaded or overawed moſt of his vaſſals, eſpecially thoſe in Galloway, Kyle, Carrick, Cunningham, and the diſtricts adjacent, into an engagement of attendance, and aid, even againſt the ſovereign himſelf. But a few of the more moderate and prudent, were averſe to ſuch illegal ties; and among theſe was diſtinguiſhed Maclelan, guardian to the heir of Bomby, and a near relation of ſir Patrick Gray, who was ſon of lord Gray, and captain of the king's guard, an office of the greateſt confidence. The earl of Douglas, irritated at Maclelan's obſtinacy in rectitude, ſuddenly beſieged his houſe, took it, conveyed the owner to the caſtle of Douglas, and threw him into ſtrict durance. Upon hearing this, ſir Patrick Gray laid the affair before the king, and inſtantly obtained a mild letter, rather of ſupplication than of command, requeſting Douglas to deliver the priſoner to Gray. The earl was ſitting at dinner in the caſtle of Douglas, when he was told that Gray, a familiar ſervant of the king, was at the gate; and, in ſome ſurprize, aroſe to receive him with much apparent civility, and invited him to partake of the repaſt. During the enjoyments of the table,

Douglas

Douglas was revolving what Gray's commiſſion could be; and gueſſing the truth gave a ſecret order, in conſequence of which the priſoner was led to a green beſide the caſtle, where his head was ſtruck off, and taken away, and a cloth was ſpread over the body. The meal ended, Gray produced the royal letter, which was received with all the respect of fraud; and the earl having peruſed it ſaid, 'I am beholden to you for bringing me ſo gracious a letter from the king, eſpecially conſidering how matters ſtand between us at preſent. The demand ſhall instantly be granted, and the more favourably for your ſake.' He then took Gray by the hand, and led him to the green, where removing the cloth, Douglas coldly ſaid, 'Sir Patrick, you are come a little too late. This is your ſiſter's ſon, but he wants the head. Take his body, and do with it what you will.' Gray replied in anguiſh, 'My lord, ſince you have taken his head, you may diſpoſe of his body:' then calling for his horſes, he mounted, and ſaid, 'My lord, if I live, you ſhall be rewarded for your preſent labour, according to your demerits.' Douglas, enraged at this threat, called for his horſe; but ſir Patrick by the goodneſs of his led steed eſcaped the purſuit, which extended near to Edinburgh."

This baſe and bloody monſter did not eſcape with impunity. He was ſlain by the hands of the king (James II.) and ſir Patrick Gray, at a conference in Sterling Caſtle, at which he provoked his fate, by treating his ſovereign with his wonted contumely. It is, however, melancholy to know that, ſo impotent were the laws, the king was compelled to reſort to humiliating arts, in order to draw within his power this audacious criminal, who deſerved to be ſeized in the face of day, and hanged upon the higheſt gibbet in the Scottiſh kingdom.

From the retroſpect of the firſt period, which reviews ſixty years, and still more from that of the ſecond period, which contains fifty-one years, a multitude of curious particulars might be quoted, did our limits permit. We can afford ſpace for only two or three, from the ſecond. The times deſcribed are thoſe between the years 1437 and 1488.

"A poem written in the latter part of the reign of James III, or beginning of that of James IV, preſents curious intelligence concerning the manners of the citizens. A queſtion is propoſed, why the wealth of burgeſſes commonly expires with their immediate heirs? The reaſons aſſigned are, that their fathers begin in rigid poverty, 'with good luck, and a halfpenny, and a lambſkin;' then proceed to the ſituation of a pedlar, who, when his pack becomes worth forty Scottiſh pounds, buys a large horſe, then a cart. The next ſtage is a ſhop in town; with a counter, cheſts, and Flemiſh coffers. He becomes a merchant, and goes to ſea with exports and imports; marries a rich wife; his cupboard of plate is worth three thouſand pounds; his gowns and other garments are gay, ſilk on Sundays, green or grey cloth at other times; while his wife is arrayed in ſcarlet. He dies; and his heir ſucceeds to opulence unacquired by labour. The ſon is nurtured in luxury, wears rich rings, and is diſguſted to hear that his father sold ſheep ſkins: keeps many ſervants, ſpends his time in the tavern, or playing at *hazard;* till ſinking

ſinking into penury, he becomes the follower of ſome lord's ſon at court.

"In the ſame poem the mal-adminiſtration of juſtice is repeatedly mentioned, as a chief cauſe of the oppreſſion of the poor. The coroners, the juſtices, the ſerjands or mairs, derived their impious emoluments by extortion, on various pretexts, from the more thriving yeomen, till they reduced them to poverty, or forced them to leave their jurisdiction, when their ſucceſſors ſuffered the same fate. Bribes alone could ſecure an audience; an honeſt farmer would be accuſed of theft or rapine; and the fines impoſed was meaſured by the proſperity of his induſtry. The very laws intended for the protection of the poor were converted into inſtruments of their oppreſſion; while the repeated ſtatutes for the due adminiſtration of juſtice were eluded during the regal ſway, and fell aſleep during a minority. Even ſo late as Mary's reign, the balance of juſtice was commonly uſed in weighing which bribe was heavieſt."

Dreſs was in early times a ſubject of grave legiſlation. "The ſumptuary law of James II. ordained that no burghers, except bearing a municipal office, ſhall wear gowns of ſilk, or ſcarlet cloth, or decked with *mertrick* furs. The regulation is extended to their wives and daughters; who are moreover to uſe no gowns with long trains, except on holidays; and to wear 'ſhort kerchiefs with little hoods, as are uſed in Flanders, England, and other countries.' Inferior barons and gentlemen are alike reſtricted. None of the clergy are to wear gowns of ſcarlet, or *mertrick* furs, except they be dignitaries of a cathedral, or collegiate church, or doctors; or ſuch as may yearly ſpend two hundred marks, or Engliſh nobles. And with regard to the commons, 'that no labourers, nor huſbandmen wear on the work day other than grey or white; and on the holiday only light blue, green, or red; and their wives the same, and kerchiefs of their own making; and that it exceed not the price of forty pence the eln.' And that no woman come to church, or market, with her face *muffalled*, or covered, that ſhe may not be known, under the penalty of forfeiting the head dreſs.' This ſapient ſtatute was enacted in 1458. By a previous ſtatute of 1455, the dreſs of the earls, other lords of parliament, commiſſioners of burghs, and advocates, had been regulated with equal care. In 1476, James III. ordered that 'conſidering the great penury of the realm, and the expence of exporting ſilk, none ſhould wear it in doublets, gowns, or cloaks, whoſe revenue was under one hundred pounds, Scotiſh money, in landed rent, except knights, miniſtrels, and heralds: and that women, whoſe huſbands came not within the above deſcriptions, ſhould not uſe ſilk in linings, but only in making the collar and ſleeves.'"

The diſſertation, under the ſection of government, on the conſtitution of the Scotiſh parliament, diſplays an extenſive knowledge of the ſubject, but it is not ſuſceptible of the proceſs of abridgement, and it is too long to be copied entire.

In the ſection of manners, Mr. Pinkerton juſtly obſerves that the order of knighthood was "an inſtitution forming a kind of fraternal ſociety throughout Europe, and which contributed not a little to diveſt war of its horrors, abate national animoſity, and to promote the intercourſe and conſequent civiliza-

tion

tion of remote kingdoms." The ancient oath adminiſtered in Scotland has been preſerved; and it is impoſſible to deny that he who ſtrictly performed the duties which it impoſed on him muſt have been a noble being.

"1. I ſhall fortify and defend the chriſtian religion to the uttermoſt of my power. 2. I ſhall be loyal and true to my ſovereign lord the king; to all orders of chivalry, and to the noble office of arms. 3. I ſhall fortify and defend juſtice at my power; and that without favour or enmity. 4. I ſhall never flee from my ſovereign lord the king; nor from his lieutenants, in time of affray or battle. 5. I ſhall defend my native realm from all aliens and ſtrangers. 6. I ſhall defend the juſt action and quarrel of all ladies of honour, of all true and friendleſs widows, of orphans, and of maidens of good fame. 7. I ſhall do diligence, whereſoever I hear that there are any murderers, traitors, or maſterfull robbers, who oppreſs the king's lieges, and poor people, to bring them to the law at my power. 8. I ſhall maintain and uphold the noble ſtate of chivalry, with horſe, armour, and other knightly habiliments; and ſhall help and ſuccour thoſe of the ſame order, at my power, if they have need. 9. I ſhall enquire and ſeek, to have the knowledge and underſtanding of all the articles and points contained in the books of chivalry.—All theſe premiſes to obſerve, keep, and fulfill, oblige me; ſo help me God by my own hand, and by God himſelf."

The whole of the ſecond volume, comprehending ſix books of hiſtory, and one of retroſpect, is devoted to the reign of James the fourth, and the long and buſy minority and too brief reign of James the fifth. James the fourth, as is well known, periſhed at the fatal battle of Flodden, leaving as his ſucceſſor, an infant only eighteen months of age. The ſituation of Scotland, on the death of its ſovereign, and the ſlaughter and rout of its army, is thus forcibly deſcribed by Mr. Pinkerton. "No event more immediately calamitous than the defeat at Flodden darkens the Scotiſh annals. Shrieks of deſpair reſounded through the kingdom. Wives, brothers, daughters, ruſhed into the ſtreets and highways, tearing their hair, indulging all the diſtraction of ſorrow; while each invoked ſome favourite name, a huſband, a ſon, a father, a brother, a lover, now blended in one bloody maſs of deſtruction. While the pleaſing labours of the harveſt were abandoned, while an awful ſilence reigned in the former ſcenes of rural mirth, the caſtle and the tower echoed to the lamentations of noble matrons and virgins; the churches and chapels were filled with melancholy proceſſions, to deprecate the divine vengeance, and to chaunt with funeral muſic the maſſes of the ſlain. Nor, amid the pangs of private diſtreſs, was the monarch forgotten: the valiant, the affable, the great, the good; who in an evil hour had ſacrificed to precipitation, a reign of virtue; who in the vigour of his life had fallen in a foreign land, and whoſe mangled body was the prey of his enemies. The national ſorrow was heightened by terror at the ſcene which ſeemed ready to open, of ſervitude; and of ruin. France, itſelf endangered, could afford no aid; the Engliſh monarch might little regard the ties of blood, but might wreſt from his infant nephew a kingdom left defenceleſs

fenceleſs by the loſs of its peers and beſt warriors. Even now the philoſopher, and the hiſtorian, may regard this criſis as the moſt fatal which ever attacked the proſperity of Scotland. The reign of James IV. is allowed to have been the period of the higheſt national ſucceſs, and a ſummit, from which the public fortune was gradually to decline, till, in the preſent century, it again began to aſcend. The defeat at Flodden, the death of the king, left the country a prey to foreign influence and intrigue, which continued till Scotland ceaſed to form a ſeparate kingdom: her finances were exhauſted; her leaders corrupted; her dignity degraded; her commerce and her agriculture neglected. Henceforth her hiſtoric page aſpires little to glory; but ſtill continues deeply to intereſt by the peculiarity, and variety, and even by the tragical nature, of its events."

Had the reign of James the fifth been protracted for a ſufficient period after his arrival at manhood, he might perhaps have ſucceeded in rooting out the manifold abuſes which grew up during his long minority; for he was a monarch of undaunted courage, and of no ordinary mind. Even when he was only twelve years old, "he rode well, tilted at the glove with a ſpear not unſkilfully, ſung with force and preciſion, danced with elegance; and his converſation did honour to his preceptor, Gawin Dunbar, a man of ſcience, being replete with maſculine ſenſe and information. In nothing would he permit himſelf to be regarded as a boy. Dr. Magnus, in requeſting Wolſey to ſend an ornamented buckler to James, who deſired to have one, on hearing that his uncle ſometimes used that piece of defenſive armour, informs the cardinal that it muſt be of manly ſize, for the young king had no puerile weapons, nor decorations, even his ſword being a yard long before the hilt, and yet he could draw it as well as any man. With hawks and hounds he was delighted; nor was he a ſtranger to any noble exerciſe or amuſement."

The character of this monarch is ably drawn by Mr. Pinkerton, and we will ſelect it, as a ſpecimen of the talent which he manifeſts in this ſpecies of delineation:

"James V. was now aged ſixteen years and about three months. Of this monarch all our early hiſtorians preſent one uniform character; and their general voice proclaims his excellence. His education, as uſual with princes who aſcend the throne in infancy, had been neglected or erroneous; corrupted by flattery; rendered deficient in its taſks from the preceptor's fear of diſpleaſing. Yet his mind was great, his affections warm, his diſcernment acute. His vices were few, and never interrupted the happineſs of his people. His propenſity to vague amour was palliated by his general affability; his ſternneſs to the nobles by his favour to the common people, which was ſo eminent that he received from his affectionate ſubjects the glorious appellation of King of the Poor. To the voice of poverty, to the prayer of diſtreſs, the gates of his palace ſtood ever open: with one hand he raiſed the indigent, while with the other he cruſhed the proud oppreſſor. In the knowledge of the laws and cuſtoms of his kingdom he was ſo completely verſed, that his deciſions were as exact as they were expeditious; and from horſeback he often pronounced decrees

crees worthy of the ſageſt ſeat of juſtice. Of indubitable valour, of remarkable ſtrength of conſtitution, he expoſed his life, and health, without heſitation, at any ſeaſon when it became neceſſary to curb the marauding borderers, or highlanders, rendered lawleſs during the diſorders of a long minority. The dangers of the wilderneſs, the gloom of night, the tempeſts of winter, could not prevent his patient exertions to protect the helpleſs, to puniſh the guilty, to enforce the obſervance of the laws. A ſtranger to pride, he deſpiſed it in others; and his ſpeech was ever ſprinkled with humanity.(1)

"The faults of his government, though not minute, are more to be aſcribed to the times, than to the character of the monarch. His avarice naturally aroſe from the penury of his education, the diſſipation of his finances, and even of the furniture of his palaces, by the unprincipled duke of Albany. But his amaſſed treaſure was employed in the conſtruction of magnificent works of architecture, and of a navy, and of other plans of general utility and glory. His political deſigns were long ſtudied; yet as he died in his thirtieth year he could not have acquired the experience of age; and the period of his reign preſented combinations too intricate for the moſt ſkilful prudence to foreſee or define. The progreſs of the proteſtant religion was dubious; and dangerous it is for a prince to embrace a new ſyſtem before it be approved by a great majority of his ſubjects. Untaught by the glorious concord between his father and the nobles, James entertained a fixed enmity againſt the ariſtocracy, which had effected great uſurpations during his minority; and his attachment to the eminent clergy, who alone could balance their power, was unavoidable.

"Of the perſon and domeſtic life of James V, the features are well known. His frame was of the middle ſize, and robuſt, capable of every exertion of agility or fatigue. In elegance of form and countenance, he equalled any prince of his time. His oval face, blue eyes of piercing ſplendour, aquiline noſe, yellow hair, and ſmall beard forked in the faſhion of that period, impreſſed the beholders with ideas of ſweetneſs joined with majeſty. In dreſs he was rather elegant than magnificent: yet his palaces were replete with decoration. The repaſt of a peaſant he would ſhare; and, even from a ſumptuous board, the royal meal was plain and frugal; nor did he entruſt his dignity to the intemperance of wine. Eminently patient he was of labour, of hunger and thirſt, of heat and cold. His attachment to the arts was decided: he reared palaces of good architecture, and compoſed ſome fugitive pieces of poetry, though it be doubtful if any have reached our times.(2) He repleniſhed his country with artillery and military weapons; and the beauty of his gold coins beſpeaks his attention even to the minuteſt improvements, to be gained by the employment of foreign artiſts. The Scottiſh navy, ruined by Albany, began to reſume ſome importance: and the ſubſequent voyage of James to the Orkneys and Hebrides, ac-

(1) A forcible expreſſion of Lesley, "ſermo humanitate, tanquam ſale, aſperſus."

(2) Sir D. Lindsay, a contemporary, avouches the royal poetry, in his "Answer to the king's flyting." Drummond says, *many* of his verſes were extant in his time.

companied by men of ſkill, in order to examine the danger and advantages of the circumjacent ſeas, will ever deſerve the applauſe of the philoſopher, as an enterprize equally rare and meritorious."

One anecdote more, which is highly characteriſtic of the ſemi-barbarous pomp of the nobles of that age, we ſhall tranſcribe from the account of the fifth James's reign. The occurrence took place in 1533.

"James, accompanied by the queen-mother and the papal ambaſſador, journied through different regions of his realm. His progreſs deſerves ſome attention, as illuſtrative of the manners of the times. Hunting was his favourite amuſement; and great was the ſlaughter of deer, roes, foxes, and of wolves, an animal then, and long after, not unfrequent in the Scotiſh foreſts. In Athole he was entertained with ſingular magnificence, by the earl of that deſignation. In the midſt of a fair meadow, a palace was conſtructed of green wood, entwined with the verdant boughs of birch: it was of a quadrangular form, and each corner was ſtrengthened by a maſſy and lofty tower. The turretted gate was not wanting; nor the ſecurity of the ditch, drawbridge, and portcullis. The floors were ſtrewn with odoriferous flowers and bloſſoms; the walls were enlightened by numerous windows of fine glaſs, and adorned with ſilken tapeſtry. Nor did the enchantment of the genii of the foreſt fail to ſupply all that could appeaſe or pamper the appetite of the royal hunter, and his woodland train. Meat and game of every deſcription abounded; and the ditches were filled with the moſt delicate fiſh. Wines, white, claret, muſcadel, and malmſey, hypocras, brandy, and the wholeſome beverages from malt, gratified thirſt, or excited hilarity. The deſſert was crowned with the choiceſt fruits and confections; and the veſſels and linen were worthy of a palace: nor were the luxuries of nocturnal repoſe, half the life of man, unknown to the fairy manſion. The officers of the houſehold and of the kitchen were numerous, and ſelected with care. Here Athole treated his royal gueſt for three days and nights: and the expence of the entertainment, enormous for the time, was computed at three thouſand pounds. The wonder of the papal ambaſſador was yet further increaſed, when, upon the departure of James, the whole edifice preſented one conflagration; and the monarch only obſerved, with a ſmile, 'It is the cuſtom of our highlanders to burn their lodgings.'"

From the retroſpect of the period compriſed between the years 1488 and 1542, much important information may be procured. A few brief ſpecimens will ſhow the richneſs of the ſource whence they are obtained.

"John Mair, in his deſcription of Scotland, 1521, preſents ſome particulars worthy of commemoration. He mentions Leith as the chief port, and obſerves that, between it and Edinburgh, there was a ſmall but rich village, famous for the woollen manufacture, and from which the beſt cloths in Scotland derived their name. Perth was the only fortified town, the Scots being little verſed either in fortification or ſiege; but diſplaying great promptitude in repelling an enemy. The eccleſiaſtic polity was far inferior to that of England, there being often thirty hamlets attached to one pariſh church,

church, diſtant from ſome of them four, five, or even ten miles; but every laird had his chapel and chaplain, and ſome more. The cures were few, but rich; and generally adminiſtered by deputies. The houſes of the farmers were ſmall, becauſe they only rented by the year, at the moſt for four or five; ſo that, though ſtone was common, there was no deſire to erect good houſes, to plant trees or hedges, or to enrich the ground; and Mair juſtly expreſſes his regret for the conſequent loſs and diſgrace to the kingdom at large: he adds that, if perpetual leaſes were granted, the rent might be tripled, and yet the tenants become rich; and the homicides which followed their removal be avoided, for a tenant of ſpirit would kill his ſucceſſor to deſpite the lord. Nor would the lords have cauſe to allege that, in caſe of long leaſes, the tenants being independent would not ariſe with them in arms, for a law might paſs ordaining in ſuch defaults the loſs of the leaſe; and better it were that the ſuperiors could not ſo ſpeedily recur to force. Mair repeats an advice of Robert the Great on his death-bed, that the Scotiſh kings ſhould attempt to retain all the iſles in their own hands, as abounding with cattle and warriors; and the detached government being moſt pernicious to the intereſts of the monarchy: the poſſeſſors to be recompenſed by other lands. He blames the farmers for their contempt of manufactures, and of citizens, whom they regarded as effeminate; while they, leaving the agricultural operations to ſervants, affected to ride conſtantly with their lords, perhaps a reſpect neceſſary to ſecure their brief leaſes. The nobles he equally cenſures for perpetual feuds with their neighbours; and a complete neglect of the education of their ſons. Mair cloſes his intereſting remarks by deſcribing the highlanders as partly poſſeſſed of cattle and horſes, of which laſt two or three hundred, wild and unbroken, would be brought to Perth or Dundee, and ſold for two francs each; but the others, more ſavage, only hunted or followed their chiefs in their conſtant expeditions and conflicts. They wore *caligæ*, or trouſe, reaching only to the middle of the leg, a mantle, and a ſhirt ſtained with ſaffron; their weapons a bow and arrows, a broad ſword, ſmall halbert, large dagger of one edge; armour, mail of iron rings; but the common people wore in battle, jackets of quilted linen, waxed or pitched, and covered with deer's ſkin; while the lowlanders, like the Engliſh, fought in ſhort clothes.

"There being no manufactures, the poor were chiefly occupied in the numerous menial trains of the great; or in the more uſeful employments of agriculture and paſturage. The cottagers and ſervants of farmers were almoſt as rich as their maſters, and far leſs haraſſed with care. Even at a much later period, the merchants were few and poor; and one hundred pounds ſterling was eſteemed wealth. The tradeſmen were loſt in the popular penury; and only three trades flouriſhed,—coarſe cloth, armour, and linen."

This picture of ſociety is not an attractive one, yet it is the brighteſt which could then be drawn; for it principally delineates the lowlands: that of the highlands is darkened with deeper ſhades. John Elder, a fugitive traitor, who, after the death of James the fifth, endeavoured to

perſuade Henry the eighth to ſubdue Scotland, gives, in a memorial addreſſed to the latter monarch, ſome curious information as to the manners and ſituation of the highlanders. In explaining the appellation of *Red-ſhanks*, which was given to the highlanders, he thus expreſſes himſelf: — "Moreover, wherefore they call us in Scotland Red-ſhanks, and in your Grace's dominion of England *Rough-footed Scots*, pleaſe it your Majeſty to underſtand, that we, of all people, can tolerate, ſuffer, and away beſt with cold; for both ſummer and winter, (except when the froſt is moſt vehement,) going always bare legged and bare footed; our delight and pleaſure is not only in hunting of red deer, wolves, foxes, and *graies*, whereof we abound and have great plenty; but alſo in running, leaping, ſwimming, ſhooting, and throwing of darts. Therefore, in ſo much as we uſe, and delight, ſo to go always, the tender delicate gentlemen of Scotland call us *Red-ſhanks*.

"And, again, in winter, when the froſt is moſt vehement, (as I have ſaid,) which we cannot ſuffer bare footed, ſo well as ſnow, which can never hurt us, when it comes to our girdles, we go a hunting; and after that we have ſlain red deer, we flay off the skin by and by, and ſetting of our bare foot on the inſide thereof, for want of cunning ſhoemakers, by your Grace's pardon, we play the cobblers, compaſſing and meaſuring ſo much thereof as ſhall reach up to the ancles; pricking the upper part thereof with holes, that the water may repaſs where it enters, and ſtretching it up with a ſtrong thong of the same above our ſaid ancles. So, and pleaſe your noble Grace, we make our ſhoes. Therefore, we uſing ſuch a manner of ſhoes, the rough hairy ſide outward, in your Grace's dominion of England, we be called *Rough-footed Scots*."

It may not be unamuſing to contraſt with theſe rude habiliments, with the deer-skin ſhoes and ſaffron-tinted ſhirt of the highlanders, the gorgeous dreſs which was worn in the lowlands, by the ſovereign and the richer claſſes. The two extremes will thus be at once before us.

"James IV, on meeting his bride at Dalkeith, in Auguſt 1503, was clothed in a jacket of crimson velvet, bordered with cloth of gold; his *leure*, apparently a kind of hood, hung behind his back; his beard was ſomewhat long, having in his haſte forgotten to clip it cloſe with ſciſſars. The viſit at Newbattel preſented him in a jacket of black velvet, bordered with crimſon velvet, furred with white; on another he was dreſſed in a gown of tawney velvet, furred with black, and the collar of his fine ſhirt was embroidered with gold; on another, in a demi-gown of black velvet, furred with martin, and the rest of his apparel was alſo black. When he conveyed Margaret into Edinburgh, ſeated on horſe-back behind him, he appeared in a jacket of cloth of gold, bordered with purple velvet, furred with black, a doublet of violet ſatin, ſcarlet hoſe, the collar of his ſhirt ſtudded with precious ſtones and pearls, his ſpurs gilt and long. At the marriage, he was dreſſed in a gown of white damask, figured with gold, and lined with ſarſnet, a jacket of crimſon ſatin, with ſleeves, and bordered with black velvet, under which was a doublet of cloth of gold, and his ſhirt was embroidered with gold thread;

thread; his hoſe ſcarlet, his bonnet black, with a rich balay, or ruby, and a ſword. When he appeared at church, two days after, his beard had been cut cloſe with ſciſſars.

The dreſs of James V. is ſimilar, except that the doublet is brought low, ſo as to ſhow a larger portion of the ſhirt; and the embroidered collar is transferred from the latter to the former.

To ſuch minute deſcriptions of the male dreſs little can be added. Lindſay mentions *brodikins*, or a kind of half-boots: ruſſet hoſe, a ſhirt exquiſitely wrought with the needle, a little bonnet, a hat high or flat, perfumed gloves, *ſcarpens*, ſlippers, garters knotted in a roſe, a handkerchief with gold taſſels at the corners, are among the ornaments of a beau. To the winter dreſs belonged a cloke and hood, double ſhoes, and mittens or worſted gloves.

Of the dreſs of a lady, Henryſon gives an idea by mentioning, in a religious poem, the complete attire as conſiſting of hood, ſhift, kirtle, (or gown and petticoat) tied with laces, and adorned with mails or ſpangles, an upper gown or robe puffed and furred and adorned with ribbons, a belt, a mantle or cloke in bad weather, a hat, tippet, *patelet*, perhaps ſmall ruffs, a ribbon about the neck, ſleeves, gloves, ſhoes and hoſe. The hair was long, and plaited on what was called a head-lace. The farthingale, or ſmall hoop, and long trains ſweeping the ſtreets; the uſe of veils, which had continued ſince the reign of James II. in defiance of the legiſlature, and the golden chains of the ladies, are frequent objects of ſatire. The veil, when thrown backward, reſembled a ſail in the wind, the boſom began to be more expoſed, the waiſt was rendered ſmall by tight lacing, while a buſk became neceſſary; and the gown of the belle was often raiſed in walking, not without coquetry to ſhow her hoſe of ſome wanton hue; while her mincing is likened by the old ſatiriſt to that of a bridled cat. Dunbar's ladies have their yellow hair combed down over the ſhoulders with great nicety, kerchiefs of *criſp*, crape or lawn, green mantles. A damſel in the ſtory of Squire Meldrum has a kirtle of ſcarlet cloth, an enameled circlet of gold on her head, belt and brooches adorned with ſilver, her ſhift embroidered with ſilk and gold. The progreſs of luxury was far more rapid than that of induſtry."

The progreſs of knowledge ſeems to have been ſlower, if poſſible, than that of induſtry. The following is truly what Mr. Pinkerton terms it, "a curious ſpecimen of the ignorance of the age," and it ſpeaks volumes as to the ſtate of mental cultivation among the higher orders. It is ſcarcely neceſſary to ſay, that the vagabonds, whom James ſo gravely recommends to the bounty of the Daniſh monarch, were a band of gypſies, though it is wonderous how they contrived to live for "ſome months in a decent and catholic manner."

"A ſingular letter of James IV. is preſerved, written in 1506 to the king of Denmark. It mentions that Anthony Gawino, an earl from little Egypt, and his attendants, a miſerable train, had viſited Scotland, by the command of the apoſtolic ſee; where having reſided ſome months, in a decent and catholic manner, he wiſhed to paſs to Denmark. James recommends him to his uncle's munificence; and adds that theſe wandering Egyptians

muſt be better known to the Daniſh king than to himſelf, as Egypt is nearer to Denmark, and greater numbers of its people frequented that kingdom than Scotland."

To each volume is added a collection of curious and important documents. The two volumes contain fifty-four of theſe papers. One of the moſt curious of thoſe which are in the firſt volume is, a contemporary account of the murder of James the firſt, ſuppoſed to be written about the year 1440. All the circumſtances are related with a truth and ſpirit of deſcription which almoſt bring the ſcene before the view of the reader. Mr. Pinkerton has narrated the fall of James the firſt with much ability; but we muſt own that we prefer the ſimple and forcible tale of the older writer. The whole piece is of conſiderable length; but, though we cannot give it complete, we muſt indulge ourſelves with two quotations. The ſuperſtition of the firſt quotation may excite a ſmile; it, however, heightens exceedingly the dramatic effect of this terrible narrative.

"After this the king ſodanly aviſid made a ſolempne feſt of the Criſtynmes at Perth, which is clepid Sant Johnſtowne, which is from Edenbourgh on that other ſide of the Scotteſh ſee, the which is vulgarly clepid the Water of Lethe. Yn the myddis of the way thare aroſe a woman of Yreland, that clepid herſelfe as a ſuthſayer. The which anone as ſhe ſaw the kyng, ſhe cried with lowde voiſe, ſaying thus, 'My lord kyng, and ye paſe this water, ye ſhall never turne ayane on lyve.' The kyng herying this was aſtonyed of her wordis; for bot a litill tofore he had red yn a prophefie, that yn the ſelfe ſame yere the kyng of Scottes ſhuld be ſlayne. And therwithall the kyng as he rode clepid to him oone of his knyghtis, and gave hym yn comaundment to torne ayane to ſpeke with that woman, and aſk of here what ſheo wold, and what thyng ſheo ment by her lowd cryying? And ſheo began, and told hym as ye hafe hord of the kynge of Scottes, yf he paſſed that water. As now the kynge aſkid her how ſheo knew that? And ſheo ſaid that Huthart told her ſo. 'Sire, quod ho, men may calant y tak non hede of yond woman's wordes, for ſheo nys bot a drunkine fule, and wot not what ſheo ſaith.' And so with his folk paſſid the water, clepid the Scottiſhe See, toward Saynt Johnneſtowne, bott iiii myles from the cuntreth of the Wild Scottes; where, yn a cloſe of Blakfriars, without the ſaid towne, the kyng held a gret feſt.

"Where upon a day, as the kyng plaid at the cheſſes with oone of his knyghtis, whom yn playing wiſe he clepid kyng of Love, for he was a luſti man, full amorous, and much medeled hym with love's arte. And as hit came the kyng to mynd of the prophecie ſpokyn tofore, the kyng ſaid to this knyght, 'Sir kyng of Love,' quod he, 'hit is nat long agone ſith I redd a prophecie, ſpokyne of tofore, that I ſaw how that this yere ſhuld a kyng be ſlayne in this land. And ye wote wele ſir Alexander, there be no mo kynges yn this reume bot ye and I; and therfor I counſell you that ye be well ware, for I let you wit that I ſhall ordeyne for my ſure keeping ſufficiently, I truſt to God, ſo I am undir youre kynghood and yn the ſervice of love.' And thus the kyng ys his ſolas plaid with the knight.

Withyn

" Withyn ſhort tyme after this, the kyng beyng in his chambur, talkying and playng with the lordes, knyghtis and ſquyres, that were abowte hyme, ſpak of many dyvers maters. Amonges was ther a ſquyer that was right acceptable to the kyng, that ſpeke, and ſaid, ' For ſothe, my lord,' quod he, ' me dremed varelye to nyghte that ſir Robert Grame ſhuld hafe ſlayne you.' And that heryng, the Erle of Orkeney thoo warnyd the ſquyer, that he ſhuld hald his peace, and tell nane ſuch tales yn the kynges preſence. And therwith the kyng herying this ſquyers dreme, remembered hym-ſelfe, how that ſame nyght, how (3) had a ſweyvyn ſlepying, and ſemyd to hym varaly that a cruell ſerpent, and an horribill tode, aſſailid hym furiouſly yn his kynge's chamber; and how he was ſore afright and aferd of hym, and that he had nothyng wherwith he myght ſocour and defend himſelfe, bot oonly a paire of tonges that ſtudyn yn the chymneth.

" And many other tokyns, and tailes, liche to this, the which now may well be demyd by varay demonſtracions, and alſo pronoſticacions to the kyng, of his deth and murdur, had he or the tyme of his deth fell. Also oone of kynge's traitours, clepid Criſtofere Chawmebur, that was a ſquyer of the Duke's hous of Albayne, iii times he drugh hym to the kynge's preſence, for he wold hafe playnely opynd, and told hym of the purpoſ of all the traitours, that wer aboute to murdure hyme, becauſe that the kyng withowt any cauſe hated hym rightfully.(4) And thus, as hit is ſaid by the old wiſe fadirs, many years or we were borne, what thyng that destyned to a perſon, be hit late, be hit ſone, at the laſt ever hit cumyth.

" Thus, after this cane faſt apporoch the nyght, yn the which the ſaid James Stward kyng of Scottes ſhuld falſely hym unwettyng, ſuffure his horribill deth by murdure; this which is pite that any gentile or gode man to thynk upon. So both afore ſoper, and long aftire ynto quarter of the nyght, in the which the Erle of Athetelles, and Robert Stward, were aboute the kyng; where thay were occupied att the playng of the cheſſe, atte the tables, yn redying of Romans, yn ſyngyng and pypyng, yn harpyng; and in other honeſt ſolaces, of grete pleaſance and diſport. Therwith came the ſaid woman of Yreland, that clepid herſelfe a dyvenoureſe, and entred the kynges courte, till that ſhe came ſtreght to the kynges chambur dore, where ſheo ſtood, and abode bycauſe that hit was ſhitte. And faſt ſheo knokyd till at the laſt the uſher opynd the dure; marvelyng of that woman's beyng there that tyme of the nyght, and aſkying here what ſheo wold? ' Let me yn, Sire,' quod ſhe, ' for I haf ſumwhat to ſay, and to tell unto the kyng; for I am the ſame woman that noght long agone deſirid to haf ſpokyn with hym, at the Lith, when he ſhuld paſſe the Scottiſh See.' The uſher went yn, and told hym of this woman. ' Yea,' quod the kyng, ' let hir cume to-morow;' bycauſe

(3) Heo?

(4) This, and several other sentences, are most obscurely expressed. P. It appears that something is omitted after the words, " murdure him." Probably the lost clause of the sentence should be, that Chawmebur " could not procure an audience, because that the king hated him." E. A. R.

that he was occupied with ſuch diſportes at the tyme, hym lit not to entend her as thenne. The uſher came ayain to the chamber dore, to the ſaid woman; and there he told hir that the kyng was beſye in playng; and bid her cum ſoo ayane upon the morow. 'Well,' ſaid the woman, 'hit ſhall repent yow all, that ye will nat let me ſpeke nowe with the kyng.' Therat the uſher lugh, and held her bot a ſule, chargyng her to go her way. And therwithall ſheo went thens.

"Withyn an owre the king aſkid the voidee, and drank, the travers yn the chambure edraw, and every man depairted and went to riſt. Then Robert Stward, that was ryght famylier with the kyng, and had all his commandementes yn the chamber, was the laſt that departid; and he knewe well the falſe purveid treiſon, and was conſentid therto, and therfor left the kynges chamburs doore opyne; and had bruſſed and blundird the lokes of hem, yn ſuch wise that no man myght ſhute hem. And about mydnyght he laide certayne plaunches, and hurdelles, over the diches of the diche that environd the gardyne of the chambure, upon which the ſaid traitours entred. That is to ſay the forſaid ſir Robert Grame, with other of his covyne, ynto the nowmbre of thre hundreth perſons; the kyng that ſame tyme ther ſtondyng in his nyght gowne, all unclothid ſave his ſhirt, his cape, his combe, his coverchif, his furred pynſons (ſlippers) upon the forme, and the foote ſheete; ſo stondyng afor the chymney playng with the qweene, and other ladis and gentilwomen with here; caſte offe his nyght gowne, for to have gone to bedd.

"But he harkynd, and hard grete noiſe without, and grete clateryng of harnych, and men armyd, with grete ſight of torches. Than he remembryd hym, and ymagynd anone that hit ſhuld be [the] falſe traitours knyght, his deedy enemy, ſir Robert Grame. And ſodenly the qwene, with all the other ladis and gentilwomen, rane to the chawmber dure, and fonde hit opyne; and they wold have ſhitt hit, bot the lokes were so blunderid, that they nethir cowth ne myght ſhut hit. The kyng prayd hem to kepe the ſame dore as wele as they myght, and he would do all his myght to kepe hym to withſtond the falſe malice of his traitours and enemys; he ſuppoiſyng to have bresten the farrements of the chaumbur wyndos, bot thay were so ſqware, and ſtrongli ſowdid yn the ſtonys with moltyne lede, that thay myght not be breſtyne for hym, withoutyn more and ſtrenger helpe. For which cauſe he was ugly aſtonyed, and in hys mynd kouth thynk on none other ſocoure, but ſtart to the chymney, and toke the tonges of yren that men righted the fire with, yn time of neede; and undir his fete he myghtily breſt up a plaunch of the chaumber flore, and therwithall covered hym ayane, and entred adowne lowe beneth amongis th' ordure of the privay, that was all of hard ſtone, and none wyndow ne isſhue therupon, ſave a litill ſquare hole, even at the ſide of the bothum of the pryvay, that at the makyng therof old tyme was levid opyne to clenſe and firme the ſaid privay. By the which the kyng myght well eſcapid; bot he maid to let ſtop hit well iii days afore hand with ſtone, becauſe that whane he playd there at the pawme, the ballis that he plaid

plaid withe ofte ranne yn at that fowle hole, for ther was ordenyd withowt a fair playng place for the kyng.

"And ſo ther for the kyng nether reſchows, ne remedie, bot ther he muſt abide, ellas the while! The traitours without laid at the chambur dors, and at the privay dore alſo, with wawis, with levours, and with axes, that at the laſt they brak up all, and entred, (by cauſe the durs were not faſt ſhutte) with ſwerdis, axis, glavis, billes, and other terribill and fereful wepons. Amonges the grete prese of the which traitours, ther was a faire lady fore hurt yn in the bak; and other gentilwemen hurt and ſore wondid. With the which the ladis, and all the wemen, made a ſorowfull ſkrye, and rane away for the hidus fere of the boiſtous and merciles men of armes. The traitours furiously paſſed forth ynto the chaumbures, and founde the qwene ſo diſmaid and abaſſid of that horribill and ferfull guvernance, that ſhe cowth nether ſpeke, ne withdraw here. And as ſho ſtode ther ſo aſtonyd, as a cryature that had loſt here kyndly reaſon, oone of the traitours wowndid here full vilanyſly, and wold have ſlayne here, ne had not bene oone of ſir Robert Grame's ſones, that thus spek to hym and ſaid, 'What woll you dow, for ſhame of youre ſelfe to the qwene? Sheo is bot a womane. Let us go and ſeek the kyng.' And then not witying wele what ſheo did, or ſhuld do, for that ferful and terribill affray, fledd yn her kirtill, her mantell hangyng aboute hir; the other ladyes yn a corner of the chaumbur, cryyng and wepyng, all diſtract made a pitous and lamentable noyſe with full hevy lokyng and chere."

The king might yet have eſcaped, had he not betrayed himſelf. Thinking that the traitors were gone, he called for aſſiſtance, and was overheard by them. Two of the band ſucceſſively deſcended to murder him, but he ſeized them, and trampled them under foot. Sir Robert Grame himſelf then went down, and attacked him. In this part of the narrative there is a beautiful trait. After having wounded his ſovereign, Grame, moved by his entreaties, and perhaps by his bravery, relents from his bloody purpoſe, and is inclined to ſpare him. "And then the ſaid Grame, ſeyng his kyng and ſoveran lord ynfortuned with ſo much deſeyſe, angweſh, and ſorowe, wold hafe ſo levyd, and done hym no more harme. The other traitors above, perceyvyng that, ſayd onto the ſayd ſir Robert, 'We behote the faithfully, but yf thou ſlay hym, or thow depart, thow ſhalt dye for hym on owre handys ſone dowtleſe.' And then the ſaid ſir Robert, with the other two that deſcendid firſt downe, fell upon that noble prynce, and yn full horribill and cruell wiſe they murdrid hym. Ellas for ſorow, that ſo ynmeaſurably cruelte and vengance ſhuld be done to that worthy prynce, fer hit was reportid by true perſons that ſawe hym dede that he had ſixtene dedely woundes yn his breſte, withoutyn many and other y dyverſe places of his body."

This crime was overtaken by ſpeedy vengeance. The whole of the aſſaſſins being taken, and put to death with the moſt horrible tortures. The conduct of Sir Robert Grame, and the ſufferings which he endured, are deſcribed in a moſt forcible manner.

"After this ſir Robert Grame, with many other traitours of his coveene,

coveene, beyng in captyvyty, were led to the towne of Strivellen, and thar were they tourmented and put to the deth. The said ſir Robert Grame ſtondynge there, at the wher he was tofore enditit of treiſon afore the juſtice and the lawe there, upon his araynment, ſaid playnely that thay had no lawe to do hym to deth, for he ſaid he had not offendit, bot ſlayne the kyng his dedely enmye; for by his letturs, ſealed with his ſeale of armes, long tyme afore he had defyed the kyng, and renounced his legeaunce, for cauſes reaſonables as he ſaid. And yf thay wold do hym lawe after the ſtatutyes of armes, they ſhuld delyver hym, and let hym go qwite, bicauſe the kyng wold have deſtruyd hym yf he had myght. And thus yn that he ſaid he did no wrong nor ſynne, bot ooly that he ſloughe Godes criature, his enemye. All thes reaſons nether couth ne myght ſuffice for his excuſe, the which he perceyvyed wel yn all wiſe of thare wirchynges. This ſame ſir Robert Grame, with manly hart and wele aviſid, as a mane wele ynſtruct in lawe and letture, ſaid thes wordes ſtandyng at the bare afore the judges, all the peple there aſſembled for that cauſe the ſelfe tyme. 'O ye all ſo ſynfull, wreched, and mercileſs Scottiſhe folke, without prudens, and full replet of unaviſid folie, I know wele that I ſhall nowe dye, and ma note eſcape your venomous judiciall handes; for by will, and not be right ne lawe, ye have dampned my bodye to the dethe, the which God ſuffrethe me at this tyme to reſave of you, for no deſairt of this accuſation that ye condempne me ynne nowe, bot for other offences and treſpas, that I yn the vayne tymes of my youth have diſpleaſid hym ynne. Yit doubt y nat that ye ſhall ſe the daye and the tyme, that ye ſhall pray for my ſoule, for the grete goode that I have done to you, and to all this reaume of Scotland, that I have thus ſlayne and delyverya you of ſo cruell a tirant, the gretteſt enemye the Scotts or Scotland myght have, conſideryng his unſtaunchable covetiſe, yn his youth, ayenſt all nature, his tirannye ynmeaſurable, without pity or mercy to ſibbe or to freme, to bie or to lawe, to poure or to riche.'

"All thes thynges the ſaid ſir Robert Grame, with many other ynconvenyences, he reherſid there ayanſt the kyng; the which reherſale wolle be ynne Scotland many a yere hereafter. For he was a mane of grete hart and manhode, and full discrete, and a grete legiſter of lawe poſitive, and canone, and civille bothe. Yit for all that, at the laſt he was dampned there by the juges of the death. This was the ſentance of the jugesment there ſhould be brought a cart, yn the midward of the whiche there ſhulde be ſette faſt a tree uperight, longer than a mane, and with that ſame knyf that he ſloughe the kyng withall, was his hand all upon heghe nalid faſt to the tree, and ſo was he had thorough oute the towne. That edoone the hangmane was commandid with that ſame knyfe, to kut of that hande frome the arme. After that he was nalid nakynd, as he was firſt borne of his modir, drawen thurghe the towne withowt coerture of any part of his body, as nature brought him forth from his modirs wombe, and yn the ſame wiſe ladd thorgh all the ſtretes of the towne; and the tourmentours on every ſide hym, withe hookid ynſtruments of yryne, fuyre hote

hote all red glowyng, thay pynchyd and twynched his theghis, his legges, his armes, his fides, his bake, his fhulders, his neke, his wombe, and over all his body, that was full seke and pitous to loke upon, where they fuppofid moft to anoye him and greve, that hit was to any mans kynd to foroful and pitous fight, and to abhomynable to fe. With the ymportible payne of turment, he cried then pitoufly withe dedely voice, for the pangs and paffions that he fo fuffird, fayng to them that thay did that durife to to him ayenft the lawe: 'this that ye done to me is oonly by rigoure of ynmeafurable tyrannye. All the warld may clepe you Scottes tirants, for manekynd may not withe the life fuffur ne yndure the paynefull and tiranuous tourmentrye that ya put me unto. I doute me full fore that, and ye contynue thus youre tourmentes upon my wretched perfon, that for the payne ye will conftrayne me to renye my Creature. And yf I fo doo I appell you afor God, the hie and chyf juge of all manekynde after there defertes at the unyverfal dome, that ye bene the varay caufe of the loffe of my faule.'

"Thurghe the which fpeche fome of the lordes, fo abidyng upon the execucion of this faid fir Robert Grame, moevid of pite let tak him doune. And as he was all nakyd lappid yn a rough Scottifhe mantell, and caft him ayane, with a grete violence, ynto fore and full hard prifone.

"In the meane tyme many of the other traitours were boweld all qwik, and afterward were quarterd, as wele thay that receyvid the faid fir Robert, as thay that were with hym, whane the exfecution of the faid traifon was done, and many of tha that were with hym att the day of the kyng conteffid, whane they were fpokyne to go with the faid fir Robert Grame, hit was not told unto hem of no purpos that was takyn for to deftruye the kyng, and put him to dethe; but it was faid unto hem that thay fhuld go with hym, to ravifhe a fair ledy oute of the kynges houfe, whame the faid fir Robert Stuward fhould have weddid the next day folowyng.

"And after this they ledd aftfounes the faid fir Robert Grame to the place where he fhuld dye. And fodeyngly thay droughe away the mantall to the which all his woundes were hardyned, and clave faft with his blode dried therto; forwith the faid payne he fell downe yn a fwonyng, and fo lay along on the ground more than a quarter of an owre. And then he revivid and qwykened ayane, feyng that ryvyng away fo fodenly and rudely of that mantell was to him gretter payne than any other that (he) fuffird afore. And after this, for the more grefe and forow to hyme, thay boweld his fonne all quyke, and quarterd hym afore his eene, and drew owt his hart of his body: the which harte lepe thrife more than a fote of heghte, after hit was drawen owte of his body."

To remove the painful feelings which muft be excited by the contemplation of fuch a barbarous fpectacle, we will give, from the Appendix to the fecond volume, an extract of a different kind. It is an account of an interlude, which was played, in 1540, at Linlithgow, before the king and queen, "and the hoole counfaile fpiritual and temporal. The hoole matier whereof concluded upon the declaration of the

the noughtineſs in religion, the preſumpcion of buſhops, the colluſion of the ſpirituall courts, called the Conſiſtory Courts in Scotlande; and myſuſing of prieſts." The account is given by ſir William Eure to the lord privy ſeal of England, and was obtained from a Scotſman who was preſent at the acting of the piece.

"In the firſte entres comes in SOLAICE (whoſe part was but to make mery, ſing balletts with his ffellowes, and drink at the interluyds of the play) who ſhewede firſte to all the audiance the play to be played, which was a generall thing, meanying nothing in ſpeciall to diſpleas no man, praying therfor no man to be angre with the ſame.

"Next come in a king, who paſſed to his throne, having no ſpeche to thende of the play; and thene to ratifye and approve, as in playne parliament, all things doon by the reſte of the players whiche repreſented the three eſtates. With hym come his courtiers, PLACEBO, PIKTHANKE, and FLATERYE, and ſuch alike garde: one ſwering he was the luſtieſt, ſtarkeſt, beſt proportionnet, and moſt valiaunte man, that ever was. An other ſwear he was the beſte with longe bowe, croſe bowe, and culveren, in the world. An other ſwere he was the beſt juſter, and man of armes in the world; and ſo furthe during thair partes. Therafter came a man, armed in harnas, with a ſwarde drawen in his hande, A BUSSHOPE A BURGESman, and EXPERIANCE, clede like a Doctor: who ſete thayme all down on the Deis, under the king. After thayme came A POOR MAN, who did goe upe and downe the ſcaffald, making a hevie complaynte that he was heryed through the courtiers taking his ſewe in one place, and, after, his tacks in an other place; wher throughe he had ſcayled his houſe, his wife and childeren beggying thair brede; and ſoe of many thowſaund in Scotlande, whiche wolde make the kyng's grace loſe of men if his grace ſtod neide. Saying thair was noe remedye to be gotten, for thoughe he wolde ſuyte to the kyng's grace, he was naither acqueynted with controuller nor treaſourer; and withoute thaym myght noe man gete noe goodeneſs of the kyng. And after he ſpered for the king; and whene he was ſhewed to the man that was king in the playe, he aunſuered and ſaid he was noe king, for ther is but one king, who mede all and gouerneth all; whoe is eternall; to whome he and all ertheley kings are but officers; of the whiche they muſte make recknyng. And ſo furthe much meere to that effecte. And thene he looked to the king, and ſaide he was not the king of Scotlande, fur ther was an other king in Scotlande, that hanged John Armeſtrang with his fellowes, and Sym the larde, any many other mae, which had pacified the countrey, and ſtanched thifte. But he had lefte one thing undon, whiche pertanynede as well to his charge as thother. And whene he was aſked what that was, he made a long narracion of the oppreſſion of the poor, by the taking of the corſe preſaunte beiſtes; and of the herying of poor men by the conſiſtrye lawe, and of many other abuſſions of the ſpiritualtie, and churche; with many long ſtories and auctoraties.

"And then the BUSSHOP raiſe, and rebuked hym, ſaying it effered not to hym to ſpeake ſuch matiers; commaunding to him ſcilence, or els to ſuffer dethe for it, by thair lawe.

lawe. Therafter roiſe the MAN OF ARMES, alledging the contrarie, and commaunded the POOR MAN to ſpeake, ſaying their abuſion had been over longe ſuffered, withowte any lawe. Thene the poor man ſhewed the grete abuſion of Buſſhopes, Prelettes, Abbotts, reving mens wifs, and doughters, and holding thaym; and of the maynteyning of their childer; and of thair over bying of lords and barrons eldeſte ſones to ther doughters, wherthroughe the nobilitie of the blode of the realme was degenerate. And of the greate ſuperfluous rents that pertayned to the churche, by reaſon of over muche temporall lands given to thayme; whiche thaye proved that the king might take, booth by the canon lawe, and civile lawe. And of the greate abomynable vices that reiagne in cloſters; and of the common bordelles that was keped in cloſtures of nunies. All this was provit by EXPERIENCE. And alſoe was ſhewed THOFFICE of a buſshop, and producit the Newe Teſtament, with the auctorities to that effecte. And then roiſe the MAN OF ARMES and the BURGES; and did ſaye that all that was producit, by the POOR MAN and EXPERIENCE was reaſonable, of veritie, and of goode effecte; and very expediant to be reaformed withe the conſent of parliament. And the BUSSHOP ſaid he wold not conſent thereunto. The MAN OF ARMES and BURGES ſaid they were twoe, and he but one, wherfor thair voice ſhuld have mooſte effecte. Therafter the KING in the playe ratefied, approued, and confermed, all that was rehearſed."

In his preface, Mr. Pinkerton expreſſes his wiſh to be encouraged to complete the hiſtory of Scotland, and he ſketches out a plan for its completion. So long a period has elapſed ſince the publication of the volumes now before us, during which nothing has been ſaid of a continuation, that we fear that the author has abandoned his deſign. If this be ſo, we do not heſitate to ſay, that literature has ſuſtained a loſs, which it may be ſometime before a writer of equal merit ariſe to repair.

Travels in Hungary, with a ſhort account of Vienna in the year 1793. By Robert Townſon, L. L. D. *4to.*

HUNGARY is undoubtedly one of the brighteſt jewels in the Auſtrian crown. The fidelity and bravery of the inhabitants, and the natural riches and capabilities of their country, combine to render it a poſſeſſion which a wiſe ſovereign would preſerve and improve with unremitting care. The Auſtrian princes, however, have too often acted the part of the "baſe Judean" with reſpect to this noble kingdom, and, though they have not loſt the "pearl," they have been indebted for their keeping it leſs to their own merits than to the forbearance or forgiveneſs of their injured ſubjects. It is to be hoped that a new era has at length arrived, and that the events of the laſt quarter of a century have taught the ruler of the Auſtrian empire the wiſdom of conciliation, and of paying ſome attention to the wiſhes and the feelings of the Hungarian people.

Of almoſt every other part of Europe, deſcriptions without end have been given. The ſtates of central Europe, at leaſt, have been deſcribed even to wearineſs. Hungary has had but a ſmall portion of

of travellers, it is almoſt a terra incognita; and, therefore, Mr. Townſon's book makes a valuable addition to our ſcanty ſtock of knowledge. For the purpoſe of diffuſing that knowledge, we will preſent our readers with a rapid analyſis of its contents; following, in the firſt place, the traveller uninterruptedly through his tour, and reſerving to the concluſion, the political and ſtatiſtical information which he has gathered together. The mineralogical and botanical details, which occupy a conſiderable portion of the volume, we ſhall leave untouched.

Mr. Townſon paſſed the winter at Vienna. His reſidence there adds little to what we knew before of that capital. In Mr. Fichtel's collection he ſaw a foſſil thigh bone, exactly five feet, Engliſh meaſure, in length, and four feet round the knee. This gigantic bone he conſiders as being that of an elephant; it moſt probably belonged to a mammoth.

The markets of Vienna contain ſome curious eſculent articles, and are well ſupplied, the inhabitants, as he informs us, being noted for their propenſity to gluttony. "I have ſometimes," ſays he, "ſeen a ſcore of wild hogs, and a dozen of ſtags in the game market at the ſame time, and hares literally by cart loads, with abundance of pheaſants and partridges, and ſometimes the ptarmigan and the hazel grous. The ſmall birds are there by myriads. Even birds unclean, and forbidden by Moſes, as hawks, magpies, jays, butcher birds, and nutcrackers. Even the bullfinch and robin are not ſpared."

The tame hogs are of a peculiar breed; handſome, of a mild diſpoſition, and excluſive of their briſtles, they have a coarſe kind of wool, like that of a wild hog. They come from the Turkiſh frontier, from Boſnia and Servia, and, notwithſtanding the length of the journey, they are ſo fat when they reach Vienna, that they are ſcarcely able to walk.

Among the delicacies, "a deficiency in which might cauſe a revolution, or be conſidered as a ſufficient cauſe of delivering up the city if beſieged," the livers of geeſe hold a diſtinguiſhed place. Some Jew poulterers make them grow to an enormous ſize by a particular mode of cramming, refuſing water, and keeping the geeſe almoſt immovable. The diſeaſed liver, thus procured, the people of Vienna conſider as a dainty! Frogs are another delicacy. "It is the hind legs which are chiefly in requeſt: two pairs coſt about three halfpence; they are therefore by no means a cheap diſh. The fore legs and livers are moſtly uſed for ſoup." Theſe animals are brought from the country, thirty or forty thouſand at a time, and kept in large holes called conſervatories. The rear of theſe delectable tid-bits is cloſed by the ſnail. "It is not eaten through economy, as ſeven of them, at the *traiteurs*, are charged the ſame as a plate of veal or beef. They are eaten boiled, fried in butter, and ſometimes ſtuffed with force meat. The ſlimineſs remains after being dreſſed, yet they are conſidered as a delicacy! but *de gustibus non est disputandum.*"

Places of recreation are numerous. The language which, on this head, is uſed by Mr. Townſon, gives us no favourable idea of the morals of the people of Vienna. "Of thoſe kinds of reſorts, which ſerve as places

places of relaxation and debauch to the inferior ranks of life, and to thoſe of groſſer taſte, where muſic, dancing, feaſting, and women of the town, are to be had at cheap rates, this city and its ſuburbs abound. Theſe, the public amuſements, the pleaſures of the table, and what the French call *la physique de l'amour*, are the great ſources of the happineſs of the opulent part of the inhabitants of this city, as they are indeed of the inhabitants of other great towns where affluence abounds." The concluding clauſe of the ſentence ſeems rather to have been prompted by an affectation of candour than by juſtice.

Among the amuſements is "the Hetze, or *le combat des animaux*. It is not the low vulgar alone who come here, but *gentlemen and ladies*. and it is generally a *Sunday evening's amuſement*, as a *delaſſement* after the religious duties of the day." Mr. Townſon properly expreſſes his diſguſt at theſe ſports. "Where a few diſpirited oxen," ſays he, "under the name of wild Hungarian bulls, and half humanized bears, are turned out to be lugged by the ears by dogs, I ſee nothing but cruelty." He did, however, witneſs one combat of a more dignified kind. "I went there to ſee the *bos ferus*, or wild bull. He came on the arena with great dignity and compoſure; a good many dogs, I think not leſs than eight or ten, were ſet upon him; he did not move, but kept his place, his head to the ground, and with his ſhort horns defended himſelf admirably well; the ſneaking curs that attacked him behind he kicked down: it would have grieved me much to ſee him overpowered. He had no fierceneſs, nothing but grandeur in his looks; he was brought young from Poland, and is now tame. Other animals were turned out, but they were all more anxious to get back to their dens than to fight."

A more delightful ſcene is preſented in the hot houſes of the imperial garden of Schœnbrun, which are thought to be the fineſt in Europe. "One range is ninety yards long, and thirty feet high within; another range is nearly as high, and above a hundred yards long; part of this is a green-house; and three more ranges of hot houſes, each about eighty yards long, but much lower than the former; and, laſtly, two or three ſmall green houſes." Here flouriſh, in all their native pride, the rareſt and moſt beautiful of the tropical palms and ſhrubs. "The *corypha umbraculifera* extends its large leaves twelve or fourteen feet around; the *caryota urens* aſcends to the height of ſixteen or eighteen feet; the *cocos nucifera* and *clacis guineenſis* grow with great luxuriancy; and many rare ſhrubs, natives of the ſame favoured climate, though not ſo peculiarly indicative of their country, are here equally exuberant. The *citharexylum quadrangulare* is twenty feet high; *bignonia leucoxylon*, *malpighia glabra*, and the coffee tree, ſixteen feet; and the *ruitzia caciniata*, *carolinea princeps and inſignis*, with others leſs rare, twelve to fourteen. The *rhapis flabelliformis* has a *ſtipes* above ten feet high; the *hernandia ſonora* and *helicteres apetala*, with their large leaves, contribute their part to beautify this extenſive collection."

"What adds greatly to the pleaſure of walking in theſe houſes, is the ſight of a variety of rare birds flying about as in full liberty, and the

the hearing them ſing, perched on the very trees which afforded them food or ſhelter in their native country. How pleaſing it was to ſee the little ſpittacus pullarius perched on a beautiful mimoſa in full flower, and the aſtrild butyracea, and other loxia, playing under the great leaves of the hernandia ſonora and helicteres apetala! The aſtrild is very numerous, having bred here. Some nightingales are likewiſe kept. These birds deſtroy ants and other inſects which are ſo noxious in hot houſes. Here is likewiſe a long-tailed dove or two from the Cape. There are many more loxia and other rare birds in cages, and two or three Simia, but chained." In the garden there is alſo a plot of ground for North American plants, a baſon for aquatic plants, a menagerie, and an aviary, both of which are well ſtocked. It is a curious fact, that the *aponageton diſtichon*, a plant of the Cape, bore, in the baſon, the intenſe ſevere winter of 1793, when the Danube was frozen over, and the ice did not diſſolve till the beginning of March.

Early in May, Mr. Townſon departed on his journey. Had he paid any attention to the miſrepreſentations of the people of Vienna, he would have left Hungary unviſited; for they deſcribed the country to him as being little better than in a ſtate of nature, and its inhabitants as a half-ſavage race. The ſight of the kingdom, however, on his firſt entering it, gave the lie to their aſſertions. "It is well cultivated; it is chiefly corn land, and ſome paſture. Its gentle elevations fit it for the vine, which is planted on the banks expoſed to the ſun."

Ædinburgh, or Edinburg, was the firſt place at which Mr. Townſon pauſed. It is an old irregularly built town, with a population of about 12,000 inhabitants, who carry on a conſiderable trade in horned cattle, hogs, honey, and wine. There is a mine of excellent coal, not more than five or ſix miles from the town, but a ſtupid prejudice, common on the continent, prevents this fuel from being uſed, except in a few manufactures.

In the vicinity of Ædinburgh, Mr. Townſon paid a viſit to Count Szecheny, whoſe ſon, only ten years old, ſpoke correctly and fluently the Hungarian, German, Latin, French, and Italian languages, and had ſome knowledge of the Croatian dialect. The Hungarian nobles are generally excellent linguiſts. Prince Esterhazy has a palace here, and an eſtate, the revenue from which is uſually eſtimated at eighty or ninety thouſand pounds ſterling, and which, in favourable years, has riſen to 107,000 pounds. The management is expenſive and troubleſome, as it is in all Hungarian eſtates; ſcarcely leſs ſo than that of a manufactory. This is always the caſe "where the *glebæ adſcriptio* exiſts, and where the rents of lands are paid in perſonal ſervices and the produce of the ſoil." The glebæ adſcriptio is aboliſhed, but the other evil ſtill remains.

From Ædinburgh, Mr. Townſon proceeded on his way, by means of a *foreſpan*, which is an order to the judges of the peaſants, to furniſh horſes at a certain rate; a favour which ſhould be granted only to the military, and to perſons travelling for the public ſervice; but which, like all other government privileges, is perverted to private ends. As, however, the payment for the horſes is rather more than the

the peasant could earn by them, the hardship is less than it appears to be. The judges of the peasants, sometimes appointed by the lord, sometimes by the peasants, and sometimes by both, are themselves peasants, liable to be beaten by the military, and are thankful for twopence or threepence from the traveller, when they have been expeditious in procuring the horses. A stick is their ensign of authority.

In his way to Buda, Mr. Townson passed through Raab, Dotis, Komom, Gran, Vissegrade and St. Andrée. Raab contains about twelve or thirteen thousand inhabitants, and offers nothing remarkable to the traveller, except a monument erected by Charles VI, to expiate the dreadful crime of the host having been knocked down and trampled on, as it was carrying to a sick person. Dotis is built on a rock of variegated red marble, and has some manufactories of coarse cloth and rude pottery. Komom is worthy of notice only for its flying bridge over the Danube. Its population is five thousand persons. The flying bridge is but "an improved kind of ferry-boat; a floor or stage, with a rail round it, is built upon two narrow barges, which are at a little distance from each other, in a cross bar, supported by two short masts or posts; there is a groove, with a sliding pulley, to this is fastened the cable, which prevents it from being carried down with the stream; and the other end of the cable is fastened, higher up in the river, to a row of boats, which are moored with anchors, but yet admit of a lateral movement; it is then driven over by the stream. They are large, and can carry over ten or fifteen carriages, and a hundred passengers at a time."

Gran has between five and six thousand inhabitants, and its archbishop is lord lieutenant of the county, primate and chancellor of Hungary, has the exclusive right of crowning the king, and can create nobility upon his own domains. He is also a prince of the German empire, and has many other privileges. Among his duties is that of bringing two thousand men into the field, under two banners, whenever the nobility are called upon to defend their country.

Vissegrade and St. Andrée afford few materials for description. The former has a castle on an eminence, which was once the Windsor of Hungary, but which is now ruined, and inhabited only by bats and owls. By an act of Ladislea the second, the venerated crown of Hungary was ordered to be kept here.

"I know of no dress," says Mr. Townson, "more becoming for a man than the Hungarian;—long breeches, short jackets turned up with fur, and short boots, with spurs. But this is not the dress of the common peasants: these generally wear grey linen trowsers, with boots, or else a kind of sandals; a short shirt, covering the upper part of the body only, and a wide coat, made out of sheep-skins, which is thrown loose over the shoulders. The dress of the women is much like that of the Germans, and no ways becoming. Whilst waiting for my horses, I was amused by a new pastime. * * * Thirty or forty, mostly grown up girls, were drawn up in two lines, opposite to one another, and twelve or fifteen yards distant. The girls of each party held one another by the hand, and in this manner swung their arms to a slow-timed song: from time to time they changed places, the girls of one party going under the arms of the others, who

gave them a hearty thump on the back as they paſſed under. The ſongs were queſtions and anſwers, concerning things in which country people are interested. One party, for example, aſked the other what they wiſhed for above all things, and what would make them happy? They anſwered, a pleaſant garden, well ſtocked with fruit, a good farm, well ſtocked with cattle, and a young and faithful husband. All theſe girls, I thought, though I had taken my uſual portion of wine, which, giving warmth to the cold, like youth, makes one leſs ſevere in criticising female beauty, had few perſonal charms; and their dress was not becoming. The hair on the ſides was plaited tight, and brought into the hair behind, which was likewiſe plaited, and hung down behind, as with the Swiſs girls. The neck was covered with a white handkerchief; and a variegated body and petticoat with a white apron, formed the reſt of their dreſs. The petticoat was ſhort, to ſhow their yellow leather boots, with low iron heels. The latter are of great uſe in dancing, like the ſpurs of the men, for making a noiſe."

There is a curious circumſtance to which Hungarian horſes are excluſively ſubject. It can ſcarcely be called a diſeaſe; but is rather, perhaps, an effort of nature to prevent the formation of diſeaſe. It is a ſpontaneous bleeding from the back, ſides or neck, from whence only a few drops exude.

The bagpipe is as common in Hungary, as it is in ſeveral other parts of Europe. It is difficult to account for the widely-ſpread attachment to this deteſtable inſtrument. Mr. Townſon ſpeaks of its ear-ſplitting tones with a degree of hatred in which we cordially participate.

Buda, or, according to the ſpelling of Mr. Townſon, Bude, does not prepoſſeſs the traveller by its appearance on his entering it; the Jews occupying the firſt part of the town, and poverty and filth being, of courſe, the prevailing objects. The population of Buda is twenty thouſand perſons; that of Peſt, which is united to Buda by a bridge of boats acroſs the Danube, is ſixteen thouſand. The city is long and narrow. It has a ſtately palace, a fine and ſpacious hoſpital for invalids, uſed as barracks, an univerſity, with an income of twenty thouſand pounds a-year, a good botanical garden, an obſervatory, two theatres, a few coffee-houſes, and many baths. Near one of the baths is a pond of water of conſiderable heat, which is full of fiſh. The place is badly off for hoſpitals; that called the Burger's hoſpital, which is almoſt the only one, being the worſt in Europe.

The Hetze, or combat of animals, is exhibited at Buda, with even more ſpirit than in the Auſtrian capital. At one of theſe exhibitions, Mr. Townſon ſaw "a bold attempt of one of the keepers to wreſtle with an ox. As ſoon as the keeper came upon the arena, the ox ran at him. The man, who was not above the middle ſize, ſeized his antagoniſt by the horns, who puſhed him indeed from one ſide of the arena to the other, but could not toſs him. After the battle had laſted for ſome time, and the ox had got the keeper near the ſide of the arena, and might have hurt him, ſome aſſiſtants came out, diſengaged him from the wall, and gave him his dagger, which he immediately ſtruck between the *cervical vertebræ* of his antagoniſt, which inſtantly fell lifeleſs to the ground." Another keeper diſplayed his

his ſkill in ſpearing a wild boar, which attacked him. Not the leaſt amuſing part of the entertainment appears to have been a duck hunt, by a white Greenland bear. "In the middle of the arena there was a ſmall pool of water with a duck in it. As ſoon as the bear came to the edge of the pool the duck laid itſelf flat and motionleſs on the ſurface of the water: the bear leaped in, the duck dived, and the bear dived after it; but the duck eſcaped through its ſuperior diving."

At Peſt a fair is held which laſts eight or ten days, and is the greateſt in the kingdom. It is attended by numbers of Jews, Greeks, and Armenians, who have moſt of the commerce of the country in their hands. Among the principal articles of ſale are horſes, driven hither in flocks from the great puſztas, or commons, and perfectly wild, they never having had a halter round their necks. When the purchaſer has fixed upon one in the fold in which they are confined, it is at once a difficult and dangerous taſk to catch and ſecure the animal. The operation of catching is performed with a long nooſed rope, hanging from the end of a long pole, which is ſlipped over the head or round the legs of the horſe. "The keepers now endeavour to haul it a little aſide, to put a halter about its head, which it reſiſts; then three or four ſtout fellows fly upon it, and ſeize it by the ears, head and neck: they can often then put on the halter; but the ſtronger and more ſpirited are obliged to be thrown down firſt. The leading it away gives often no leſs trouble. For this purpoſe the buyer has at hand a ſtrong ſteady horſe, and theſe two are faſtened together by the head with a very ſhort rope; he is even then often very troubleſome."

About three or four miles from Peſt is the field of Rakoſch, where of old, the nation aſſembled to hold their diets and elect their ſovereigns. The fatal battle of Mokatſch in 1526, put an end to theſe meetings; but the plain is ſtill venerated by the ſpirited Hungarians.

Having taken the precaution of providing himſelf with a *foreſpan*, Mr. Townſon departed from Buda. His firſt buſineſs was to ſearch for an extinct volcano, which was ſaid to be in the mountains of Matran, but which had no exiſtence. He then continued his journey to Erlau, through a well-cultivated country. The biſhop of Erlau, who has a revenue of twenty-thouſand pounds a-year, independent of an eſtate which produces half that ſum, ſeems to have been one of the moſt ſtupid and bigotted of his order. One circumſtance will ſufficiently prove this. His predeceſſor, a man of taſte, built an elegant villa, and laid out the grounds with great elegance; all of which *he* deſtroyed when he took poſſeſſion of the biſhopric. Such was the bigotry of this wretched creature, that he ſcrupled to purchaſe a quadrant from an heretical Engliſh maker, before he had quieted his conſcience by obtaining permiſſion from Rome. In Erlau, Mr. Townſon diſcovered nothing uncommon except the biſhop.

Deſirous of viſiting that part of Hungary which lies on the other ſide of the Theis, that being the rudeſt part of the kingdom, where he could beſt ſee the uncontaminated Hungarians, Mr. Townſon directed his ſteps to that quarter. The country between Erlau and the Theis is flat, with corn and paſture lands, and here and there a village.

Dung is thrown into corners, or made into wells, to get rid of it; a circumſtance which ſpeaks volumes as to the ſtate of agricultural knowledge. The Hungarian breed of horſes is ſmall; the ſtallions, and often the brood mares, are brought from other countries. Cattle and ſheep are hired out at a certain rate. On the banks of the Theïs, at Poroſlo, are magazines for ſtoring the rock ſalt, which is brought down the river from the county of Marmaruſs, on floats of pine trees. The Marmaruſſian mines are eſtimated to yield annually 600,000 cwt. From Furel, on the other ſide of the Theïs, to Debretzin, is fifty miles, during the whole of which diſtance there is not a ſingle village. It is a boundleſs waſte, ſown here and there with corn, while the reſt is appropriated to the feeding of cattle. The vultures are numerous, and ſo bold as to drive away the dogs which feed upon the dead carcaſes of the cattle.

Debretzin is a diſmal ill-built place, containing thirty thouſand inhabitants, moſt of whom are Calviniſts, gloomy in their manners and in their dreſs. The principal college of that ſect is here. It is a wretched building, ſomewhat worſe in appearance than a decayed Engliſh almshouſe. The ſtudents are numerous. The town is "famous for its ſoap manufactories, its bread, guba, pipes, and its quarterly fairs." The mode in which they make their bread, we have inſerted in the department of uſeful projects. *Guba* is a fabric which exactly imitates a ſheepſkin, and is worn chiefly by ſhepherds and herdſmen. There is alſo an imperial ſalt-petre manufactory at this place. Nor ſhould it be forgotten that juſtice is an article of ſale here; the judges of the Diſtrictual Court of Juſtice, being in the habit of taking bribes, under the ſoftened name of *incidents*.

From Debretzin, in the hope, which was not realized, of viewing ſome geological curioſities, Mr. Townſon puſhed forward to Groſs Wardein, which he tells us is "one of the prettieſt towns in Hungary, and in every reſpect the reverſe of Debretzin." All at this place was gaiety and merriment; every one, it being Sunday, was engaged in muſic and dancing, or in riding about. The next day he "attended a country meeting, and was received with every mark of civility and attention. It was a very brilliant aſſembly: the gentlemen were all in elegant Hungarian dreſſes. The debates were carried on in the Hungarian language." The buſineſs concluded with a dinner; for Hungary has one point of reſemblance to England, namely, that a dinner ſeems to be a ſort of neceſsary appendage to the tranſaction of public buſineſs.

About four or five miles from the town are hot baths, where men and women may be ſeen almoſt in a ſtate of nudity. A ſwarm of Wallachians were bathing when Mr. Townſon arrived, and he compares their appearance to that of pigs in a horſe pond.

"I viſited," ſays he, "the priſons, and I found them but too full. The Wallachians are the moſt uncultivated and ferocious people of Hungary, and juſtice is obliged to be adminiſtered to them, in all its horrors. In 1785 they rebelled in Tranſylvania, and with great cruelty murdered many of the nobility. Their prieſts, whom they call *popes*, are uncommonly brutiſh, and it is calculated, that in twenty executions there is always a *pope*. Now,

or till within a few years, the moſt frightful puniſhments were inflicted on them, flaying, empaling, &c. &c. But the moſt ſhocking puniſhments I have read of, were thoſe which were inflicted on the leaders of the peaſants' war in the beginning of the ſixteenth century in the Banat. They are too frightful to detail. The chief, as king, was ſet upon a red hot iron throne, and an iron crown was put upon his head, and a ſceptre of the ſame in his hand, both red hot. In this ſtate, half roaſted, nine of his principal accomplices, nearly ſtarved to death with hunger, were let looſe upon him, with threats of inſtant death, if they did not fly upon and eat their pretended king. Six obeyed, and fell upon him and ate him. Three others, who would not, were immediately cut to pieces. Yet, under all this torment, the unfortunate man never murmured." It is to this victim of cruelty that Johnſon alludes, in the words, "Luke's iron crown," in his tranſlation of Juvenal's tenth Satire.

In his way, from Debretzin to Tokay, Mr. Townſon paſſed through the diſtrict of the Haydukes, who are about two-and-twenty thouſand in number, the deſcendants of ſome troops who ſettled here a century before. They have their own magiſtrates, and are not under the government of the country. He alſo met a large party of zigueners, or gypſeys, who abound in Hungary, lead the ſame vagabond life as elſewhere, and have vainly been attempted to be reclaimed to a civilized life. They ſwarm in ſuch a manner that, "when the neighbouring country of the Buccovine was lately ceded to Auſtria, of ſeventy thouſand inhabitants, one thouſand were gypſies."

Tokay, ſituated on a fine ſoil, at the confluence of two rivers, is, nevertheleſs, a little paltry town. The celebrated wine, which bears its name, is produced by a hilly diſtrict, extending twenty or thirty miles northward, but of a much narrower breadth. "But the wine generally known in foreign countries by the name of Tokay, is a particular kind, and made only in ſmall quantities in different parts of this diſtrict, and is ſold even here very dear; it is here called *Auſbruche*, and is made by mixing a portion of luſcious half dried and ſhrivelled grapes with the common ones." Mr. Townſon deſcribes very fully the mode of cultivating the grape, and making the wine, which is followed in this diſtrict. At Tokay is another magazine for ſtoring the ſalt from the mines of Marmaruſs.

From Tokay, through a pleaſant country, the traveller took the road to Caſchan, the capital of Upper Hungary, paſſing by Moad, Tolſchva, and Telkobanya. Tolſchva, like many parts of Hungary, ſwarms with Jews, of whom Mr. Townſon gives a character which is by no means favourable. He goes ſo far, indeed, as to hint that their expulſion from a ſtate might be a politic meaſure. At Telkobanya, "the peaſants," ſays Mr. Townſon, "were met at the judge's cottage to adjuſt ſome differences concerning the extent of a field or farm. I have often admired the reſpectable conduct of the Hungarian peaſantry; I never obſerved in them any of that ferocity of which they are accuſed in Auſtria, nor that mean and ſneaking diſpoſition, though they treat their

ſuperiors with great reſpect, which one might expect to find in a peaſantry hardly emerged from a ſtate of bondage."

The principal ſtreet of Caſchan "is very broad and pretty regular, and contains ſome very good houſes of the nobility, and an elegant coffee houſe, over which are the aſſembly rooms. The inhabitants are only eſtimated at about ſix thouſand. The principal church is the only thing worth ſeeing here; it is in Gothic taſte, and in great preſervation." The ſuite of aſſembly rooms is fine; but there are more eaters than dancers, the latter of whom Mr. Townſon ludicrouſly deſcribes as dancing "in the German ſtyle, at the rate of three miles and a half to four miles an hour."

Near the village of Czernewitza, a ſhort day's journey from Caſchan, are the celebrated opal mines. They were examined by Mr. Townſon, who procured ſeveral valuable ſpecimens. At the period when he ſaw them the working of them appears to have been ſuſpended.

Before he proceeded to the Carpathian Alps, Mr. Townſon turned aſide to Akteleg, to view two famous caverns; one of which is ſaid to be interminable, while in the other, water freezes during the ſummer, and ice thaws in the winter. The mouth of the firſt of theſe is ſituated at the bottom of the precipice about a hundred and fifty feet high. "This entrance is about two yards broad, but ſo low that I was obliged to bend conſiderably to get in. I deſcended rapidly for a ſhort diſtance, and then I found myſelf in an immenſe cave, with a very lofty vault; this has in different parts communication with other caves and paſſages, and theſe again with others. Some of theſe caverns are over one another; in ſome places I came to conſiderable ſtreams of water; in one great cave, my guide conducted me over a hill formed of great blocks of ſtone, which moſt probably had fallen down from the roof; in one place I had to get down a hole like the funnel of a chimney; then I was led into a cave where large ſtalatites, as thick as my body, hung pendant from the roof, and I was ſhewn others where the ſides were ornamented in the manner of the moſt curious Gothic workmanſhip. In ſome, the ſtalatites were ſo thick and cloſe together, that we were in danger of loſing one another if we ſeparated but a few yards. Here aged ſtalatites, overloaded with their own weight, had fallen down, and lay proſtrate; and there an embryo ſtalatite was juſt ſhooting into exiſtence. The moſt curious cavern was one apparently of modern date; the ſides, and particularly the roof, ſeemed as if recently ſeparated; and it was probably ſo, for I think moſt of theſe caverns have been formed by the falling in of the rock. Very white and ſlender ſtalatites were only found here." In this cavern Mr. Townſon and his guide loſt their way, and might have periſhed, had not Mr. Townſon happily made marks in particular places, which enabled them to recover the road. "So complete a labyrinth as theſe caverns are in ſome places, is not, I am ſure, to be found but in ſimilar caverns: large open paſſages proved *cul de ſacs*, while our road was over and under, through and amongſt grotto work of the moſt intricate nature. I firmly believe, that though

though a man ſhould have lights and food enough to laſt him a month, he would not be able to find his way out."

The other cavern is ſituated near Szilitze. It has no natural beauty to recommend it; and Mr. Townſon is ſtrongly diſpoſed to diſbelieve the marvellous qualities which are attributed to it by common report. Ice he did indeed find in ſummer, but he was of opinion, that it had been formed in the winter, and that it was then thawing.

Acroſs a mountainous country, containing mines of antimony and copper, Mr. Townſon continued his journey through Loſenan, Schmölnitz, and Iglo, to Leutchau, the county of Zips. The latter town is tolerably well built, with a population of between four and five thouſand inhabitants. Here, for the firſt time, he was treated with rudeneſs. The town magiſtrates, a motley collection of taylors, ſhoemakers, and other tradeſmen, miſtook him for a a French ſpy, and demonſtrated their loyalty by a ſuperabundance of impertinence. He was, however, reſcued from their clutches by the deputy lieutenant, to whom he was furniſhed with letters of introduction.

The next day he attended the county meeting, where the nobility endeavoured to compenſate him, by their civilities, for the recent inſult which he had ſuffered. "The buſineſs of the meeting was tranſacted in the Latin language; nothing very important was agitated, though often, beſides the county buſineſs, (for it has the care of the police of the county, and, when it forms itſelf into a court of juſtice, tries civil and criminal cauſes,) affairs of great weight are here canvaſſed; for the orders of the ſovereign, though they may concern the whole kingdom, come before it, being ſent to the county magiſtrates to be enforced; and though it can by no means put a *veto* upon the royal mandates, yet it greatly impedes deſpotiſm by its ſpirited remonſtrances and delays. Joſeph the ſecond found this. From them it was he received the very bold remonſtrances on his unconſtitutional proceedings; and now that the court of Vienna, alarmed at the prevalence of dangerous opinions, is endeavouring to diminiſh the liberty of the preſs, theſe are not leſs active in maintaining that moſt valuable privilege. The annexed ſpirited remonſtrances of the counties of Abanjvar and Bihar, will fully demonſtrate this, and at the ſame time ſhew their political conſequence. They are of more real importance than the diets of many countries.

"The county magiſtracy conſiſts of a count or lord lieutenant, a deputy lieutenant, who has ſometimes an adjunct; a notary, a receiver or treaſurer, a fiſcal, the judges and deputy judges of the nobles, the ſworn aſſeſſors and the commiſſaries. Except the lord lieutenant, who is appointed by the ſovereign, when his poſt is not hereditary, they are all elected every three years by the county. The meeting, I think, only laſted one forenoon, and was ſucceeded, as ſuch things generally are, by a very good dinner."

From Leutchau Mr. Townſon journeyed on to Keſmark, at the foot of the Carpethian Alps. In excurſions among thoſe alps, he ſpent a conſiderable time; frequently ſleeping in the open air, under the ſhelter of a block of granite. The objects of his ſearch being chiefly, if not entirely mineralogical and botanical,

he paid little attention to picturesque beauty; and has given us none of those glowing descriptions which adorn the pages of other travellers. The highest peaks of these alps are the Lomnitzer and the Krivan, which he ascertained to be 2,880 and 2,781 yards above the level of the sea. Within 500 yards of the summit of the Krivan is a gold mine, now no longer worked, which is supposed to be the most elevated in Europe. These alps are frequented by a class of men called gold hunters, who waste their time and their resources in wandering among the rocks in search of gold. It is not often that they find as much as will pay them for their trouble; but, like alchymists, they still persist in their darling pursuit. Bears are common; they never are the first assailants, at least as far as regards mankind; but they prey upon the cattle, and eat the corn in the fields. They are said "to draw the standing corn through their fore paws, then rub the detached ears between them, blow away the chaff, and eat the grain."

The *Pinus Pumilio*, called here the Krumholz, grows in the mountains abundantly. "No one who has not made a trial can form an idea of the difficulty of making one's way through this, and the consequent tardy progress. The branches of this tree extend many yards, in all directions, just along the ground; they are sometimes supported by the unevenness of the soil; sometimes by blocks of stone, and sometimes by branches of the same; so that one must often get down between them, at other times walk upon them." It is, therefore, not without reason, that a man in these mountains is never seen without a hatchet in his hand. It is even said that, "they dance with them in their hands, and in the midst of the dance throw them up in the air, and catch them again with great dexterity."

An ingenious and cheap contrivance, for beating and breaking flax, is in use near Kesmark. Stamps, such as are employed for breaking ore, only made entirely of wood, and acting on a wooden floor, are appended to a corn mill; velocity of motion rather than weight being required. "The owners of the flax manage it themselves, and all they have to do is to put it under the stamps, turn it about, and take it out again. The *douceur* to the owner of the mill is very trifling."

Mr. Townson made an excursion to the celebrated salt mines of Wieliczka, in Galicia, but his description adds nothing to what was before known of them. Nor is his brief notice of Cracow more fraught with information.

From Cracow Mr. Townson proceeded by Pribilini, Neusolhn, Schemnitz, Kremnitz, Koningsberg, and Tyrnau to Presburgh. Before he leaves the Alpine districts, he thus states the impression which was made upon his mind by the condition of society. "Let me pause and answer some questions which I fancy I hear some philanthropist, in a country far remote from this, propose to me; and such as I have often asked of others returning from amongst some supposed uncultivated people, and which I have even often put to myself, when from an elevated situation I have enjoyed a very distant view; questions such as these: How do men live there? In such a climate, in such a frightful country, and under such laws; do men

men really live, and is it poſſible that they are happy? Fortunately for mankind, they do not feel half the evils for which they are pitied, and each nation in its turn looks with pity or contempt on the other. Though this valley is high, and wine, and tobacco, the riches of other parts of Hungary, fail; yet it is as well cultivated and as well peopled as any part of Hungary. From the high ſituations I was often in, I had always the pleaſing ſight of a well peopled country below me, and frequently could count at one glance near a ſcore of villages. From a gentleman engaged in drawing up the conſcription liſts, and meaſuring the county, by order of the emperor Joſeph, I received this account:—"In the county of Liptau it was found that there were 57,000 acres of 1,300 ſquare fathoms each, and likewiſe 57,000 ſouls; and in this eſtimate the land lying in fallow, which is one third of the whole, is reckoned." And public inſtruction, how is that?—Not worſe than in other countries; moſt of the villages have their miniſters and their ſchoolmaſters, and this is more than can be ſaid of ſome other countries, which boaſt much of their advantages. But education, on which every thing in ſociety depends, how it is neglected every where! What are our principles for conduct but an heterogeneous maſs of falſe religion, falſe philoſophy, and erroneous knowledge of the world, ſupported by abſurd dogmas, and ſilly maxims and proverbs? Man, it grieves me to ſee thee thus neglected, whilſt premiums are given for an exuberant growth in gooſeberries!"

At Tepla is a warm ſpring, "ſo loaded with calcareous earth, that the very cray fiſh, found in the rivulets formed by it, are, while alive, encruſted." They are, however, very good.

Neuſolha is a pretty well built town by a river, amongſt hills covered with wood. At ſome diſtance from it are the copper mines of Herren-Grund which, like many others of the kind, are now worked with loſs. The proceſs is carried on according to the method of Baron Born, to whom Mr. Townſon devotes a biographical notice of a few pages.

"I was lodged," ſays Mr. Townſon, "at the Crayfiſh inn, where I was much impoſed on; but I conſoled myſelf that I had always dined out, and therefore had no great bill; that Prince Bethlin lived in this houſe when he was called to to the crown of Hungary; and that the bill was written in Latin. The word *cornua* plagued me exceedingly to find out what it meant, and I was obliged to have recourſe at laſt to the author, the innkeeper. It meant what in Vienna-German is called *kipfle*; a ſmall kind of roll, ſhaped ſomewhat like a horn. Great licences are taken with the Latin language in Hungary; nothing is more common than to hear words uſed in ſpeaking Latin, which are only known to thoſe who ſpeak the Hungarian, Sclavonian, or German languages. *Schmutzidum tempus*, for inſtance, is the common term uſed to expreſs bad rainy weather; *schmutzig* is a German word, and ſignifies dirty; it is therefore as if an Engliſhman in ſpeaking Latin ſhould ſay, *dirtydum tempus*.

"The country between Neuſolha and Preſburg is rich in mines. The traveller viſited thoſe of Schemnitz and Kremnitz, which are the moſt celebrated

celebrated, and where the buſineſs is carried on with much ſkill, and in an extenſive manner. At Schemnitz is a mining academy, which appears to be excellently conducted; the ſtudents being provided by the government with a variety of teachers, and with all the apparatus of which they ſtand in need for experiments.

Paſſing by Neitra, a conſiderable town, on a riſing ground, half ſurrounded by a river, and through a flat well-cultivated corn country, Mr. Townſon reached Tyrnau. This is a well-built regular town, one of the firſt in the kingdom, and has a population of 7,000 ſouls. From the number of its churches and convents, it has often been called the Little Lome.

Two ſtages more brought the traveller to Preſburg, which may be conſidered the metropolis of the kingdom. It contains 28,000 inhabitants, of whom one-fourth are Lutherans. The city is handſomely built, and ſtands in a fine ſituation on the banks of the Danube. It is abundantly provided with all thoſe means of killing time, which are ſo neceſſary to the unhappy perſons who are ignorant of the manner in which time may be employed, and who, of courſe, look upon him as their moſt formidable foe.

In October Mr. Townſon quitted this kingdom. "Here I bid," ſays he, "farewell to my favourite Hungary; and though the country before me, on the banks of the Danube, was remarkably pleaſant, and afforded the moſt beautiful proſpects, I could not leave that behind without regret; and I frequently looked back to thank its generous inhabitants for the friendly reception they had given me, and to wiſh them every kind of public proſperity. The Hungarians are a noble race of men; and, of the variety of nations amongſt whom I have travelled, the one I eſteem the moſt. This ſmall tribute of praiſe I owe them, and I pay it with pleaſure."

At the period when Mr. Townſon wrote, neither the Auſtrians nor the Auſtrian government were liked by the Hungarians. The removal of the court to Vienna, the being governed by a ſovereign, not elective but hereditary, not a native but a foreigner, the almoſt continued abſence of that ſovereign, the numerous attempts made to infringe the privileges of Hungary, the neglect to call a diet for a long ſeries of years, and many other cauſes, combined to render the Hungarians diſſatisfied with the Auſtrian ſway.

According to the Hungarian conſtitution, the power of the king is confined within narrow limits. At his acceſſion he ſwears to maintain the rights of the nation, and the diploma or coronation oath contains a clauſe, allowing his ſubjects to take up arms againſt him, if he infringes them. This article is, however, proteſted againſt. He has the right of deciding on war and peace, of preſenting four candidates from whom a palatine is to be choſen, of beſtowing the great offices in church and ſtate, of creating nobility, coining money and pardoning criminals, and of interpoſing his *veto* in affairs of legiſlation. Here ends his authority; the making of laws and the raiſing of ſupplies being reſerved for the diet.

It muſt not be imagined, nevertheleſs, that a diet is any thing in the nature of an Engliſh parliament. It is, on the contrary, a purely ariſtocratic body, in which the people have

have no ſhare whatever. It is compoſed of magiſtrates, which claſs formerly conſiſted only of the high officers of the crown, but in which, though deemed an innovation, princes, counts and barons are now included, of archbiſhops and biſhops, lord lieutenants of counties, abbots, prelates, deputies of the chapters, deputies from the counties, and deputies from the free towns. The deputies of the counties are only the repreſentatives of the nobility, and thoſe of the free towns, almoſt looked upon as intruders, are generally choſen among the order of nobles, though this is the fault of thoſe who chooſe them. The diet is divided into two tables or houſes, which, notwithſtanding, form but one body, and vote together. Diets were originally annual, but afterwards triennial; and they were not to ſit for a longer term than two months.

"The nobility, which is compoſed of titled and untitled, the former of which may be conſidered as the real nobility, and the latter only as gentlemen, have the excluſive privilege of enjoying all the poſts of honour, and of filling all the public offices, and are *the excluſive owners of the ſoil*, except what lies within the precincts of the free towns; and a burgher or a peaſant may as well think of poſſeſſing the throne, as of poſſeſſing one inch of land, without being firſt ennobled. Their perſons likewiſe are privileged, except in a few caſes, as high treaſon, murder, &c. They cannot be arreſted till they have been legally tried and convicted. And the ſimpleſt kind of knight ſervice is the only duty they owe to the ſtate." Formerly, when the *inſurrection*, or levy, was perpetually called into the field, from which not even the high clergy were exempt, the duty was not a light one; but, now that ſtanding armies have ſuperſeded this irregular force, the nobles contribute nothing to the ſupport of the government, except when they pleaſe to aſſiſt the monarch by a voluntary gift. The whole of the burthen falls upon the burgeſſes and peaſants. A ſtate of things more hateful than this cannot eaſily be conceived.

"The burghers, being under the more particular care of the ſovereign, and having their own magiſtrates, are pretty independant of the nobility, and have only to bear the burdens of government. But this is not the caſe of the peaſants; theirs is a harder lot: for living upon the eſtates of the nobility, they are under their immediate care and direction, and may be greatly moleſted and injured by their ſeverity; though likewiſe aſſiſted by their protection and generoſity.

In the public acts, the citizens and peaſants are emphatically denominated the *misera contribuens plebs*. "Theſe pay a tax which is called a *contribution*, part into the military cheſt, and part into the county chest; from the firſt, the military ſtationed in the province are paid, and from the latter, the expenſes of the government of the country, the repairs of roads and bridges, and the damages ſuſtained by the peaſants by fire, ſtorms and inundations; and likewiſe the expenſes of the deputies or repreſentatives of the county, that is *of the nobility*, when attending the diet." Every article on the farm, not forgetting the cultivator himſelf and his children, is taxed at a certain ſum, (ſixteen hogs paying as one peaſant,) and

and if the peaſant follow any trade, he pays an additional ſum.

The peaſants were, in earlier times, free to leave their landlords at pleaſure. Under the reign of Uledislas, thoſe who had taken a part in the rebellion were deprived of this right, and the nobility ultimately ſucceeded in extending the deprivation to the whole of the peaſantry, and eſtabliſhing the *glebæ adscriptio*, or in plain terms, reducing the people to abject ſlavery.

In 1764, the empreſs Thereſa promulgated her edict, called "The Urbarium; or contract between the landlord and tenant as fixed by law." In many points this was favourable to the peaſantry, yet it contains numerous reſtrictions and puniſhments, which prove in what low eſtimation they had long been held. It fixes with much exactneſs the quantum of perſonal ſervice which the tenant muſt perform, in part payment of his landlord. A mode of payment of the moſt ominous kind, and the abſurdity of which, even as regards the maſter, is admirably illuſtrated by a fact, which Mr. Townſon has recorded; namely, that a great landed proprietor in Bohemia, declared it to be his intereſt to accept ſixpence a day from his peaſants, and give ninepence a-day to others, for voluntary labour.

Among the multifarious innovations, by which the raſh but well meaning Joſeph II, diſcontented his Hungarian ſubjects, there were undoubtedly ſome which wiſdom and humanity muſt approve. Among theſe was the ſuppreſſion of the *glebæ adscriptio*, or villanage of the peaſants, which was brought about in 1785, by a royal mandate. It was his wiſh to raiſe the labouring claſs in the ſcale of ſociety, and the wiſh does him honour. But the meaſure excited murmurs, as being illegal, becauſe it was not an act of the diet, but of the royal will. The murmurs ſwelled into clamours as he purſued his ſcheme. One branch of that ſcheme was the introduction of a general land-tax, by which the lands held by the nobles were to be equally taxed with thoſe which were held by the commonalty; another was the commutation, for a ſum of about eighteen per cent, of all dues from the peaſant to his lord, in labour and produce, and of all taxes to the ſovereign, for a ſum of twelve per cent. The ſtorm, revived by theſe and his other proceedings, became at laſt ſo formidable, that, on his death-bed, he revoked all his edicts, except thoſe which extended toleration to the Protestants, and ſuppreſſed the bondage of the peaſants.

Shortly after the acceſſion of Leopold, a diet was held, in which proviſion was made againſt any future attempts on the part of the ſovereign. The Hungarian nobles ſecured their diſgraceful privilege of being the only perſons who gave no aſſiſtance to their country; the freedom of the peaſants was, however, recognized, not merely as a matter of favour, but of ancient right. The toleration of the Proteſtants was alſo confirmed in the fulleſt manner. It is honourable to the liberality of the Hungarians, that this laſt article was voted by an immenſe majority, of which 180 were Magnates, and the greateſt part of them Catholics. Nor was it a bare toleration that was granted, but "a right to fill all the public offices, and a ſeat in the legiſlative councils."

The

The population of Hungary was for a long time ſtrangely under-rated; none of the ſtatiſtical writers eſtimating it at more than 3,170,000. But late and more accurate inquiries have corrected this miſtake. The loweſt eſtimate now makes the number of people to be 7,008,574; while a committee appointed by the diet, which probably had before it the conſcription liſts, and other authentic documents, eſtimates the total number at nearly eight millions. Tranſylvania is ſaid to contain a million and a half of inhabitants, and Sclavonia and Croatia each ſomething more than a quarter of a million.

The inhabitants of Hungary are a very mixed people. The Sclavonian race is the moſt numerous; the Hungarians, ſtrictly ſo called, form about a third part of the population; and the Germans a ninth. "Theſe different people do not live promiſcuouſly together, but ſeparate; and in one diſtrict the traveller only meets with Hungarians, and in another diſtrict only with Sclavonians; it is likewiſe ſo with the Germans and Wallachians."

The revenue which is drawn from this country by the monarch, is calculated at eighteen or nineteen millions of guilders, which is 1,800,000*l.* or 1,900,000*l.* To this muſt be added the voluntary gift ſometimes given by the diet. The diet of 1792 voted four millions of guilders, 1000 horſes, and 5000 recruits, for carrying on the war. The ſum derived from Hungary appears to be about one fifth of the whole Auſtrian revenue.

Commerce is in a languid ſtate, and manufactures have ſcarcely an exiſtence. "The local ſituation of Hungary is unfavourable: it is chiefly ſurrounded with countries which ſtand in no need of its produce. It has fine rivers, but theſe run in a different direction from the courſe of its commerce, the Auſtrian provinces, which are the markets for four-fifths of its exportation; whilſt they run towards Turkey. And land carriage is rendered very expenſive by the badneſs of the roads, and territorial tolls; a thing ſeverely felt upon raw produce. An Hungarian writer ſays, that good wine, which is bought for ſix ſhillings, has an additional expenſe upon it of eight ſhillings, when it reaches the port of Trieſte; and that corn, which is bought for two ſhillings has an expenſe of ſix; tobacco, that coſts twelve ſhillings a hundred weight, likewiſe an addition of ſix." The exports are about 1,600,000*l.* per annum, almoſt wholly in raw produce: cattle, grain, wool, minerals and wine are the leading articles. The imports are about 1,100,000*l.* ſo that there is a yearly balance of half a million in favour of Hungary.

The ſtanding military forces of the kingdom are 87,400, and a battalion of *Tſchaikiſten*, which is a kind of river guard or militia. A conſiderable part of this force conſiſts of the regiments of frontier militia. The diſtrict in which they are raiſed is called the Military Frontiers, and commences at the moſt weſtern corner of Dalmatia on the Adriatic, whence it runs through Croatia, Sclavonia, the Banot of Temeſwar, and Tranſylvania, into the Buccovine, thus girdling the Auſtrian poſſeſſions on the ſide of Turkey. This territory has about 420,000 inhabitants, of whom a fifth are military. "As this is quite a military government, there are

are no civil magiſtrates, but military ones: a regimental diſtrict may be conſidered as a county, and it has, inſtead of a lord lieutenant, a colonel; and a diſtrict of a company, which may be conſidered as a *proceſſus*, inſtead of a *judex nobilium*, a captain; and ſo likewiſe with the inferior officers, who ſupply the places of inferior civil magiſtrates. Over each of the principal diviſions there is, or was in the time of the empreſs Thereſa, a brigadier. Theſe military magiſtrates have men of the law to aſſiſt them."

"On the military frontiers there are no nobility, and the king is the only allodial poſſeſſor of the ſoil; as ſuch he has divided this diſtrict into parcels, which he has granted as fiefs, on the conſideration of the occupier rendering military ſervices.

"The ſmalleſt portions of land are 130 yards long, by eighty broad; of theſe, if the land be good, eight; if middling, ten; and if of the inferior kind, twelve form a fief for a foot ſoldier. Before the cavalry was laid aſide, a horſeman who equipped himſelf had ſixteen of the beſt kind, and ſo on in proportion of the leſs productive; but he had only twelve if equipped by government.

"The dues of each holder of a fee oblige him to devote his ſons, except the eldeſt, who is to look after the farm, to the military ſervice. If the father be old, he may keep his youngeſt ſon with him likewiſe. This military ſervice is in lieu of rent for the land, and the feudatories pay taxes like other ſubjects.

"The laws of fiefs here are:—They cannot be diſpoſed of at pleaſure, the conſent of the ſuperior officer is requiſite. Any perſon, who has been in quiet poſſeſſion of one for twenty years, becomes proprietor of it. Thoſe who quit them in time of war loſe them. They are hereditary in the male line only, and brothers have equal rights; and they may be ſhared between them, if the ſhares do not by this diviſion become too ſmall.

"If a ſon marry away during the life of his father, he has no right to a part of the land, only of the moveables. If a ſon be conſtantly engaged out of the diſtrict, in civil or clerical employment, he cannot poſſeſs the fief on the death of his father, but muſt within three years diſpoſe of it to one capable of rendering military ſervice; but ſhould the ſon be engaged as an officer, or as a prieſt or paſtor within the diſtrict, then he can poſſeſs it, by keeping upon it thoſe who can render the required ſervice.

"If a widow marry one who belongs to the military diſtrict without land, the huſband poſſeſſes the fief to the excluſion of her children; and the children of this marriage inherit equal ſhares with thoſe of the former marriage; but with regard to the moveables, they each ſhare thoſe of their natural parents.

"A daughter likewiſe, if ſhe have no brother, by forming a ſimilar marriage may keep the fief.

"If a widow have no children ſhe muſt marry; and if ſhe marry one who already poſſeſſes a fief, ſhe loſes hers. If ſhe cannot marry, ſhe is free from ſervice one year; but then muſt get a perſon who can manage the fief and render the required ſervice.

"The clergy, without any reſpect to their religion, whether catholic or not, have no diſpenſation from ſervice;

ſervice; but the church lands are free.

"The officers are not paid for their ſervice by fiefs, but receive pay like thoſe of the regular troops, though they have ſome gratuities beſides; there are, therefore, no great feudatories: And here this government eſſentially differs from ancient feudal governments.

"The *Tſchaikiſts* have a ſmall diſtrict in the corner of land formed by the junction of the Theïs and the Danube. They derive this name by ſerving on board of ſhips and boats. *Saika* is an Illyrian word, and ſignifies a ſhip."

Such is the picture of Hungary in 1793, as drawn by Mr. Townſon. Since that period other works have been publiſhed on the ſame ſubject; from which we may, perhaps, in a future volume of the Annual Regiſter, endeavour to extract ſome additional information. We cannot praiſe the ſtyle of Mr. Townſon; but, as he pleads an abſence of eight years from his native country in excuſe for his inaccuracies of language, we will not viſit him with any harſhneſs of cenſure.

THE

CONTENTS.

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

SITUATION of Europe at the Commencement of 1797. *Advantages reaped by the Republicans from the Campaign of* 1796, *in Italy and in Germany. Situation of Great Britain. This Country left almoſt without Allies. Its internal Situation. Arts of the revolutionary Party. Diſſolution of Parliament. General Election. Reſult of it. Intention of the Miniſtry to negociate for Peace. Opening of the Seſſion of Parliament. Speech from the Throne. It announces that his Majeſty deſigns to ſend an Ambaſſador to Paris, to treat for Peace. Addreſs moved in both Houſes. Aſſertions of Lord Morpeth. Fallacy of them. Speech of Mr. Fox. He cenſures the Miniſters for their paſt Obſtinacy. Proteſts againſt the two Bills of the preceding Seſſion. Recommends extreme Moderation. Threatens an Enquiry into the Cauſes of our Diſaſters. Reply of Mr. Pitt. He draws a favourable Picture of our Reſources. Declares that no Queſtion of Etiquette ſhall ſtand in the way of Negociation. Houſe of Lords. Earl Fitzwilliam cenſures the Miniſtry, and moves an Amendment, to exclude that part of the Meſſage relative to Negociation. He ſtates the Grounds on which he and his Friends originally ſupported the Miniſtry. Denies that Circumſtances had changed. States the Danger to be dreaded from a Peace. Proteſts againſt the Relinquiſhment of the Netherlands. Speech of the Earl of Guildford. Reply of Lord Grenville to Earl Fitzwilliam. He denies that Miniſters had ever entertained the Sentiments attributed to them. Earl Fitzwilliam replies. The Amendment is negatived*

negatived. Proteſt entered on the Journals by Earl Fitzwilliam. Rupture of the Negociation. Meſſage ſent in conſequence to the two Houſes by his Majeſty. Mr. Sheridan's Idea of the Importance of the Negotiation. The Inſtructions to Lord Malmeſbury called for in the Houſe of Peers. Addreſs moved by Lord Grenville. He declares the Reſolution of the Miniſtry to treat, whenever the Enemy are pacifically diſpoſed. Amendment propoſed by the Earl of Guildford. He ſeverely cenſures the Miniſtry. Tenor of the Amendment. Speech of the Earl of Derby. The Earls of Liverpool, and Errol, and Lord Auckland, ſpeak in favour of the Addreſs. Lord Auckland owns that he never expected the Negociation to ſucceed; but conſented to it as an Experiment. Predicts that France will ſoon be incapable of continuing the War. Speeches of the Earl of Abingdon and the Duke of Bedford. The latter endeavours to prove that the Miniſters make uſe of contradictory Aſſertions. He is anſwered by Lord Spencer and the Lord Chancellor. The latter animadverts ſeverely on the Amendment, and declares the Country to be in a State of Proſperity. The Amendment is negatived. Earl Fitzwilliam cenſures the Miniſters for their Change of Principle, and moves an Amendment. He is replied to by Lords Spencer and Grenville. His Amendment is negatived. Debate in the Houſe of Commons. Eloquent Speech of Mr. Pitt. Mr. Erſkine begins to ſpeak, but is taken ill. Mr. Fox exerts himſelf with his uſual Talent againſt the Addreſs, and moves an Amendment. Reply of Mr. Dundas. He defends ſome of his former Expreſſions. Speech of Mr. Grey. The Amendment is negatived; and the Addreſs carried by a great Majority. [1

CHAP. II.

Continuation of Motions made by the Oppoſition to procure Peace, and the Removal of the Miniſters. The Earl of Oxford moves an Addreſs to his Majeſty to negociate with the Republicans. Character of his Speech. He is willing to give up every point to the Enemy. Lord Grenville replies by moving that the Addreſs of the 30th of December ſhould be read. Lord Oxford is ſupported by the Dukes of Norfolk and Bedford, the Marquis of Lanſdowne, and the Earl of Guildford; and oppoſed by Earl Spencer, the Earls of Coventry, Carliſle, Warwick, and Darnley, and Lords Douglas and Boringdon. Arguments of the Peers on each Side. Remark of Lord Grenville. Reply of the Earl of Oxford. The Motion is negatived. Debate in conſequence of the Earl of Oxford moving a Cenſure on Lord Kenyon. Speech of the Biſhop of Rocheſter. Lord Oxford ſtands alone on a Diviſion. Public Meetings held to Petition for Peace. The Earl of Suſſolk moves an Addreſs to his Majeſty to diſmiſs Mr. Pitt from his Councils. His Charges againſt the Miniſtry. He cenſures them on account of the Treaty of Pilnitz. Reply of Lord Grenville. He denies the Participation of the Britiſh Cabinet in the Treaty of Pilnitz. Debate on the Motion. Offer of Lord Romney. The Motion is negatived by a large Majority. Formation of a ſort of neutral Party. Motion to ſmooth the way to a Negociation, made in the

House of Commons by Mr. Pollen. Arguments used by him in support of his Motion. Reply of Mr. Pitt. Speech of Mr. Addington. Of Mr. Fox. Rejoinder of Mr. Pitt. Suggestion of Colonel Fullarton. Mr. Pollen's Motion is negatived. Alderman Combe moves an Address to his Majesty to dismiss his Ministers. His Sentiments on Instructions from Constituents to Members of Parliament. The Motion opposed by Mr. Hawkins Browne, and others. Debate on the Subject. The Motion is negatived by a large Majority. The Duke of Bedford moves an Address to his Majesty to change his Ministers. Speech of the Duke. Severe Language of the Address. It is supported by the Duke of Grafton, the Marquis of Lansdown, and other Peers. The Conduct of the Ministers is vindicated by Lords Grenville, Auckland, and others. After a long Debate, the Motion is rejected by a Majority of Ninety-one. Protest of the Duke of Bedford, in which he is joined by Lord Chedworth. Peace having been made by the Emperor, the Ministers resolve to make another Effort to conclude a Peace with the Directory. Lord Malmesbury is sent over to Lisle, as the British Plenipotentiary. Captious Objection of the Directory to Lord Malmesbury being appointed the Negociator. Opening of the Negotiation. Project of a Treaty. The Directory demand the Restoration of the Vessels taken at Toulon. They follow up this, by the monstrous and absurd Demand, that Great Britain, as a Preliminary, should surrender all her Conquests. The Negociation is continued without any Progress being made. Various Conferences. The French Plenipotentiaries are removed, and others substituted in their stead. Repetition of the Demand that Great Britain should surrender her Conquests. Lord Malmesbury is ordered by the Directory to quit the French Territory. Spirited Language of Lord Malmesbury. Declaration of his Majesty, on the Rupture of the Negotiation. [36

CHAP. III.

Debates and Proceedings on Military and Naval Subjects. Committee of Supply. A Hundred and Twenty Thousand Seamen voted. Complaint of General Tarleton on the Depredations committed by the Enemy. The Army Estimates brought forward by Mr. Windham. Objections made by General Tarleton. Mr. Fox enquires respecting the Treatment of the Maroons. Reply of Mr. Bryan Edwards. He attacks Mr. Wilberforce. Sarcastic Observation of Mr. Fox. Additional Articles of the Army Estimates brought forward, and voted. Army Extraordinaries voted. Mr. Windham proposes an Increase of Pay to the Privates and Non-commissioned Officers of the Army. The Members of the Opposition censure the manner in which the Increase had been notified to the Soldiery. Mr. Windham moves an Increase of Pay to the Subalterns. He vindicates the Government with respect to Army Arrears. Allowance voted to the Yeomanry Cavalry. Mr. Pitt moves a Committee to consider that part of the King's Speech relative to an Invasion. He proposes to raise Fifteen Thousand Men for the Regulars and Navy, by a Levy on the Parishes; to call out a supplementary Militia

Militia of Sixty-four Thousand Men; to establish a Provisional Cavalry of Twenty Thousand Men; and to embody the Gamekeepers. The Plan is strenuously opposed by Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Curwen, and others, as expensive and likewise unnecessary, there being no real Fear of an Invasion. They censure severely the Conduct of the last Parliament. Mr. Dundas and Mr. Pitt reply. The Gamekeepers' Bill is strongly opposed by many Members, and at length dropped by the Ministers. The Parish Quota Bill is passed without Opposition. Mr. Curwen opposes the Re-committing of the Militia Bill. Mr. Pitt gives stronger Assurances than before, that an Invasion is intended. Speech of Mr. Fox, in which he severely reprobates the Conduct of the Ministry. The Militia Bill is passed. Mr. Fox and General Tarleton oppose the Cavalry Bill. The former describes it as absurd and impracticable. He attacks the Conduct of the Government with respect to Ireland. Reply of Mr. Ryder and Mr. Wilberforce, the latter of whom brings a heavy Charge against the Opposition Party. Mr. Sheridan repels the Charge in an angry Speech. The Cavalry Bill is passed. The Chancellor of the Exchequer brings in Bills to explain and amend the three Acts. Mr. Fox and Mr. Biddulph move for the Repeal of the Militia and Cavalry Acts. The Motions are negatived; and the explanatory Acts passed. By the amended Acts, Catholics are allowed to serve as privates in the Provisional Cavalry and Supplementary Militia. Mr. Wilberforce brings in a Bill to allow Catholics to serve as Officers, and Mr. W. Smith moves a Clause to admit Protestant Dissenters. The Bill, with Mr. Smith's Clause, passes the House of Commons. In the House of Peers, Lord Kenyon moves that the Bill should be read that Day three Months. Violent and illiberal Speech of the Bishop of Rochester in support of Lord Kenyon's Motion. The Bill is thrown out. An Act passes for raising a Militia in Scotland. Riots in consequence in several Parts of that Country. The Measures taken to repel Invasion are supposed by some Persons to be insufficient for the Purpose. Colonel Wood gives Notice of a Motion for Enquiry into this Subject. He suspends his Intention for some time, and at length moves for the Establishment of a Military Council. The Motion is opposed by the Ministers, and finally withdrawn by Colonel Wood. Motions in both Houses for an Enquiry into the recent Attempt on Ireland. Arguments employed on both Sides. The Motions are negatived. Conduct of Spain. The Spanish Monarch forms a Treaty with the Directory, and declares War against England. Futility of the Spanish Manifesto. British Counter-declaration. The Addresses on the War carried unanimously in both Houses. Debate on the Vote of Thanks to Sir J. Jervis. Motion in favour of La Fayette. It is negatived. [80

CHAP. IV.

Financial Business of the Session. Mr. Pitt brings forward a Plan for funding a large Quantity of Navy and Exchequer Bills. Terms to be offered to the Holders. Mr. Pitt alludes to a new Plan of issuing Navy and Exchequer Bills. Question put by Mr. Hussey. Mr. Fox attacks

the Plan. He ſtates the Profits made by ſome of the Bill-holders to be immenſe, and mentions ſome of the Objections to the preſent Meaſure. Reply of Mr. Pitt. He conſiders the Plan to be highly advantageous to the Public. Mr. Fox and Mr. Huſſey again controvert his Arguments. On the ſecond Debate Mr. Fox again oppoſes the Scheme. It is however adopted. Bill brought in by Mr. Pitt, to prevent Navy Bills from being iſſued at a longer Date than three Months. Obſervation of Mr. Huſſey. The Bill paſſes. Mr. Pitt, reſolves to raiſe a Loan by an open Subſcription. Terms which he offers. The Loan is rapidly filled. The Eaſt India Company ſubſcribes two Millions, of which it agrees to pay the Intereſt. The Chancellor of the Exchequer brings forward the Budget. Statement of the Supplies and of the Ways and Means. Amount of Intereſt to be provided. Mr. Pitt explains the Cauſe of the Increaſe of the Navy Debt beyond his Eſtimates. Detail of the various new Taxes. He informs the Houſe that he has furniſhed Aſſiſtance to the Emperor, without the knowledge of Parliament, and calls for a Continuance of the Confidence of the Houſe. Remarks of Mr. Grey, and Mr. Fox, on Mr. Pitt's financial Statements. Mr. Fox ſeverely attacks the Meaſure of ſending Money ſecretly to the Emperor, and attributes it to an Intention of ſuperſeding the Authority of the Commons. The Reſolutions moved by Mr. Pitt are carried. When the Report is brought up, Mr. Fox again reprobates the Conduct of Mr. Pitt with great Severity. Reply of Mr. Pitt. Sir W. Pulteney agrees with the Oppoſition in cenſuring the Miniſter. Speech of Mr. Grey, who moves to poſtpone the reading of the Reſolutions. Aſperity of Mr. Wilberforce. Mr. Grey's Motion is negatived by a large Majority. Mr. Fox brings forward a Motion of Cenſure againſt the Miniſters. Mr. Pitt vindicates himſelf. Mr. Bragge moves an Amendment, which is ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the Oppoſition. It is however carried by a large Majority. Mr. Fox moves two Amendments which are negatived. Meſſage from his Majeſty relative to giving further ſuccour to the Emperor. Debates in conſequence. Taxes agreed to. In the Houſe of Lords, the Duke of Norfolk moves two Amendments to the Loan Bill, which are negatived. [97

CHAP. V.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer moves the Appointment of a Committee, to enquire into the financial State of the Nation. Debate on the Queſtion, whether the Committee ſhould be appointed by Ballot. Motion made by Mr. Sheridan to add Mr. Fox to the Committee. It is negatived. Mr. Harriſon moves to enquire whether ſome Reduction cannot be effected in Sinecure Places, Penſions and uſeleſs Offices. The Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr. Windham oppoſe the Motion, and inſiſt on the neceſſity of Sinecures. Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan ſupport the Motion. Altercation between Mr. Fox and Mr. Roſe. Dr. Laurence and Mr. Serjeant Adair oppoſe the Motion, as not being ſufficiently ſpecific. It is negatived by a large Majority. Mr. Pitt is compelled to bring forward a ſecond Budget. His regret

on this Occaſion. Statement of the Supplies. Of the Ways and Means. Terms of the Loan. They are confeſſed by Mr. Pitt to be unfavorable. He intimates that ſome Allowance muſt be made to the Holders of the Loyalty Loan. New Taxes propoſed. Mr. Fox replies with much Severity, and predicts that more will be called for. Mr. Grey accuſes the Chancellor of the Exchequer of having miſapplied a Sum of Money. Tax on Newſpapers oppoſed by Mr. Sheridan. The Chancellor of the Exchequer abandons certain Taxes, and propoſes others. He moves a Loan to the Emperor. It is oppoſed by Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and others. The Emperor having made Peace, the Loan is dropped. Mr. Pitt brings forward a Reſolution to indemnify the Loſſes on the Loyalty Loan. Language of the Bankers. The Reſolution is ſtrongly oppoſed by Mr. Dent and others, but is at length carried. It is again vigorouſly oppoſed, on the ſecond reading, by Mr. Sheridan. The Speaker decides that thoſe who are intereſted ought not to vote. The Reſolution is carried by a Majority of only one; and, therefore, Mr. Pitt declines acting on it. Marriage Portion of 80,000l. voted to the Princeſs Royal. Remarks of Mr. Curwen. Vote of Credit paſſed for half a Million. [119

CHAP. VI.

Hiſtory of, and Debates upon, the Stoppage of Caſh Payments at the Bank, Preſumed Cauſes of the Stoppage. Correſpondence between the Bank and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Bank Directors apply to Mr. Pitt, to know how long they may go on paying Caſh. Anſwer of the Miniſter. Order of Council iſſued on the Twenty-ſixth of February. Meeting of the Merchants and Bankers to ſupport the Credit of the Bank. The Order of Council is communicated to the Parliament. Motions in the Two Houſes to prevent further Remittances to the Emperor till the Order of Council has been enquired into. The Motions are negatived in both Houſes. Lord Grenville moves for a Secret and Select Committee, to inquire into the Debts and Funds of the Bank. Debate upon the Subject. The Miniſters attacked for their Conduct. Violent Language of the Duke of Bedford. He moves an Amendment. Speech of the Marquis of Lanſdowne. The Amendment is negatived, and the Motion carried. Debate in the Commons. Mr. Pitt moves for a Secret Committee. Long and eloquent Speech of Mr. Fox, calling for a thorough Enquiry, and ſeverely cenſuring the Miniſter. He is joined by ſome Members not uſually in Oppoſition. Arguments of the Oppoſition Members. An Amendment moved by Mr. Sheridan. Reply of Mr. Pitt. The Amendment negatived, and the original Motion carried. Reſolution for Enquiry moved by Mr. Fox, and agreed to. Altercation on the Appointment of a Committee. Speech of Mr. Fox. Condemnation of the mode by Ballot. Speech of Mr. Pitt. Of Mr. Sheridan. Defence of the Ballot. Motion of Mr. Fox negatived. Committee by Ballot reſolved upon. Bill to authorize the Bank to iſſue ſmall Notes. Mr. Wilberforce Bird brings in a Bill to authorize Bankers and Manufacturers to iſſue ſmall Notes. It is agreed to. Reports brought up

from Lords' and Commons' Committees. Substance of them. The Duke of Bedford moves for a Select Committee of Enquiry. A Secret Committee by Ballot proposed by Lord Grenville. Debate on the Subject. Lord Grenville's Motion is agreed to. Papers moved for in the House of Commons by Members in Opposition. Observations of Mr. Sheridan. The Chancellor of the Exchequer moves for a Bill to continue the Restriction. Speech of Mr. Fox. Opinions of the Solicitor-General on the Bank and other Subjects. Animadversions upon them by Mr. Sheridan. Motion of Mr. Sheridan, for repaying the Advances made to the Government by the Bank. The Previous Question moved by Mr. Pitt. Speech of Mr. Fox. He deprecates an Extension of Paper Circulation, and a forced Paper Currency. Reply of Mr. Sheridan to Mr. Pitt. The Previous Question is carried. [132

CHAP. VII.

Bill to continue the Order in Council brought in. Question put by Mr. Fox. The second Reading opposed by Mr. Hobhouse and others. Mr. Grey alludes to advances recently made to the Emperor. Reply to him. The Speaker leaving the Chair opposed by Mr. Nicholls. The Indemnity to the Bank opposed by Mr. Fox and other Members. The Government charged with exercising an undue Influence over the Bank. The Clause of Indemnity supported by Mr. Pitt and others. Mr. Pitt denies any Interference in the Affairs of the Bank. The Opposition still express their Doubts. Mr. Fox contends, that Dividend Warrants shall be paid in Specie. Debate on the Duration of the Bill. Speech of Sir William Pulteney. He hints at a Plan capable of producing great Benefit. Speech of Mr. Fox. Dispute on the Extension of a Paper Circulation. Speech of Mr. Pitt. Reply of Mr. Fox. Debate on the Clause to issue Specie for paying the Army. The Chancellor of the Exchequer charged with sinister Intentions. Angry Altercation upon this Occasion. Another Debate on the Duration of the Bill. Pleasantry of Mr. Sheridan. Mr. Fox moves for the Bill to expire on the first of May, instead of the twenty-fourth of June. The Motion negatived. Clause inserted as to how far Bank Notes should operate as a legal Tender. Clause restraining the Advances of the Bank to the Government. Mr. Nicholls moves a Clause to limit the Debts of the Bank. It is rejected. Debate on a Clause allowing the Bank to repay three-fourths of any Cash which it might receive. It is opposed by Mr. Fox, defended by Mr. Pitt, and others, and adopted. An Addition moved by Mr. Sheridan, and negatived. Motion of Sir William Pulteney, to obtain the Opinion of the Bank Directors, is negatived. Clause rejected relative to Distress for Rent. Clause moved by Sir William Pulteney, is rejected. A Clause moved by Mr. Fox is inserted with an Amendment. Last Debate on the Duration of the Bill. Attack of Sir William Pulteney on the Bank. The Bill is passed. It is sent to the Peers, and passes there without a Debate. Motion of Mr. Sheridan for a Committee to enquire into the Propriety of further Grants to the Emperor. His Speech. Mr. Pitt's reply. The Motion is negatived. Reports of the Secret Committees presented to the two Houses. They are made the Ground-work

Ground-work of an Attack upon the Miniſters. A Series of Reſolutions againſt the Miniſters moved in the Lords by the Duke of Bedford, and in the Commons by Mr. Grey. Summary of the Reſolutions. Violent Speech of the Duke of Bedford. He attacks the Report of the Committee. Sharp Replies of Lord Grenville, and others, to his Language reſpecting the Miniſterial Lords, and the Committee. Speeches of the Earl of Liverpool, Lord Grenville and Lord Auckland. The Previous Queſtion is carried on the Reſolutions. Speech of Mr. Grey. Reply of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Reſolutions are rejected. Sir William Pulteney moves for leave to bring in a Bill to eſtabliſh a new Bank. Excellent Speech from him upon this Subject. Speech of Mr. Sheridan. The Motion is negatived. A Bill brought in to extend the Period of the Reſtriction. It is paſſed without any Debate. [156

CHAP. VIII.

Debates relative to our Weſt and Eaſt Indian Poſſeſſions. Addreſs moved by Mr. W. Smith for a Copy of the Colonial Laws relative to Slaves. Meaſures adopted by the Friends of the Slave Trade, to ward off an Abolition. Mr. Ellis moves an Addreſs to his Majeſty, to give Directions to the Governors of the Weſt India Iſlands to recommend to the Colonial Aſſemblies to take ſuch Steps as may lead ultimately to an Abolition. Arguments uſed by Mr. Ellis. He thinks it impoſſible to prevent Smuggling. Suppoſed Cauſes of the Mortality among the Negroes. He aſſerts that the Colonial Aſſemblies are favourable to the Negroes. Meaſures propoſed by him. Mr. Barham ſeconds the Motion. Speech of Mr. Bryan Edwards. His bold Aſſertions reſpecting the Colonial Legiſlatures. Mr. Dundas alſo ſupports the Motion. The Motion is oppoſed by Mr. Wilberforce. Strong Arguments urged by him againſt it. He ſtates the Danger of continuing the Importation of Slaves. The Motion is ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. W. Smith, and others. Pointed Speech of Mr. W. Smith. The Motion is carried. Mr. Wilberforce moves for leave to bring in a Bill to aboliſh the Trade. He is vehemently oppoſed by Mr. Ellis, Mr. Sewel, Colonel Gaſcoigne, Mr. Barham, Sir William Young, and Mr. Bryan Edwards. Arguments advanced by them. The Motion is ſupported by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and many other Members. It is, however, rejected by a Majority of ſix. Mr. B. Edwards moves for a Bill to prevent Slaves from being ſold for Debt. It is paſſed. The Colonial Aſſemblies take no Notice of it, though they had been aſſerted to be anxious for it. The Slave-Carrying Bill revived. Mr. W. Smith moves for, and obtains, an Act to regulate the Height between the Decks of Slave Ships. St. Domingo, Mr. St. John moves an Addreſs to his Majeſty, to withdraw the Troops from that Iſland. He attacks Miniſters ſeverely. Mr. Dundas vindicates the Conduct of himſelf and his Colleagues. His Attack on Mr. Burke. Speech of Mr. Fox. Speech of Dr. Laurence, The Motion is rejected by a large Majority. Declaration of Mr. Dundas with reſpect to the Cape of Good Hope. Act paſſed for enlarging the Stock of the Eaſt India Company.

Company. Bill to allow the Company to adminifter Oaths, rejected. Act to regulate the Trade of Foreign Countries with India. Speech of Mr. Dundas. Motion of Mr. Biddulph, on the Indian Judicature. Penfion Clauſe oppoſed by Major Metcalf. Vindicated by Mr. Dundas. Indian Budget brought forward by Mr. Dundas. Second Budget brought forward by him towards the Cloſe of the Seſſion. [181

CHAP. IX.

Proceedings relative to Domeſtic Concerns. Mr. Abbott brings forward a Plan for the better Promulgation of the Statutes. He ſtates the abſolute Neceſſity of the Meaſure. Reſolutions adopted by the Two Houſes on this Subject. Mr. Adair again brings in his Bill to relieve Quakers in Tythe Caſes, and to admit their Affirmation on criminal Trials. It is oppoſed by the Solicitor and Attorney General, and finally rejected. Mr. Parker Coke brings in a Bill to authorize the Removal of Cauſes from local Juriſdictions to the Country at large. He withdraws it. Mr. Fox moves the Repeal of the Treaſon and Sedition Bills. He makes an eloquent Speech on the Occaſion. Reply of Mr. Serjeant Adair. Mr. Fox is cenſured by ſome of the Members. Reply of Mr. Fox. The Motion is negatived by a large Majority. Mr. Grey brings forward a Plan for a Reform in Parliament. He accuſes the Houſe of Commons of having groſsly violated its Duties. The Motion is ſeconded by Mr. Erſkine. Speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in reply. He maintains that Parliament has the full Confidence of the People. Cloſing Speech of Mr. Fox. The Motion is rejected by a Majority of a Hundred and Sixty-five. Act paſſed for enabling his Majeſty to ſummon Parliament at fourteen Days Notice. Objections of Sir W. Pulteney anſwered by Mr. Pitt. A Bill brought in by Mr. Pitt for a Reform of the Poor Laws. Account of ſome of its leading Clauſes. It is ſeverely cenſured by Mr. Sheridan, and ſuffered to drop to the ground by its Framer. Acts paſſed relative to the Export and Import of Corn. Acts paſſed to alter the Laws of Aſſize. Unſucceſsful Claim of Mr. Luſhington for Reimburſement of the Merchants who had loſt by importing Grain. Sir John Sinclair brings in a General Incloſure Bill. It paſſes the Commons, but is rejected in the Lords. Mr. Mainwaring brings in a Bill to prevent Foreſtalling, Jobbing and Regrating. Arguments for and againſt it. Mr. Dundas, Mr. Pitt and others oppoſe it, and it is rejected. Earl Moira announces a Motion for a Committee on the Debtor Laws. It is often poſtponed in conſequence of the Lord Chancellor's Illneſs. Reaſons why the Preſence of Lawyers is prejudicial in ſuch Diſcuſſions. Speech of Lord Moira on bringing forward his Motion. He ſtates the Hardſhips ſuffered from the Laws of meſne Proceſs and Execution. The Meaſure is oppoſed by Lord Kenyon. Agitation of his Lordſhip in Conſequence of his having received an Anonymous Letter. His Arguments againſt Lord Moira's Motion. The Motion is rejected. Cloſe of the Seſſion. [201

CHAP. X.

Mutiny in the Fleets. Alarm and feelings of the Country upon this occaſion. Obſervations on the Conduct of the Seamen. Cenſure of the Miniſters. Alleged Origin of the Mutiny. Firſt Manifeſtation of the Diſcontent of the Sailors, in anonymous Petitions to Earl Howe for an Increaſe of Pay. The Petitions ſuppoſed to be merely meant to excite Alarm. Breaking out of the Mutiny at Spithead, by the Sailors refuſing to weigh Anchor. Committee of Delegates choſen by the Seamen, and an Oath of Fidelity adminiſtered to all the Crews. Petitions of the Seamen to the Houſe of Commons and the Lords of the Admiralty. Statement of their Claims. The Lords of the Admiralty haſten to Portſmouth. Their firſt Anſwer to the Petitions. The Seamen ſtill diſſatisfied. New Claims. Further Conceſſions granted by the Lords of the Admiralty. Interview of ſome of the Admirals with the Delegates. Danger of Admiral Gardner. Lord Bridport's Flag ſtruck by the mutinous Seamen, who alſo make preparations for Defence. A Reconciliation at length effected. The Fleet drops down to St. Helen's, but is detained there by contrary Winds. The Seamen ſtill in a ſtate of Sullenneſs and Irritation. Proceedings at Plymouth. Arts employed to induce the Seamen to Mutiny again. Order iſſued by the Lords of the Admiralty. Second Mutiny in the Channel Fleet. Admiral Colpoys reſiſts the Attempt of the Delegates to board his Ship. Five Seamen killed. Admiral Colpoys made Priſoner, and threatened with Death. Alarm excited at Portſmouth by the ſecond Mutiny. Earl Howe brings down the King's Pardon, and the Act for increaſing the Pay. He ſucceeds in bringing back the Men to their Duty. Sailing of the Channel Fleet. Subſequent mutinous proceedings at Portſmouth and Plymouth. Debates in Parliament on the Subject of the Mutiny. Calls made for Information by ſeveral of the Oppoſition Members. Mr. Pitt brings forward a Bill for an Increaſe of Pay to the Sailors. He is ſeverely attacked by Mr. Fox, and Mr. Sheridan; the latter of whom, however, cenſures the Conduct of the Seamen. Reply of Mr. Pitt. Mr. Sheridan propoſes the Appointment of a joint Committee of both Houſes. Remarks of Mr. Pitt. Bill for the Increaſe of Pay paſſes the Commons. Debate in the Lords. Mr. Whitbread brings forward a Vote of Cenſure upon the Miniſters, for their Delay in applying to the Houſe on the Subject of the Mutiny. Reply of Mr. Pitt. Speech of Mr. Fox. The Miniſters vindicated by Mr. Dundas. The Motion is negatived by a large Majority. [218

CHAP. XI.

Hiſtory of the Mutiny continued. Breaking out of the Mutiny in the Medway. The Mutineers remove the Ships to the Nore. Diſreſpect ſhewn to Admiral Buckner. The Conceſſions granted to the Seamen at the other Ports rejected by thoſe at the Nore. Exorbitant Demands of the Mutineers. The Lords of the Admiralty refuſe to grant them, or to go to Sheerneſs.

Sheerneſs. They are at length induced to go, but their Journey is fruitleſs. The Mutineers prevail on the Lancaſter to make common Cauſe with them. Their piratical Acts. They blockade the Entrance of the Thames. The greateſt part of Admiral Duncan's Squadron joins them. The Clyde and St. Fiorenzo eſcape. Alarm excited in the neighbouring Counties and the Capital. Fall of the Stocks. Proceedings in Parliament. Mr. Sheridan propoſes the Appointment of a Commiſſion to negociate with the Mutineers. He withdraws his Motion at the Requeſt of the Miniſters. He cenſures the Mutineers with much Severity. Proclamation declaring certain Ships to be in a ſtate of Rebellion. Meſſage from the Throne to the two Houſes. Debates on the Addreſs. Speech of Mr. Pitt, declaring the Neceſſity of new Laws to ſuppreſs the Mutiny. Speech of Mr. Sheridan, who demurs to a Part of the Addreſs. Reply of Mr. Dundas, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Addreſs unanimouſly carried. Mr. Pitt brings in a Bill for the better Prevention and Puniſhment of Attempts to ſeduce the Land and Sea Forces. His Speech. The Meaſure conſidered by Mr. Serjeant Adair not to be ſufficiently ſtrong. He recommends the Penalty of Death. Remarks on his Propoſal. His Suggeſtion is adopted by Mr. Pitt. Obſervations of Mr. Hobhouſe and Mr. W. Smith. Speech of Mr. Tierney. The Bill paſſes immediately through both Houſes. A Bill brought in, by Mr. Pitt, for reſtraining Intercourſe with the rebellious Seamen. Objections urged by Sir John Sinclair. Reply of Mr. Pitt. The Bill oppoſed by Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Sturt. Violent Speech of the latter Member. The Bill is paſſed. Act paſſed to prevent the Adminiſtration of unlawful Oaths. Narrative of the Mutiny reſumed. The Government determines to act with the utmoſt Vigour. Prudence of this Determination. Preparations for the Attack of the Rebels. Zeal of Individuals and Public Bodies. The Eaſt India Company invite their Officers to aſſiſt the Government. Reſolution paſſed by the Merchants and Ship Owners of the Metropolis. The Mutineers begin to be alarmed. They diſpatch Lord Northeſk to Town with a Letter to his Majeſty. Terms propoſed by them. The Lords of the Admiralty refuſe to liſten to them. Obſervations on Revolters. Situation of the Mutinous Seamen. A Part of the Crews at the Nore averſe from Mutiny. Precautions taken againſt them. Mutiny begins to break up. Submiſſion of the Lancaſter and Naiad. Eſcape of the Serapis, Diſcovery, and Firm. Alarms and Debates in the Mutinous Squadron. The Mutineers attempt to negociate, but are not liſtened to. Breaking up of the Mutiny. Eſcape of the Repulſe, Leopard, and Ardent. Surrender of all the remaining Veſſels. Trial and Execution of Parker. Mutiny in Admiral Duncan's Squadron; begins in the Trent Frigate. The Admiral puts to Sea, but is abandoned by all but two of his Ships. His Speech to the Crew of his Ship. He puts a Stop to a Conſpiracy on board of the Venerable. Bad State of Lord St. Vincent's Squadron. Two Mutinies at the Cape of Good Hope. Spirited Conduct of General Dundas. The Mutineers are put down by the Threat of uſing Force againſt them. Plot on Board of the Pompée. The Hermione carried into a Spaniſh Port by her Crew. Concluſion. [234

CHAP. XII.

*Narrative of Naval and Colonial Operations. The French land a Body of Galley Slaves and Malefactors at Fishguard, in Pembrokeshire. Instructions given to the Commander of this Expedition. The Invaders are compelled to lay down their Arms. The Directory censured, by many in France, for this Affair. Two of the Frigates which conveyed the French are captured. The Republican Projects for invading England. Plan for uniting in the Channel the Fleets of France, Spain, and Holland. State of the Spanish and English Fleets. Admiral Cordova sails from Carthagena to Cadiz. Believing Sir John Jervis to have only a very small Force, he sails towards him to give him Battle. Sir John Jervis determines also to bring the Spaniards to Action. Strange Conduct of the Captain of the Spanish look-out Frigate. Battle off Cape St. Vincent's. Part of the Spanish Squadron cut off from the main Body, and put to Flight. Glorious Conduct of Commodore Nelson. He engages several of the Enemy. The San Isidro and Salvador del Mundo strike to Captain Collingwood. Nelson carries the San Nicolas and the San Josef by boarding. The Spanish Squadron retreats. Consequences of this Victory. Honours and Rewards bestowed on the Victors. Sir John Jervis created Earl St. Vincent. Nelson, who had already been made a Rear-Admiral, receives the Order of the Bath. Two Bombardments of Cadiz. Gallant Action of Sir Horatio Nelson. He forms a Plan for the Capture of Santa Cruz. Description of Santa Cruz. Nelson is sent against Santa Cruz with a small Force. Failure of the first Attempt. Nelson makes a second Attempt, in which he himself commands. His right Arm is shattered by a Grape-Shot. Gallantry of Captain Trowbridge. The Assailants are unable to accomplish their Purpose. Generosity of the Spanish Governor. Loss sustained by the British. Efforts made by the Batavian Government to fit out a Fleet. Character of Admiral de Winter and Admiral Duncan. Intrepid Conduct of the Latter. The Batavian Government orders its Fleet to sail. Admiral Duncan sails in pursuit of it. Battle of Camperdown. Admiral Duncan gets between the Dutch Squadron and the Land. The Dutch completely defeated, and a considerable Part of their Fleet captured. Admiral Duncan made a Viscount. Events in the West Indies. Infamous Conduct of the French in the Invasion of Auguilla. Capture of the Force employed by them on that Expedition. Situation of the British West India Islands. Conspiracy discovered at Dominica. Dissatisfaction of the Colonists at the Plan of raising five Black Regiments. Expedition against Trinidad. Destruction of the Spanish Fleet there. Surrender of the Island. Attack projected on Porto Rico. Description of the City of San Juan. The British effect a Landing. Their Attempt is unsuccessful. St. Domingo. Loss of Men and Money sustained through our Possession of that Island. Lieutenant-General Simcoe appointed Governor. He introduces a Reform into the Finances, Military Operations. French

French Posts carried in the Vicinity of Port au Prince. Touissant driven back. Rigaud attacks Irois, and is defeated. Touissant is repulsed at St. Marc, and likewise driven beyond the river Artebonite. Return to England of General Simcoe. Machinations of the French in Canada. Execution of the Emissary, Maclean. Capture of Foul Point, in the Island of Madagascar. [254

CHAP. XIII.

Continental Affairs. The Republicans, in consequence of the state of Affairs in France, resolve to open a Negotiation with the Emperor. Letter of Buonaparte, describing the critical situation in which he stood. He implores immediate succours. He anticipates his being compelled to raise the Blockade of Mantua. Number of wounded Generals. His situation amended by the Victory of Arcole, but not in such a degree as to render it unnecessary for the French to negotiate. Threat previously used by the Directory with respect to the Destruction of Trieste, and the other Austrian Establishments on the Adriatic. Moderate tone of the Letter addressed to the Emperor by the Directory. Contrast of it with that used to the British Ambassador. Arguments employed by the Directory to induce the Emperor to agree to their Proposition for an Armistice. Instructions given to the Directory by General Clarke. He is to avoid any relinquishment of Territory as much as possible. The Armistice not to last for less than six Months. Further Instructions given by M. Delacroix. Steps to be taken with regard to Piedmont, Lombardy, Venice, and the Papal States. Designs on Piedmont. Hints given as to the propriety of revolutionizing Venice. General Clarke commissioned to make Observations at Vienna. Four Plans sketched out to indemnify Austria for the Cession of the Low Countries. To exclude England from the Negotiations considered as an object of the utmost importance. Language to be held, by General Clarke, to the German Princes, in case they should be alarmed by the Conclusion of the Armistice. Arrival of the French Negotiator in Italy. The Emperor appoints the Baron de Vincent to confer with him, and names Vicenza as the place of conference. The Negotiators do not meet till January. General Buonaparte objects to the signing of an Armistice before the Surrender of Mantua. Reasons assigned by him for his Opposition. General Clarke persists in thinking a Suspension of Arms advisable. He contends that the chance of War is doubtful, and that Mantua may be relieved. Advantages to be drawn from the Armistice by the French. Impolicy of subverting the Papal power at the present period. The Assistance of the Pope likely to become necessary to consolidate the Revolution. Forcible description given by General Clarke, of the internal state of France. The Directory is still resolved to agree to an Armistice. Its Readiness to abandon the Italians. Contemptuous Character drawn of the Italians by M. Delacroix. Reasons of M. Delacroix for believing that the Emperor may be induced to listen to pacific Overtures. Asserted Movements of the Ottoman Porte in favour of France. The Austrian Cabinet offers to agree to a partial suspension

Suspension of Arms. This Proposal is rejected by the Republicans. The Directory furnishes General Clarke with full powers to conclude a Preliminary Treaty. Instructions given to him on this occasion. Articles relative to Austria, the Empire, the aggrandizement of Austria, the Exclusion of England, and the seizing on Bavaria. Stipulation in favour of Rebels. Profound Secrecy to be observed. The Negotiations are broken off. [280

CHAP. XIV.

Consequences of the Abandonment of the Mediterranean by the British. The Measure censured by Lord Nelson and by Mr. Burke. Peace recommended to the Neapolitan Court by the British Cabinet. Intended Treaty between Naples and Rome, and Military Movements of the combined Force of the two States. Buonaparte declares that, unless Peace be made with Naples, he must have an additional Reinforcement of twenty-five thousand Men. He recommends to temporise with the Roman Court. The Directory declares that it will not modify the offensive Conditions formerly proposed to the Pope, but consents to adopt the temporising System. It suddenly changes its System, and resolves to negotiate. The Change supposed to be the Work of Buonaparte. Letter of Buonaparte to M. Cacault, claiming the Merit of having inspired the Directory with pacific Feelings. Previous Proceedings of M. Cacault at Rome. He labours to persuade the Papal Ministry of the good Intentions of his Employers. Answer of the Cardinal, Secretary of State. Contradiction in the Reasoning of M. Cacault. The Court of Rome not disposed to avail itself of the new Overtures made by the Directory. Hopes of that Court. It dispatches an Envoy to Vienna to solicit Aid from the Austrian Cabinet. Absurd Demands made by that Cabinet. It at length promises to assist the Pope. General Colli sent to command his Army. The Directory, irritated by the Rejection of its Advances, determines to destroy, if possible, the Papal Authority. Curious Letter to Buonaparte on this Subject. Buonaparte resolves to attack the Roman States. His Manifesto from Bologna, announcing the Rupture of the Armistice. He publishes a Proclamation denouncing Vengeance on all Towns and Villages in which the Alarm-bell shall be rung. A Proclamation of another kind, in favour of the expatriated French Priests. Their Subsistence secured. His mode of vindicating this Measure to the Directory. He writes to Cardinal Mattei to set the Pope at ease with respect to his personal Safety. Backward State of the Papal Preparations to resist the Invaders. Want of Energy and Wisdom in the Court of Rome. It relies upon Sermons and Proclamations. Specimen of those Proclamations. Buonaparte commences his March. The Papal Army attempts to make a Stand on the River Senio, but is routed with considerable Loss. The Citizens of Faença shut their Gates, ring the Alarm-bell, and resolve to resist. The French Army break open the Gates, but Buonaparte spares the Town. He harangues the Monks and Priests. The French Army pursues its March towards Ancona. Capture of twelve hundred Men on the Heights near that

Town. Ancona surrenders. Large Quantities of Cannon and Arms taken there. A Detachment of Cavalry sent to seize the Treasure of the Santa Casa, at Loretto. A Part of the Treasure conveyed away by General Colli. The Relics are sent to Paris by the Commissioners of Arts. Ludicrous Description of them. The French cross the Apennines, and are joined by a Division from Leghorn. Consternation in Rome. Cardinal Mattei writes to Buonaparte in behalf of the Pope. The Court of Naples also interferes. Buonaparte grants five Days for the Arrival of a Plenipotentiary from the Pope. The Pope sends four Negotiators. Threat of the French General. The Treaty is signed at Tolentino. Conditions of it. They are in some Points less offensive than those which were proposed by the Directory. Reasons that induced Buonaparte to display so much Moderation. What were his first Intentions. The Interference of the King of Naples beneficial to the Pope. Sarcastical Reply of the French General to the Neapolitan Envoy. Letter of Buonaparte to the Directory, on the Subject of the Treaty. A complimentary Letter addressed by him to the Pope. He sets off to join his Army in the Venetian States. M. Monge dispatched by him to compliment the little Republic of San Marino, and offer an Addition of Territory. Wise Reply of the Government of San Marino. The French General confers some Favours on that Republic. He orders the Inhabitants of the Native Place of Virgil to be indemnified for their Losses, and a Column to be erected in honour of the Poet. [297

CHAP. XV.

Campaign against the Emperor on the Side of Italy. Positions of the Austrians and French previous to the Opening of the Campaign. Actions at Lovadina and other Places. Powerful Reinforcements sent to Buonaparte by the Directory. Mutiny quelled by Bernadotte. Strength of Buonaparte's Army. The Interior of France stripped of Troops, in order to enable him to make a great Effort. Exertions of Buonaparte to have his Army well Officered. Disheartened State of the Austrian Army. The Archduke Charles placed at the Head of it. Tardy putting in Motion of the Reinforcements intended for him. Eagerness of the Directory for the Opening of the Campaign. It promises that the Armies on the Rhine shall be put in Motion to second the Army of Italy. Plan of the French General. Proclamation addressed by Buonaparte to his Army on the Day on which he commenced the Campaign. Amount of Contributions drawn from Italy. Contemptuous Language used with respect to the House of Austria. Revolutionary Appeal to the People. Instructions of the Directory. The Principles of the French Government the same as under the reign of the Convention. Instructions of Buonaparte to Joubert, respecting his Conduct in the Tyrol. First Movements of the French Armies. Serrurier and Guyeux compel Hohenzollern to retreat behind the Piave. Operations of Massena in the Country of Cadore. General Lusignan defeated, and made Prisoner with a Part of his Army. Retreat of General Sporck. Position of the Austrians

Auſtrians behind the Tagliamento. The Archduke retires from it after a ſlight Action. He takes Poſt behind the Iſonzo. The Poſt not tenable in conſequence of the Dryneſs of the Weather. Capture of Gradiſca by Bernadotte. Buonaparte diſſatisfied with Bernadotte. Retreat of the Archduke to Wippach. Trieſte and the Mines of Idria taken poſſeſſion of by the French. Inflammatory Proclamation of Buonaparte to the People of the Province of Goritzia. Deſcription of the Chain of Mountains on the German Frontier. Plan of the Archduke to turn the left Flank, and fall on the Rear of the invading Force. Movements in conſequence. The Plan is fruſtrated by Maſſena having obtained poſſeſſion of the Paſs of Tarvis. Miſconduct of General Ocſkay. The Archduke ſends Orders to recover the Paſs. Gallantry of General Gontreuil. He drives the French from Saffnitz. They advance with ſuperior Forces and recover that Place. The Column of General Bayalitſch ſurrounded and made Priſoners. The Archduke reſolves to fall back on his Reinforcements. Preparations for Defence at Vienna. Camps and Works formed. Patriotiſm of the Citizens and Peaſants. Hungarian Levy in Maſs called out. Impolitic Conduct of the Auſtrian Cabinet at the Outſet of the War. The French Army advances to Klagenfert. Letter of Buonaparte to the Archduke Charles, making Overtures. Anſwer of the Archduke. Proclamation of Buonaparte to the Carinthians. Abuſe of England. Falſe Aſſertions of Buonaparte. Cruelties committed by the Republican Soldiers. The Army of the Archduke purſued by Buonaparte. Indeciſive Combats at Freiſach, Neumarkt, and Hundsmarkt. The French advance to Judenberg, Knittelfeldt, and Leoben. Operations in the Tyrol. Joubert defeats Kerpen, and compels him to retreat towards Botzen. After an obſtinate Conteſt he alſo drives back Laudohn to the Valley of Meran. Kerpen defeated a ſecond Time at Clauſen. He falls back to the Neighbourhood of Sterzing. Joubert enters Brixen. Error committed by Kerpen. Joubert fails in an Attempt to drive Kerpen over the Mountains. His embarraſſed Situation. The Tyroleans riſe in Maſs. Advantages obtained over the French by Laudohn. Kerpen advances againſt them. Joubert impedes his Progreſs by burning the Bridges. He ſucceeds in effecting a Junction with the main Body of the French Army. The French driven from the Italian Tyrol. Laudohn advances to the Neighbourhood of Verona. Situation of Buonaparte. His Intentions. The Emperor reſolves to treat. He ſends two Generals to propoſe an Armiſtice. An Armiſtice concluded for ſix Days. Line occupied by the French Army. Recapture of Trieſte, and Fiume by Colonel Caſimir. The French inſiſt on re-entering Trieſte. [316

CHAP. XVI.

Brief Campaign in Germany. Strength and Situation of the Imperial and French Armies during the Winter. Judicious Advice given by the Archduke Charles. It is neglected. French and Auſtrian Generals, and Poſitions

Positions on the Upper and Lower Rhine, at the Period of Hostilities being recommenced. Plan for the Campaign of 1797 *the same as that of* 1796. *Unaccountable Delay in the opening of the Campaign. The Necessity of making a Diversion in favour of Buonaparte, compels the Directory to order the Generals on the Rhine to take the field. Lower Rhine. General Kray solicits an Armistice, in consequence of the Suspension of Arms, on the side of Italy, but it is refused, except on hard conditions. Injudicious distribution of Werneck's force. The Army of Reserve cannot be sent to his Assistance. Description of the Position held by the Austrians to mask the Bridge-head of Neuwied. The right hand Centre of the French Army, under Hoche, cross the Rhine at Neuwied. Attack of the Republicans upon the Austrian Position. They carry by Assault the greatest part of the Entrenchments. Gallant Defence made by two of the Redoubts. The Austrians are entirely defeated. They are again attacked, at Dierdorf, and compelled to retreat. Championnet, with the French left Wing advances from the Sieg. He defeats the Austrians at Uckerath and Altenkirchen, and joins Hoche. Heavy Loss sustained by the Austrians in these various Engagements. Hoche pursues the retreating Austrians. Error committed by him. The Austrian Army falls back to Wetzlar, with some loss. Hoche endeavours to reach the Mayn before his Austrian opponent. Operations of Lefebvre, with the Republican left Wing. Defeat of an Austrian Division at Wisbaden. Lefebvre advances to Frankfort. Retreat of Werneck. Intelligence arrives of the Preliminaries of Peace being signed, which terminates the Campaign in this Quarter. Upper Rhine. Army of Moreau not quite ready. It is, however, ordered to commence its Operations. Measures taken by Moreau. The Austrians deceived as to the point of Attack. Moreau resolves to attempt the Passage of the Rhine opposite Kilstet. Dispositions for that Purpose. He fails in effecting the Passage by Surprise. Effects a landing by Force, and drives the Austrians from Diersheim. The Austrians immediately endeavour to recover the Village, but are foiled. They repeat the Attempt several times with the same ill success. Final Defeat of the Austrians after a terrible struggle. The Republican Army advances into the Interior. The Austrians sustain a heavy Loss in their Retreat. Further Progress of the French. Latour marches to oppose them. News arrives of the signing of the Preliminaries. Negotiations for Peace. The Armistice prolonged. Lofty Language of Buonaparte. Arrival of the Imperial Plenipotentiary with full powers. Artful Conduct of Buonaparte. Discussion of minor points. The seat of Negociation declared Neutral Ground. The first Propositions of the Plenipotentiaries and of Buonaparte. Dishonourable Conduct of the Austrian Cabinet. Three Projects of a Treaty dispatched to Vienna. Intentions of Buonaparte in case of their being rejected. His Anger at the Inaction of the Armies on the Rhine. The Preliminaries are agreed upon. Letter of Buonaparte to the Directory, announcing the Signature of the Articles, and explaining the Reasons for his Conduct. Contents of some of the Articles. Buonaparte requests to be recalled. The Directory declines to consent to his quitting the Army, and authorizes him to attack the Venetian Government.* [339

CHAP. XVII.

Declining State of Venice for a long Period. The Venetian Government refuses to join the Coalition against France. It recognizes the French Republic at the Moment of its Eſtabliſhment. Efforts of Peſaro to induce it to put its Territories in a State of Defence. They are momentarily ſucceſsful, but are ſoon rendered abortive. The Venetian Government receives a French Ambaſſador. Aſſerted Deſigns of France againſt Venice at this Period. A Venetian Envoy appointed to reſide at Baſil. He furniſhes Intelligence to the Government reſpecting the Feelings of the French towards Venice. Anger of the French at the Reſidence of Lewis XVIIIth at Verona. The Venetians ſend an Ambaſſador to Paris. Addreſs of the Preſident of the National Convention to M. Querini, the Ambaſſador. Entrance of Buonaparte into the Venetian States. Jeſuitical Inſtructions given to him by the Directory. Lewis the Eighteenth is ſent away from Verona. Proclamation of Buonaparte on entering the Venetian Territory. The Directory inſtructs Buonaparte to raiſe a Loan from Venice, and to lay Verona under Contribution. Strange Language of Buonaparte with reſpect to Verona. A Pretext made for quarrelling with the Venetians, in Conſequence of Beaulieu having ſeized on Peſchiera. Inſolent Conduct of Buonaparte to the Proveditor. Buonaparte's own Account, acquitting the Venetian Government as to the Seizure of Peſchiera. The Directory, however, make the ſeizure of Peſchiera a Reaſon for inſiſting on certain Demands. Buonaparte thinks it more prudent to delay for the preſent bringing thoſe Demands forward. His Account of his Conduct. His Diſlike of the Venetian Government. Inceſſant Requiſitions made upon the Venetians. Enormous Amount of the Sums thus obtained. Barbarous Conduct of the French towards the Venetians. Specific Charges of Cruelty brought againſt them. Proof, afforded by their Officers, of the licentious State of the French Soldiery. Inſults offered to the Venetian Inſignia. The Venetian Fortreſſes ſeized by the French. Sclavonian Troops expelled from Verona. Speech of Buonaparte. The Venetians arm to defend the Capital, and appoint an extraordinary Proveditor to reſide at Breſcia. Diſtreſs of the Venetian Finances. Angry Remonſtrances of the French Envoy reſpecting the Venetian Preparations. Humble Reply of the Senate. Peſaro appointed as Deputy to confer with the French Envoy. Conference, in which Peſaro vindicates his Government, and expreſſes its Fears. M. Lallemant bears Teſtimony to the pacific Intentions of the Venetian Government. Plan of the Directory for an Alliance between France, Spain, Turkey, and Venice. It is rejected by the Senate. Alliance of Pruſſia offered. Conduct of the French during the remainder of the Year 1796. Arrogance of Buonaparte. Seizure of the Caſtle of Bergamo. [361

CHAP. XVIII.

New Plan adopted againſt the Venetian Government. Inſurrection fomented in the Provinces beyond the Mincio. Meeting at Milan of Revolutioniſts, conſiſting partly of Venetians. Secret Societies formed in various Cities. Emiſſaries ſent to excite the Valleys to Inſurrection. Treachery of Landrieux, the chief Mover of the Revolution. Buonaparte believed not to be concerned in the revolutionizing Project. His real Intentions with reſpect to Venice. The Directory ſuppoſed to be at the Bottom of the Plot for deſtroying the Venetian Government. Language uſed by the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs. Letter of Battaglia to Buonaparte, and Anſwer of the Latter. The Revolutioniſts begin their Operations on the Departure of Buonaparte. The French Governor of Bergamo expels the Venetian Magiſtrates, and a Democratic Government is eſtabliſhed. The Bergamaſcans ſend for Aſſiſtance to Milan. Curious Paſtoral Letter of the Biſhop of Bergamo. Amneſty publiſhed by Battaglia. A Revolution takes place at Breſcia. Danger of the Podeſtat. Conduct of the Biſhop. Sanguinary Proclamation publiſhed in the Name of Battaglia. Purpoſe of it. It is believed to have been a Forgery of the Revolutioniſts. Steps taken by the Venetian Government. Anſwer of the Directory to the Venetian Ambaſſador. Information given to his Government by the Ambaſſador. Advice given by M. Lallemant. Senate convoked to conſider of an immediate Change in the Government. An immediate Change negatived, but a ſlow one voted. Two Deputies appointed to confer with Buonaparte. Report given of the Conferences by the two Deputies. Buonaparte recommends an Alliance with France. His jeſuitical Conduct. He demands a Monthly Loan. The Senate decrees that the Loan ſhall be granted. Salo and Crema revolutionized. Treacherous Conduct of the French at the latter place. The Peaſants of the Valleys of the Breſcian and Bergamaſco riſe in Support of the Government. They are defeated in an Attack on the Revolutioniſts of Bergamo. Recovery of Salo. Defeat of the Breſcians at Salo. The People of the Province of Verona take up Arms to reduce the Inſurgents. Blockade of Breſcia. Wavering Conduct of the Senate. M. Thugut adviſes the ſupporting of the Inſurrection. Obſervations on his Advice. The French aſſiſt the Revolters. Inſolent Proclamation of Lahoz. The Peaſants of the Valleys are defeated. Salo recovered by the Inſurgents. The Peaſants of the Veroneſe return to their own Province. [378

CHAP. XIX.

Buonaparte affects to conſider the arming of the People to be dangerous to his Army. He ſends Junot to Venice to inſiſt upon the Venetian Government diſ-

disarming its Subjects. Insolent Letter of Buonaparte to the Doge on this occasion. Lallemant presents a Note to the Senate, of the same tenor as the Letter, and calling for the Release of all Prisoners of State. Sanguinary Orders sent to Kilmaine. Shameful Conduct of Junot. Fears of the Senate. Its humble Answer to Junot. Two Deputies appointed to confer with Buonaparte. Letter of the Doge to him. Junot insists on the Release of the Prisoners as a preliminary. A part of them are released. Application to the Directory. Jesuitical Conduct of the Directory. Bribe taken by Barras, to favour the Venetian Republic. Scandalous Proceedings on this Subject. Events which helped to precipitate the Ruin of Venice. Contest at Verona. Opposite Accounts of it given by the two Parties. The Citizens of Verona take Prisoners the French Guards at the Gates, and let in a Body of Peasants. The Magistrates endeavour to negociate with the French Commander. His Demands. They are rejected. The Magistrates withdraw from the City. The Contest continues for a Week. Advance of the French Columns towards Verona. Variety of Skirmishes. Severe Action at Croce Bianca. The Sclavonians and Peasants are defeated. Verona is compelled to surrender. Three of the leading Inhabitants are put to Death by the French. Enormities committed at Verona, and in its Neighbourhood, by the Conquerors. Laugier attempts to enter the Port of Venice by force. He is killed by a Shot from the Fort of Lido. The Venetian Deputies arrive at the Head-Quarters of Buonaparte, at Gratz. His unpromising Reception of them. His Conference with the Deputies. Arguments used by them. He threatens to be an Attila to Venice. Consternation of the Deputies. Second Conference. Insults offered to the Deputies. He manifests his Determination to change the form of Government. Alteration in the Tone of the Austrian Cabinet. Rage of Buonaparte on being fully informed of the Contest at Verona, and the Death of Laugier. Letter of the Deputies requesting another Interview, and Answer of Buonaparte. Result of the Interview. Declaration of War issued by Buonaparte. The Terra Firma revolutionized. Firmness of Angelo Justiniani. Situation and Resources of Venice. Pusillanimity of the Venetian Government. Last Meeting of the Senate. An illegal Body, named a Conferenza, is established. Its pitiful Conduct. Meeting of the Great Council in the midst of a Military Force. It appoints three Deputies to settle with Buonaparte the Changes which are to be made. Answer of Buonaparte to the Deputies. Armistice granted. Second Meeting of the Great Council. It votes for submitting to the Wishes of Buonaparte. Arrest of the Inquisitors of State, and the Governor of the Fort of Lido. Cowardice or Treachery of the Conferenza. It decides to offer no Resistance in case of the Advance of the French. A Vote passed for dismissing the Sclavonians. Treaty concluded with Buonaparte at Milan by the Venetian Deputies. Observations upon it. Intrigues of Villetard at Venice. The Government abdicates. Insurrection in Venice. A Provisional Municipality appointed. Situation of Venice subsequently to the Revolution. [390

CHAP. XX.

Negociation for Peace between Auſtria and France. The Preliminaries not ſatisfactory to either Party. The Directory reſolves to obtain an Amelioration of the Terms in the Definitive Treaty. The Emperor expreſſes his Readineſs to treat ſeparately for a Peace with France. The Directory deſirous of avoiding a Congreſs. Its Inſtructions to its Plenipotentiaries. It wiſhes to occupy the Empire as far as the Rednitz and the Lech. Averſion of it to indemnify the Emperor in Germany. Caſe in which it will conſent to his making Acquiſitions there. The Britiſh Monarch to be expelled from Hanover. Offers of the Directory with reſpect to Italy. Refuſal to guarantee the Ceſſions in Italy to the Emperor. The Iſland of Elba coveted. Ambitious Views of the King of Naples. Plan of Carnot to make an Eſtabliſhment for the Duke of Parma, in order to oppoſe Spain to the Emperor. The Negotiations opened at Montebello, near Milan. Agreement ſigned by the Negotiators. Scheme drawn up at the firſt Conference. Idea of Buonaparte as to the Neceſſity of preſerving the Germanic Body. Reaſons aſſigned by Buonaparte to juſtify the aſſigning Venice to the Emperor. The Emperor wiſhes to return to the original Plan of a Congreſs. He takes Poſſeſſion of Iſtria and Dalmatia. He delays ſending full Powers to his Negotiators. Conſequent Complaints of the French Negotiators. The Seat of the Negotiation removed to Udina. Anger of Buonaparte at the Delay, which he aſcribes to the Royaliſt Faction in France. Meaſures recommended by him in conſequence. He adviſes the Directory to recommence Hoſtilities. Reaſons of the Directory for not immediately conſenting. Notes given in by the Auſtrian Plenipotentiaries. Angry Anſwer of the French. The Emperor reproached with reſpect to his Conduct towards Venice. Change in the Plan of the Directory. It now wiſhes to exclude the Emperor from Italy, and indemnify him in Germany. Its Reaſons and Arguments. Its Reluctance to give up Mantua. Letter of Carnot to Buonaparte ſtimulating him to make Peace. Advice given by him to the French General. Anonymous Letter to Buonaparte, counſelling him to eſtabliſh an Empire in Italy, and place himſelf at its Head. Bitter Cenſure of the Army of Italy. Buonaparte follows the Advice of Carnot. General Clarke recalled. Generous Conduct of Buonaparte with reſpect to Clarke. Auſtria not only refuſes to relinquiſh Italy, but raiſes her Demands in that quarter. Intrigues at Vienna to bring about a Peace. They fail. The Emperor again inſiſts upon a Congreſs. Anger and inſulting Language of Buonaparte on receiving the Auſtrian Propoſal. The Propoſal is dropped. Change in the Language of the Directory, after the eighteenth of Fructidor. The Directory treats the Emperor with Contumely. Its Plan to revolutionize Italy. Negotiates

with Prussia for a Treaty of offensive and defensive Alliance. Proclamation of the Directory to its Armies, ordering them to prepare to take the Field. Army of Germany. A Proclamation of Augereau to his Army. A Change made in the Government of the ecclesiastical Electorates. Cis-Rhenane Republic formed, and abolished. The Directory declines to ratify the Treaty with the King of Sardinia. It declares that it cannot guarantee Kings against their People. Preparation of the Directory for War. The Emperor also actively prepares for it. He raises his Demands. Reply of Buonaparte. Remark of Count Cobentzel. The Directory wishes for immediate War. Buonaparte opposes the Measure. His Advice to the Directory. The definitive Treaty signed at Campo Formio. The Reasons assigned by Buonaparte for concluding it. He is dissatisfied with the Behaviour of the Directory to him. Terms of the Public Articles of the Treaty. Private Articles. Observations on the Treaty. Censure of the Emperor. Insulting Language used by Buonaparte with respect to the Venetians. Ratifications of the Treaty exchanged. A Convention concluded at Rastadt, for carrying the Treaty into effect. Tardiness of the Directory in giving Orders to evacuate the Venetian Provinces beyond the Adige. Venice entered by the Imperialists. End of the Venetian Republic. [414

CHAP. XXI.

Proceedings at Genoa. Subserviency of the Genoese Rulers to the French. Causes of it, arising from Hatred of the Sardinian and Austrian Monarchs, and from pecuniary and mercantile Connexion with France. Insult offered to Captain Inglefield by the French, in the Port of Genoa. Capture of the Modeste by the English. Rage of the Convention. Remonstrances of the British Envoy at Genoa not regarded. The French enter the Genoese Territory for the Purpose of seizing Oneglia. Falsehood of the French Proclamation. French Protestations of Friendship to the Genoese, and Machinations at Genoa. General de Vins apprizes the Genoese Government of his Intention to enter the Territory of Genoa. Dissatisfaction expressed by the Genoese. Angry Correspondence between General de Vins and the Genoese Rulers. Partiality of the latter. Complaints made by them against Nelson, who then commanded the British Ships on their Coast. His Vindication of his Conduct. He proves their Charges to be without Foundation. A French Seaman killed in an Attempt of two Privateers to violate the Genoese Edicts. Insolent Note of the French Envoy. Submission of the Genoese Government. Remonstrance of the British Envoy. Untruths asserted, in Answer, by the Genoese

noese. Conduct of the French in the Genoese Territory. The French Directory resolves to overturn the Genoese Government. Salicetti demands the Garrisoning of Savona, and a Loan of thirty Millions of Livres. The Geneose are deterred from yielding by the Menaces of the Allied Powers. Vengeance taken by the French. Scheme of the French for seizing Genoa. It is frustrated. Dissatisfaction of Buonaparte with it. Designs of the Directory against Genoa. Speech of M. Faypoult to the Genoese Government. Instructions of the Directory to Buonaparte, with Respect to Genoa. Harsh Measures against the Genoese. Buonaparte begins a Quarrel with the Government. Demands made by him and M. Faypoult. Satisfaction given to the French. Nelson vindicates his Conduct. Attempt to send Count Girola from Genoa. Proclamation issued by the Government to exculpate the French. Reason assigned by Buonaparte for the Genoese disliking the French. Plan of Attack upon Genoa. It is suspended. Artful Conduct of Buonaparte. Plan resumed and again suspended. Reasons for suspending it. Unjust Conduct of the Genoese to the British. Dispute respecting the Seizure of a Tartan. Nelson's Ship is fired at by the Genoese. Baseness of the French. The Genoese Ports are shut against the English. Capraja seized by the English. A Convention concluded at Paris, with the Directory, by the Genoese Envoy. The Terms of it are highly disadvantageous to the Genoese. Protection afforded by it to Conspirators. Dissatisfaction occasioned by no Guarantee being given to the Genoese Territory. Buonaparte offers a Part of that Territory to the King of Sardinia, subsequently to the signing of the Convention. The Revolutionists begin to act with the utmost Audacity. Formation of Clubs. Entertainment given to Madame Buonaparte by the Revolutionary Party. Consequent Breach of the Law. Causes which delayed for a while the Fall of Genoa. Language of Buonaparte. Conference of the Deputies of the Senate with M. Faypoult. Haughty Language of M. Faypoult. The Insurrection against the Government breaks out. Weakness of the Government. The Revolters are defeated by the People. The Peasants rally round the Government. Demands of Buonaparte. Approach of a Division of the Army of Italy. It encamps in the Valley of Polcevera. Establishment of a Provisional Government. A Constitution prepared and accepted. Name of the Republic changed to the Ligurian Republic.

CHRONICLE:

DAILY OCCURRENCES, from 1 January to 23 December 1797 - - - - - - pp. *1 to *83
BIRTHS, January 1 to December 15 - - - - - *83
MARRIAGES, January 2 to December 23 - - - - *85

PRO-

PROMOTIONS, January 18 *to December* 30 - - - - *87
DEATHS, January 11 *to December* 23 - - - - *91
SHERIFFS, appointed by His Majesty in Council, for the Year 1797, *100
SHERIFF appointed by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in Council, for the Year 1797 - - - - - - - *101

APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE:

GAZETTES, Ordinary and Extraordinary;—relative to the

Invasion of Ireland by the French. Gallant Action of Sir Edward Pellew and the Amazon with the Les Droits de L'Homme; loss of the Amazon. Landing and surrender of the French in Cardigan Bay. Sir John Jervis's action with the Spanish fleet, 14 *February, off Cape St. Vincent,* 15 *sail of the line to* 27 *of the enemy;* 4 *of the enemy's taken. Surrender of Trinidad. Admiral Duncan's victory over the Dutch Fleet commanded by Admiral De Winter, Oct.* 13; *and De Winter's account of the action to his government, &c. &c.* - - - - *102—*127

Narrative of the dreadful shipwreck of Les Droits de L'Homme, a French ship of 74 *guns, driven on shore* 14 *January* 1797, *after a severe action with the Indefatigable and Amazon frigates, under the command of Sir Edward Pellew and Captain Reynolds; by Elias Ripon, lieut.* 63*d regiment* - - - - - - - - - - - *127
Account of the loss of H. M. frigate la Tribune, in Halifax harbour, November 1797 - - - - - - - - - *131
Account of the descent of the French in Cardigan bay, Pembrokeshire, February 1797 - - - - - - - - - *134
French instructions to Col. Tate for the destruction of Bristol, in the above enterprize - - - - - - - - - *137
Account of the Mutiny at the Nore in the Channel fleet, February to June 1797; *arrest and execution of Parker, &c.* - - - *140—*159
Narrative of proceedings at Tranent. 29 *August, at a meeting of the Deputy Lieutenants of the district of East Lothian, for carrying the Militia Act into execution* - - - - - - - *159
Account of the marriage of the Princess Royal to Prince of Wirtemberg, 18*th* - - - - - - - - - - *162
Account of the Royal Procession to St. Paul's, 19*th December; for a general thanksgiving for the three great naval victories, by Lords Howe, St. Vincent, and Duncan* - - - - - - - - *164

Account

Account of an extraordinary Suicide committed near Bristol, with the diary of the unfortunate Stranger - - - - - - - * 167
Transactions in Parliament, relative to the stoppage of payment in Specie by the Bank - - - - - - - - - * 176—* 220
Report of the Secret Committee (of the House of Commons) appointed to enquire into the Financial state of the Nation - - - * 220
Summary of the Report of the Secret Committee appointed to consider of the Papers seized in Belfast: presented in the Irish House of Commons, by Mr. Pelham - - - - - - - - - - * 226
Irish Roman Catholics: Memorial of Noblemen and Gentlemen of His Majesty's kingdom of Ireland to the Lord Lieutenant - - * 229
The Will of the right honourable Edmund Burke, dated 22 Jan. 1797; and a Codicil, dated the 29th of the same month - - - - * 232
Heads of the Will of the late Mr. Thellusson, in which the immense fortune of 800,000 l. is disposed of - - - - - - * 236
Trial and conviction of Launcelot Knowles, for obtaining Money under false pretences - - - - - - - - - - * 238
Trial: Esten v' the Duke of Hamilton, for crim. con. (non-suited) * 249
Trial and conviction of Mr. Williams, for publishing Paine's Age of Reason - - - - - - - - - - * 250
Boddington v' Boddington:—Proceedings in the Sheriff's court at Clerkenwell, Sep. 8, to assess damages for crim. con. (verdict 10,000 l.) * 255
Trial and conviction of Mrs. Phipoe, for the murder of Mary Cox, * 259

Table of the new French measures, with their proportional relations, * 263
Account of all Additions which have been made to the annual charge of the Public Debt of Great Britain, 1793—1797 - - - * 264
Produce of the several Duties in the year ended 5th January 1797, * 269
Net Produce of the Taxes for the year ended 5th July 1797 - * 271
Total number of persons who pay the Assessed Taxes; with other Revenue Accounts - - - - - - - - - * 274—* 276
Statement of Services and Grants, from 1722 *to* 1797 - - * 276
General Bill of Christenings and Burials, December 1796 *to December* 1797 - - - - - - - - - - * 278
Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported and imported, in 1797 - - - - - - - - - - * 279
Average Prices of Corn in England and Wales, and the Prices of Bread per Quartern Loaf, during 1797 - - - - - - * 280
Prices of Stocks in the several Funds during the year 1797 - * 282
Statement of the Barometer, Thermometer, and Hydrometer, for the year 1797 - - - - - - - - - - * 283
Principal Public Acts passed in the first Session of the 18*th Parliament of Great Britain* - - - - - - - - - * 284
Supplies granted by Parliament for the year 1797 - - - * 286

STATE PAPERS:

Message from the King to the House of Commons, 27 *February* 1797, *respecting the unusual demand of specie* - - - - * 295

Protest

CONTENTS: 1797.

Protest of the Earl of Oxford against the decision of the House of Lords on his motion for Peace - - - - - - - - * 295
Message from His Majesty to the House of Commons, 3 April 1797; respecting the intended marriage of the Princess Royal - - * 297
Message from His Majesty to the House of Commons, 29 April 1797; respecting the remission of Cash to Ireland - - - - ibid
Protest of the Duke of Bedford and Lord Chedworth, on his grace's motion (May 20) for the dismissal of His Majesty's ministers - - ibid
Message from His Majesty to the House of Commons, June 1; relating to the Mutiny at the Nore - - - - - - - - - - * 300
Message from His Majesty to the House of Commons, July 6, for a vote of credit for extraordinary expenses - - - - - - ibid
His Majesty's speech to both Houses of Parliament, on proroguing them, 20 July - - - - - - - - - - - - - * 301
Note (omitted in the A. R. for 1796, p. 246) on the dismissal of Lord Malmesbury from the French Republic, December 1796 - - * 302
Papers which passed in the negotiation for Peace, at Lisle, between Lord Malmesbury and the French Commissioners;—June—October 1797, * 306—* 356
Declaration of the King of Great Britain to the People; respecting the rupture of the late Negotiation; dated 25 October 1797 - - * 356
His Majesty's speech to both Houses of Parliament, on opening the session, November 2, 1797 - - - - - - - - - - - * 362
Address of the House of Peers to His Majesty thereupon - - * 363
Address of the House of Commons, as moved by Mr. Wilbraham Bootle, * 364
Protest of Earl Fitzwilliam, on the rejection of his Amendment [to leave out that part which implied approbation of the attempt to negotiate] to the Address of their lordships on His Majesty's speech - - * 366
Joint Address of both Houses of Parliament to His Majesty; presented November 15, 1797; and His Majesty's answer - - - * 370
Note of Lord Malmesbury; entered p. * 302 *ante:—Commentary on this Note, as it appeared in the Redacteur of the 13th November* - * 371
On the late Negotiation at Lisle: From the Redacteur - - * 373
Additional Instructions to commanders of ships of war and privateers that have or may have letters of marque against the Enemy - - * 376
Plan sent to all the parishes of Great Britain, May 1797 - - * 377
Papers relative to the Mutiny at the Nore - - - * 379—* 395
Proclamation by order of the Duke of York, announcing increased pay and other advantages to the Army - - - - - - ibid
Treaty of Navigation and Commerce between His Britannic Majesty and Russia - - - - - - - - - - - ibid
Papers relative to the attempt of the French Directory to obtain the expulsion of the English Ambassador from Switzerland - * 405—* 407
Irish Papers:—Relative to the invasion by France; to outrages in the province of Ulster; to a difficulty in raising a sum voted in the committee of supply; to a society of persons styling themselves United Irishmen; to proclamations by General Lake and Lord Craven, and the Lord Lieutenant, on the late associations and outrages; protest of Lord Bellamont on

on the subject of General Lake's proclamation; the Lord Lieutenant's speech on proroguing the Parliament of Ireland, 3 July 1797; &c. * 377—* 416
Treaty of Peace between the Pope and the French Republic, 19 February 1797 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - * 416
Treaty of offensive and defensive Alliance between the French republic and the King of Sardinia - - - - - - - - - - * 419
Convention between the French republic and the republic of Genoa - * 421
Treaty of definitive peace between the French republic and the King of Hungary and Bohemia - - - - - - - - - - - * 425
Secret articles of the treaty of Campo Formio, between Austria and France - - - - - - - - - - - - - - * 429
Secret convention at Rastadt, on the 1st of December, between the Austrian and French plenipotentiaries - - - - - - - - - * 432
State Paper, published unofficially, and said to contain the basis of the Peace to be concluded at Rastadt - - - - - - - - * 433
Arrêt of the Executive Directory of the 12th Ventose (March 2) 1797, ibid.
Message from the Directory of the French Republic, on the 24th of July, to the Council of Five Hundred - - - - - - - - * 440
Message from the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, 14 Thermidor (August 1) - - - - - - - - - * 443
D° - - - - *D°* - - - - - - - - 9 *August* - - ibid.
D° - - - - *D°* - - - - - - - - 10 *August* - - * 444
Report of the Council of Five Hundred, 4 Fructidor (August 21) relative to the march of the troops - - - - - - - - - * 448
Message of the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, 20 August - - - - - - - - - - - * 453
Message to the Council of Five Hundred and Elders; September 4, * 456
D° - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - *September 5,* * 438
Message from the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred; September 5. * 457
Proclamation of the Executive Directory to the French People; September 4 - - - - - - - - - - - - - * 458
The Executive Directory to the Citizens of Paris; September 4 - * 461
Address of the two Councils to the Departments, and to the Armies, 21 Fructidor - - - - - - - - - - - - - * 462
Proclamation of the Executive Directory to the French Nation; September 20 - - - - - - - - - - - - * 466
Proclamation of the Executive Directory to the French People; 5th Brumaire - - - - - - - - - - - * 469
The Minister of the Marine Department and Colonies, to the Civil and Military Officers, and to the Seamen and Marines of the Navy; November 6 - - - - - - - - - - - - * 470
Proclamation of the French Directory to Frenchmen; November 21, * 472
Buonaparte, General in chief of the army of Italy, to the People of Carinthia; April 16 - - - - - - - - - - - ibid
Proclamation relative to the disturbances in the Venetian territory, * 477
Manifesto of General Buonaparte against Venice; May 13 - - * 478
Proclamation of General Buonaparte to the Cisalpine republic; 11th Messidor - - - - - - - - - - - - - * 479

Ordinance

CONTENTS: 1797.

Ordinance published at Verona; *August* 8 - - - - *480
Letter of General Buonaparte to the Chief of the Maniotes; *July* 30, ibid
Buonaparte to the Provisional government of the Cisalpine republic; *November* 11 - - - - - - - - - - *481
Rescript addressed to his excellency M. de Fahenberg, directorial minister of Austria at Ratisbon, on the part of his Majesty the Emperor and King; *February* 7 - - - - - - - - - - *482
Imperial Rescript to the Diet of Ratisbon, respecting the furnishing of the Quintuple contingencies - - - - - - - - *483
Letter of Convocation addressed to the Plenipotentiary Envoys of the Associated States of Northern Germany, by Von Dohm, the Prussian minister - - - - - - - - - *486
The Administrators of the Cantons of Cleves and Xanten to the Inhabitants of the said Cantons - - - - - - - - - *490
Declaration published by the Prussian government at Wesel; *January* 6, ibid
Provisory Regulations for the Prussian provinces situate on the left bank of the Rhine; *March* 18 - - - - - - - - *491
Letter of His Majesty the King of Great Britain to his Majesty the Emperor; *February* 7;—*inclosing*,
Letter of His Britannick Majesty to the King of Prussia - *492
Substance of a Letter addressed by the Elector of Saxony to His Majesty the King of Prussia, relative to the late differences subsisting between that monarch and his neighbours in Franconia - - - - *494
Edict published at Berlin; *June* 14 - - - - - - - *495
Proclamation of the King of Spain; *March* 1 - - - - - *496
Abstract of a Proclamation issued by the Court of Spain, relative to the prohibition of English merchandize - - - - - - *
Imperial Ukasa, or Edict, issued at Petersburg, respecting the importation of French and Dutch Merchandise; 22 *January* - - - - *497
America: Message of the President to Congress, inclosing a Letter from Mr. Pickering to Mr. Pinckney; *relative to the disputes between America and France* - - - - - - - - - *498—*552
Speech of the President (*Mr. Adams*) *of the U.S. of America, to Congress, on opening the Session*; *May* 1797 - - - - - - *552
Message from the President to the House of Representatives; *June* 1797, *558
Another Ditto, in July - - - - - - - - *559
Report of the Committee of the Senate, to the Senate, on the conduct of Mr. William Blount, a member of the Senate - - - - *560
Documents laid before Congress by the President, relative to a supposed attack on the Floridas - - - - - - - - *562
Address of the President on opening the Session; 23 *November* - *564

ORIGINAL STATE PAPERS,

Relative to Louis XVIII; *and Correspondence between Mr. Windham and Mr. Dundas with the Count de Puisaye*; 1796—1797 - *569—*595
Answer of the Count d'Artois, to Mess^rs de Trotte, de Chatillon, de Bourmont, de Sayannet, and d' Allegre - - - - - - - *505

CONTENTS: 1797.

CHARACTERS:

Character of Rubens, by Sir Joshua Reynolds - - - - p. 1
Life of the Bishop of Carlisle; from Hutchinson's history of Cumberland, 5
Memoirs of the life of the late Robert Burns; by Robert Heron - 8
Life of Charles Bonnet, of Geneva - - - - - - - 27
Sketch of the Female Economy of the Seraglio, and of the real condition of the Female Sex at Constantinople - - - - - - - 31
Observations and anecdotes, illustrative of the present police, commerce, state of society and manners, at Constanstinople - - - - 36

NATURAL HISTORY:

On the nature of the Diamond; by Smithson Tennant, Esq. - p. 45
On the action of Nitre upon Gold and Platina - - - - 47
Description of the Oestrus Equi - - - - - - 49
Curious fact in the history of the common Mole - - - - 50
Account of a child born without a Brain - - - - - 51
Account of a change in the complexion of a Negro - - - 54

USEFUL PROJECTS:

First Report from the Committee of the House of Commons on the Waste Lands of the Kingdom - - - - - - - - p. 57
Account of a cottage and garden near Tadcaster; designed to show the benefit resulting from allowing small portions of Land to labourers - - 64
On the method of cultivating Rhubarb - - - - - 66
Account of the ferment for Bread, used at Debretzein - - - 68
On the means of improving the Hempen Linen trade - - - ibid
On Land Draining; by James Young, Esq. - - - - - 70
Method of tanning Leather without Oak bark; discovered and proved by W. White, tanner, of Ashburton, Devon - - - - - 71
Method of killing Slugs in a garden - - - - - 72
Experiments in planting Potatoe shoots - - - - - ibid
Method of preparing Canvas so as to make flexible tubes for conveying fresh Air into Coal mines - - - - - - - - 73
Modes of relieving Sea sickness - - - - - - - ibid
Curious method of procuring Dwarf trees - - - - - ibid
Improved method of making Roads - - - - - - 74
To prevent danger from Redhot Pokers - - - - - 77

ANTIQUITIES:

Investigation of the site of Troy - - - - - - 78
On the antient and modern Navigation of India - - - - 84

On

CONTENTS: 1797.

On the Roman method of computing Time - - - - - - 88
Order passed by the House of Commons in 1641, *rating every man according to his estate, for the King's use* - - - - - - - 89
Form of a permission to solicit Aid for rebuilding a house destroyed by Fire - - - - - - - - - - - - - ibid

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS:

Memoir upon the discovery of America - - - - - - 91
On the coalition attempted by some British Artists between Poetry and Painting - - - - - - - - - - - - 99
Character of a Wife - - - - - - - - - - 102
Consolation for ideal calamities - - - - - - - - 108
Outlines of a history of Snuff and Tobacco - - - - - - 110
Miscellaneous calculations, relative to the Life of man and other animals, 112

POETRY:

Ode for the New Year 1797 - - - - - - - - 115
Ode for His Majesty's birthday - - - - - - - 116
Character of the Bard; from Pursuits of Literature - - - 117
Palinodia; from Poems by W. Mason, M.A. - - - - - 118
Song; from the same - - - - - - - - - - 121
The Exile; by M. G. Lewis, Esq. - - - - - - - 122
Love and Age; by the same - - - - - - - - - 123
April; from Elegiac Sonnets, by Charlotte Smith - - - - 126
Descriptive Ode; supposed to have been written under the ruins of Rufus's castle - - - - - - - - - - - - - 128
Occasional Address, written for the benefit of a distressed Player detained for debt - - - - - - - - - - - - - 130
Elinor; a Botany-bay eclogue: from Poems by Robert Southey - 131
Stanzas; from the Spanish of George of Montemayor - - - 134
Verses to a Robin Redbreast, who visits the windows of my prison every day - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 135
Aistodemus; a monodrama - - - - - - - - - 136
Lines, found in a bower facing the south - - - - - - 138
For the blind Asylum at Liverpool - - - - - - - 140
The Dream - - - - - - - - - - - - - ibid
Lines, addressed to a fountain - - - - - - - - 141
Home: To —— - - - - - - - - - - - 143
Stanzas; from Sonnets by T. Park - - - - - - - 144
Description of a Country Parson's garden - - - - - ibid
Sonnets; attempted in the manner of "Contemporary Writers," by Nehemiah Higginbottom - - - - - - - - - - - 146
Lodgings for Single Gentlemen - - - - - - - - 149

ACCOUNT OF BOOKS; for 1797:

The History of Scotland, from the accession of the house of Stuart to that of Mary; by John Pinkerton - - - - - - - - - 149
Travels in Hungary, with a short account of Vienna, in the year 1793; by Robert Townson, LL.D. - - - - - - - - - 173

THE END.

Luke Hansard & Sons,
near Lincoln's-Inn Fields, London.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
004571

Case D 2 .A55 1797 20340

The Annual register, a review of public events home and abroad

NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM.

20340